Thomas Lyttelton H. Lyttelton Charles Lyttelton
ex dono ejus

THE HISTORY OF POLYBIVS THE MEGALOPOLITAN.

The fiue firſt BOOKES entire:

With all the parcels of the ſubſequent Bookes vnto the eighteenth, according to the GREEKE ORIGINALL.

Alſo the manner of the Romane encamping, extracted from the diſcription of POLYBIVS.

Tranſlated into Engliſh by *Edward Grimeſton*, *Sergeant* at Armes.

LONDON,
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1634.



The Right Hon.ble Charles Viscount Bruce of Imphill (Son & Heir Apparent of Thomas Earl of Ailesbury) & Baron Bruce of Whorleton

TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE *WILLIAM* LORD *CRAVIN*, BARON OF HAMSTEED-MARSHALL, &c.

MOST WORTHY LORD,

B RAdon I beseech you, if (being a stanger and vnknowne vnto you) I haue presumed to inscribe your title on the Frontespiece of this Booke, and to publish it to the world, vnder your Lo. fauourable protection. I confesse my disability might well haue deterred me: But the reason which induced me to this presumption, was your noble and C generous inclination to Armes (being the subiect of this History) wherein you haue carried your selfe so worthily in many great and dangerous exploits, in forraine parts, vnder two of the greatest Commanders of Christendome, as you haue done great honour to your Country, and won vnto your selfe perpetuall fame and reputation. This Consideration hath made me confident, that during your vacancy from Military actions, your Lordship will vouchsafe to D cast your eye vpon this History written by *Polybius*, who (in the opinion of most men of Iudgement) hath beene held to be very sincere, and free from malice, affection or passion. And to iustifie the truth thereof, he protests that he was present at many of the actions, and receiued the rest from confident persons who were eye-witnesses. It is a generall History of his time, of all the warres which past

in *Aſia*, *Greece*, and the *Romane* State, againſt the *Gaules*, and *Carthaginians*, which two Cities contended for the Empiry of the world: which warre was of longer continuance, and had more cruell and variable encounters and battailes than any that hath beene written of: For the firſt Punique warre (where they fought for the Conqueſt of *Sicily*) laſted foure and twenty yeeres; and the ſecond in *Italy* vnder *Hannibal*, Generall for the *Carthaginians*, continued ſeuenteene yeeres, to the ſubuerſion (in a manner) of the Romane State, had not *Scipio* forced *Hannibal* to returne home to defend his owne *Carthage*, where in Battell he loſt the glory of all his former Victories, and brought his Countrey into the ſubiection of the *Romanes*. This worke I preſent vnto your Lordſhips fauourable Cenſure, humbly praying that you will be pleaſed to beare with my harſh and vnpoliſhed ſtile, and to pardon the errors committed at the preſſe during my abſence: for which fauour I ſhall hold my ſelfe much bound vnto your Lordſhip, and will alwaies remaine

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Your Lordſ. moſt humbly deuoted
to doe you ſeruice,

EDW. GRIMESTON.

Levves Maigret a Lionnois

to the FRENCH Nobility.

A GEntlemen, wee are all borne by nature to ſo much pouerty, and inuolu'd in ſo many miſeries, as there is no worke of Man, how ſmall ſoeuer, which giuing order to his meaneſt actions, doth not miniſter occaſion of ſome Eſteeme. So as whereas his diligence guided by reaſon, ſhall finde it ſelfe croſt, I know not by what power,
B which commonly fortune vſurpes ouer the iudgement and conſideration of Man, wee may (as we thinke) iuſtly blame it, in excuſing with compaſsion the workeman and his misfortune. And if on the other ſide, toſhew her great magnificence and bounty, ſhe imparts her fauours and graces to ſome one, who without keeping any order or faire courſe, ſeekes to bring ſome Enterprize to an end, ſo as that notwithſtanding his ouer-weaning and folly ſhee makes it perfect: Then we hold her prodigall, deteſting her vnreaſonable and
C inconſiderate bounty, grieuing at her benefits ſo ill imployed. Behold how, (I know not by what law receiued among men) wee commend or blame euery one in his profeſſion and workes, ſo farre forth as they ſee his induſtry and diligence imployed or defective. If wee haue reaſon then in ſo great Eſteeme, as wee ſeeke it in all our actions, and in matters of the ſmalleſt conſequence, blaming him that neglects it: How infamous wee hold the careleſneſſe and neglect of a man in the order and conduct of affaires, wherein not
D onely the ruine of his eſtate, life and honour, but alſo that of his Countrey, Parents, and Friends, and finally of his Prince and Soueraigne, is many times brought into great danger? But if there be no Enterprize among thoſe which Men purſue, wherin ſuch things ought to bee drawne into Conſideration, as proper and ordinary vnto him, and without the danger whereof hee can reape no benefit, I am of opinion that that of warre ought in reaſon to bee preferred before

fore all others: Although there bee many, which cannot alwaies be brought to a good end, without the hazard and danger of those which pursue them. In truth it is a profession, which experience hath taught in all Nations, to bee so rough and fierce, and finally so difficult to mannage, as neuer man could carry himselfe so discreetly, nor with so great fortune, nor recouered such rich spoiles, nor obtained such Triumphant victories, but they haue purchased him new causes of Care and feare, not onely of A
great Enuie, and of new Enemies, but also losse and ruine. I will not speake of the irreparable defeate of the braueſt Men in an Armie, which a Victory worthy of renowne requires, as it were by aduance, when as the Enemies performe the Duties of good souldiers. The Carthagians thrusting an Army into Sicily, at their first entry obtained some Conquests, so soone after they prouoked hatred of the Romanes: which was but the beginning and presage of a future ruine. But when as the fortune of the warres B
beganne to smile vpon Hanibal, and to giue him a full Gale, so as his exploits were so great in Spaine, as afterwards hee presumed to force Nations, Mountaines, and riuers, and in the end to fight with the Extremity of the weather for the Conqueſt of Italy: Then, as it were, fearing her owne power, to bee in a manner vanquished, shee beganne to practize and forge meanes, not onely to ruine her so much fauoured Hanibal, but the whole Carthaginian Empire. And therefore it is credible, C
that (I know not by what inconstancy, or rather extrauagant and sauage Nature) shee makes friends of Enemies, and enemies of her owne friends; so much shee feares (as I imagine) the ease and rest of those whom shee fauours. It is true that traffique by Sea is not without great terrour, amazement and hazard, for the danger of the waues, Tempests and stormes, with a thousand other accidents. But if warre once set vp her sailes, being D
accompanied with rage, fury, and many other disasters, which the malice of Men haue inuented to make vse of, beleeue mee that these other furies, which the winds procure at Sea and in the Aire, which many times are more feareſull than mortall, will not seeme in regard of those of warre, but a light amazement, and, as it were, a false allarum. What torment at Sea, or violence of the winds hath euer beene so soddaine, which the

long

long experience of a wiſe Pilot, could not by a thouſand ſignes and tokens foreſee, deuiſing ſufficient remedies to auoid it? But when a warre is mannaged by Iudgement and diſcretion, as it is requiſite, the ſhewes are commonly contrarie, to that which they purſue. Wherefore the more an Enterprize is diſſembled and keept ſecret, the more eaſie it is to put in execution. Finally, if wee will confeſſe the truth, it is a pro-
A feſſion which among all others, requires the greateſt vigilancie; a continuall Care, with an incredible diligence: whereof a good Iudgement muſt haue the conduct, that by coniecture drawne from things formerly practized, or from a probability of that which hee ſees, hee may ſoone after iudge of the Enemies reſolution, and finally attempt and hope for a victory.

And although it hath beene alwaies held, that Money is the
B ſinewes of Warre; yet I hold its force without Conduct; like vnto that of a ſtrong, able Man, oppreſt with a deepe ſleepe, whoſe ſenſes haue made their retreate for his reſt. So there is nothing ſo ſtrong, nor ſo quicke in this world as the ſenſe of man: Nor any thing ſo powerfull and terrible, which the vnderſtanding doth not maſter and ſubdue. And therefore wee ſay commonly in France, that wit is better than force. Yet I know that Courage is a great aduantage;
C and neceſſary for a ſouldier, but eſpecially for a Generall: But I feare that for want of Iudgement and a good conſideration, it makes them not ſometimes ouer weening and careleſſe of danger. So as many times it giues occaſion to a weake and cowardlie Enemie, to vndertake a Victory, and to performe the Act of a valiant man. Wherefore courage without conduct, and vigilancie, is alwayes ſubiect to Ambuſhes and ſhamefull flights: which are inconueniences,
D whereof a Coward is alwaies warie, for that feare makes a Man vigilant and careſull. But was there euer Nation more hardie, nor more warre-like; nor that more carefully obſerued the ordinances of warre than the Romanes? How then did Hannibal deſeate them ſo often, not onely in Encounters, but in pitcht Battailes, and in the open

field, by his great Iudgement, and his subtile pollicies? In what feare, and with what admiration hath the fury of the Gaules, beene held in old time by all Nations, who parting from their owne Countrey and Townes, to seeke new habitations, haue conquered land in diuers Countries by Armes, building Townes not onely in Italy their Neighbour, but also in Germany, and in the end in Greece, and Asia? Who hath defeated and quite ruinated them in a short time, but A their owne Consideration, and an ouer-weaning confidence in their force and courage? I hold for certaine, which you know well, that it is not sufficient for a Prince or Generall to haue his Armie compleate with foote and horsemen, how resolute soeuer, and with all necessary prouisions for a warre: No more than for a Souldier to haue youth, strong and actiue Members, a daring courage, and compleate furniture. Hee must haue to vanquish (the which many times the vanquished improperly call mis-fortune) that piece of harnesse so well steeled, which wee call Iudgement, or a good conduct. Beleeue mee that like vnto a horse, when hee hath taken the bit betwixt his teeth, forcing his Master, flies without feare thorow Woods, Rockes, and Precipices, with the danger of his life, bee hee neuer so nimble and couragious; so a hardie and resolute souldier doth easily his owne ruine, if hee wants conduct and Iudgement. You must vnderstand that as the body C requires Exercise to preserue in health, and to make it actiue, and hardened to indure labour and paine; so the vnderstanding in like manner desires to bee exercised and imployed, either by the consideration of things past, or by those which are visible.

It is true, that those which are seene by the eye, haue a greater viuacitie, and a stronger impression, than those which are past: For that liuing things are of greater force than D dead. Yet, if we shall duely consider the length of time, which the experience of a thousand kind of pollicies, which warre requires before that a wise Man will dare to aduenture himselfe in a bold and hardie Enterprize, wee shall finde that the knowledge of the antient warres, which haue beene left

left vs in writing, will bee of no small consequence vnto him. For besides the assurance of danger, hee may in a short time see by Historiographers, the great and Wonderfull exploits of the Antient in a manner since the Creation of the world, to pleasure and contentment from them, with some Encouragement to doe aswell or better hereafter. You know well that the warre which is seene by the eye, is not alwaies made betwixt warre-like people, nor vnder resolute Commaunders, A that are skilfull in their profession: so as it is a difficult thing vnder such to see any valiant exploits, nor Enterprizes attempted with good inuention, nor well executed. Wee say commonly in France, that the Combate is dangerous; when as courage fights against courage. So is it credible, that when an Army consisting of warre-like men, is vnder the leading of a wise and resolute Commander, hauing in front an Enemy equall vnto him in all degrees, there must needes B bee valiant exploits performed, with hardy Enterprizes wisely mannaged.

If there haue beene any warres, attempted by fierce and warlike Nations, and gouerned by wise and famous Captaines, beleeue me this present Historiographer hath vsed great diligence to set them downe in writing: Labouring only to mention the deedes and valour that was most worthy of C Relation, that with the pleasure and contentment which they may reape in reading them, they may draw some instructions and meanes, not to fall into the inconuiences of warre, into the danger whereof many times both Captaine and Souldiers may bee ingaged, through want of experience, good aduice and councell. So as among others, you shall see Enterprizes of the Romanes against the Carthaginians for the conqueſt of Sicily. D During the which there were many Encounters and cruell battailes, as well by Sea as land. You shall likewise reade the furious Combat of the Gaules against the Romanes: And moreouer the warre betwixt Cleomenes and Antigonus, for Morea, the which Philip the Sonne of Demetrius tooke afterwards. And besides many other notable exploites, (which at this present I will forbeare)

you shall see the Conquests which Hannibal made in Spaine, with his incredible voiage into Italie, performed in his younger yeeres, and his victories gotten of the Romanes with such pollicie and wisedome, as it is a difficult thing (if wee shall consider the people and number of his Armie, hauing regard to courage and power of those with whom hee had to deale) to indge truely, whether there were euer Captaine in the memory of man, that may with reason bee A compared vnto him. Finally my Masters, I doe not promise you in this History, those miraculous Battailes, which exceed the apprehension of man, performed in the Kingdome of Logres, nor I know not what Quest of that barking Beast. Make your accompt that you shall not finde any Tract or marke of a Beast, nor finally any thing that holds of it. Beleeue mee in times past, Men did not feede their vnderstandings with dreames, nor fables inuented in barbers-shops, B without any colour of Truth. It is impossible an ignorant Master should make a learned disciple. Finally they are discourses fit for old womens tongues to entertaine little children, whilest that for weakenesse of their Age, their vnderstanding hath no apprehension, nor sufficient Iudgement of reason. Wherefore wee may with reason say, that such as consume their yeeres, and grow old in such dreames, haue a will to continue still children. And although they commonly C saie, that warre is mannaged by the eye: So as it seemes they will thereby inferre, that wee must not thinke of it, but when necessity doth force vs: And that peace should procure no benefit to a Souldier, but idlenesse; yet he must fore-see long before, part of that which afterwards he must gouerne by the eye. And as a horse which is pampered and not ridden, growes restie; and proues vnprofitable to his Master for trauaile: so the vndestanding of a souldier, idle during peace, or fed with dreames and foolish inventions, will faile him at neede; and in the end purchase him dishonour and shame; Yet do not imagine my Masters, that I haue vsed this speech as blazoning you, and holding you for men of so poore an Enterprize, whose principall

study

ſtudy and affections is the reading of ſuch Bookes, rather then in ſome worthy recreation and exerciſe. My meaning was onely to aduertiſe you, that Hiſtories, from whence with pleaſure you may draw great profit, as theſe are which this Hiſtoriographer imparts vnto you ought to bee in greater recommendation than thoſe Fables, which haue no grace, but when they are moſt without reaſon or any ſhew of truth.

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Finally, I hope you ſhall finde ſuch ſufficiencie in our Polybius, as you will make no queſtion to preferre him as the paragon before all others, aſwell Greekes as Latines, which are come to the knowledge of men. Of whom I haue preſumed to tranſlate in the beſt ſort I could, thoſe fiue firſt Bookes, which of Fourty which hee hath written, haue beene preſerued halfe ruined by the negligence of time: Hoping you will receiue them as willingly, as I offer them with a good heart.

B

When as after the Printing of theſe fiue firſt Bookes, I had recouered ſome Latine Tranſlations, of three parcels of the ſixt, whereof the firſt and the third had not any GREEKE Coppie, And likewiſe afterwards another of the ſixteenth, both in Latine and Greeke, I imployed my ſelfe to put them into French, adding thereunto the forme of the Romanes Campe, as I could conieclure it, by the diſcription which Polybius maker, in the parcell of the ſixt Booke And when as the Printers ſucceſſor had a deſire afterwards to print the whole, and intreated mee to ſpend ſome time in the Remainder of that which was newly publiſhed of Polybius his workes, which are certaine parcells, and as it were Reliques (beſides the aboue named) of the ſeuenth and eighth, and of all the ſubſequent Bookes vnto the ſeauententh incluſiue, it was not in my power to deliuer him any other but thoſe of the ſeuenth and eighth, being afflicted with a quartane Ague, beſides his obſtinacy in vſing a ſmall Character, for the ſparing of Paper diſtaſted mee: Expecting that which afterwards followed, that few men would reſt ſatisfied, for that all things

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how good and excellent ſoeuer, are thereby found without grace, dull and vnpleaſing. For this cauſe deſiring that ſo excellent a writer, ſhould not remaine diſdained and without grace for want of an honourable Impreſſion, and that the ſtudions of Hiſtories ſhould bee the more incouraged, I reſolued to adde the remainder of that, which at this day is come to our knowledge, aſſuring my ſelfe that the Printer for his part will haue a care that for the ſauing of his money hee will not doe wrong to his honour, nor looſe his charges inſtead of gaine.

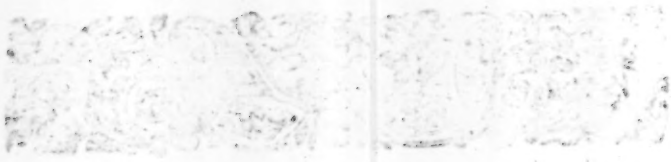
To GOD alone be all honour and glory.

The Printer to the READER.

COurteous Reader, I desire your charitable censure in that there bee some litterall faults escaped, to the griefe of the Author being not able to attend the Presse, and likewise being absent at that time from London, *and habut a young Corrector which took too much upon him.*

Errata.

PAge 27. line 21. for *report* read *support*, p. 27. l. 9. for *wridge* r. *rigg*, p. 33. l. 28. for *ready the* r. *ready for the*, p. 34. l. 27. for *nor bee* r. *nor to bee*, p. 35. l. 39. for *them* r *then*, p. 40. l. 19. for *yet began* r. *yet it began*, p. 45. l. 38. for *had been* r. *had not been*, p. 51. l. 44. for *Hannibal* r. *Amilcar*, p. 62. l. 37. for *Arcanians* r. *Asarnanians*, p. 68. l. 18. for *Issaire* r. *Assi*, p. 79. l. 37. *Rhine* r *Rhosne*, p. 105. l. 30. r. *time to passe*, p. 133. l. 7 for *and past* r. *he past*, p. 131. l. 4 r *stuffe their places*, p. 132. l. 38. r. *struck dead or hurt*, p. 151. l. 47. r. *Romanes*, l. 18. r. *vnto the Adriatique sea*, p. 177. l. 20. r. *to as without*, p. 186. l. 43. r. *in common assemblies*, l. 45. r. *dances*, p. 189. l. 21. r. *raiseth his Campe*, p. 192. l. 44. r. *did not openly*. p. 194. l. 15 r. *great a King*, p. 198. l. 9. r. *with great ships*, p. 210. l. 24. r *to bring him*, p. 220. l. 40 r. *not executed*, p. 231. l. 28. r. *against them*, p. 240. l. 21. r. *no way*, p. 246. l. 10. r *which the Goffets*, p. 249. l. 25. *borne away by the river*, ibid. l. 38 r. *was*, p. 254. l. 44. r. *parted from Lydia*, p. 264. l. 3. r. *as his*, p. 266. l. 46. r. *arriued*, p. 267. l. 38. r. *which Ptolemy was*, p. 274. l. 34. r. *of the Phenetensis*, p. 278. l. 6. r. *greater danger*, p. 279. l. 23. r. *for all them which*.





XUM

THE FIRST BOOKE of the Hiſtory of POLYBIVS.

IF the Commendation of the excellency of Hiſtories had beene omitted by ſuch as before vs haue written the Worth and Proweſſe of Men, happily it ſhould bee neceſſary to vſe ſome Arguments to make it to be generally Accepted and Receiued: For that there is no way more eaſie to reforme and better Men, then the Knowledge of things paſt. But ſeeing that not onely ſome, but in a manner all, begin thereby and finiſh it amply, ſoas they are of Opinion that the Knowledge of Hiſtories is a true Diſcipline and Exerciſe for the Conduct and mannaging of the Affaires of a Common-wealth, and that ſhe onely is the Miſtris, and meanes to beare the Variety and inconſtancy of Fortune patiently, by reaſon of the example of another mans aduerſities, it is apparent that no man will hold it neceſſary to renew the Diſcourſe of things, which haue formerly beene ſo well deliuered by others: Eſpecially by me to whom the newneſſe of Actions, whereof wee intend to Write, is much more then ſufficient to perſwade and draw the hearts of men, aſwell both Young and Old, to read our Hiſtory. For where is any man ſo depraued or ſilly, which deſires not to vnderſtand

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the meanes and manner of Gouernment, by the which the *Romans* haue ſubdued and brought vnder their Obedience in a manner, all the Nations of the World, within the ſpace of fifty and three yeares? the which in former times was neuer heard of. Or what is he ſo much giuen and deſiring to know other things worthy of admiration and other Diſciplines, but will conceiue that there is not any thing in this world worthy to be preferred to this knowledge? I hope they will ſee how great and excellent our Worke is, if wee make compariſon of other Principalities with the excellency of the *Romane* Empire, and namly of thoſe which haue beene in great honour and glory, whereof Hiſtoriographers haue written much. Behold thoſe which are moſt worthy to be compared. A

The *Perſians.* The Empire and power of the *Perſians* for a time hath beene great, but whenſoeuer they did aduenture to paſſe the bounds and limits of *Aſia* they were in danger to loſe not onely their Empire, but their liues.

The *Lacedemonians.* The *Lacedemonians* made a long warre for the Empire and command of *Greece*, but they could hardly keepe it twelue yeeres quiet after their Conqueſt.

The *Macedonians.* It is true, the *Macedonians* haue domineer'd and rul'd in *Europe*, from *Adria* to the *Danowe*, which is but a ſmall portion thereof. And ſince they haue held the Empire of *Aſia*, after they had ruined the Monarchy of the *Perſians*. And although that theſe haue in ſhew beene great Lords, and enioyed large and ſpacious Countries, yet they neuer toucht the greateſt part of the World. As for *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Affricke*, they neuer made ſhew to challenge any thing. In regard of other Nations, the moſt Martiall of *Europe*, and the moſt Weſterne, they hardly in my opinion did euer know them: But the *Romans* haue not onely conquered a part of the World, but in a manner all. They may alſo know by our ſequell, how great the profit will be to ſuch as affect the knowledge of Hiſtory. B

The *Romans.*

The beginning of the Hiſtory. Finally, the beginning of our Worke ſhall be according to the time, ſince the hundred and eight and forty *Olimpiade*: As for the Actions, and firſt of the *Grecians*, wee will begin with the ſociall warre, the which *Philip* (who was Sonne to *Demetrius*, and Father to *Perſeus*) attempted firſt with the *Acaians*, againſt the *Etolians*, and in regard of thoſe which inhabite *Aſia*, the beginning ſhall be at the Warre which was in the Valley of *Syria*, betwixt *Antiochus*, and *Ptolome*, *Philopater*. C

But as for *Italy* and *Affricke*, wee will begin with that betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, which many call the warre of *Hannibal*. The Hiſtory ſhall begin at the end of that which *Sicionius* hath left in writing. Before theſe times the affaires of the world were without Ciuillity. Since it hath happened that the Hiſtory is in a manner drawne all into one, and that the actions of *Italy*, and of *Affricke*, are mingled with thoſe of *Greece* and *Aſia*, and that all tended to one and the ſame end. And therefore wee haue begun our worke in thoſe times, when the *Romans* had vanquiſhed the *Carthaginians* in this war, thinking they had performed their greateſt taske, and to be able to aſſaile the whole world, they preſumed preſently after to fall vpon the D

reſt,

reſt, and to paſſe into *Greece* and *Aſia* with great forces.

But if we had ſeene and knowne the manner of liuing, and the Lawes of Common-weales contending for the Monarchy, happily it would not be needfull to make any great ſearch, to what end, nor vpon what power relying, they haue entred into ſuch great actions. But for that the manner of liuing, the precedent forces, and the actions of the people of *Rome* and *Carthage* are vnknowne to the greateſt part of the *Grecians*, I haue held it neceſſary to make theſe two firſt Bookes, before I enter into the Hiſtory, to the end they ſhould haue no occaſion
A to wonder nor inquire in reading our Worke, what Councell, what Forces, and what Treaſure and Wealth the people of *Rome* had to vndertake the warre and conqueſt of the whole Earth, and of all our Sea: Conſidering that they which ſhall require it, ſhall ſee plainely by theſe firſt Bookes of our Preparation, that the *Romans* had reaſonable cauſe to vndertake the Empire and Soueraignty of all things, and to attaine vnto their ends. Beleeue that the proper obiect of our Worke, and the excellency of the Actions of our time, conſiſts principally in this, that as Fortune hath in a manner reduced all the affaires of the world into one, and hath forced them to draw to one and the ſame
B end: So the force which ſhee hath vſed for the perfection of all publicke gouernment, muſt be reduced and propounded to the Reader in one briefe Hiſtory.

This hath chiefely incited and vrged mee to the enterpriſe thereof, eſpecially for that none of our time hath vndertaken to write a generall Hiſtory: neither would wee haue attempted it: But ſeeing that many had written ſome particular Warres, and their priuate Actions, and that no Man (to my knowledge) hath hitherto made an vniuerſall and generall commemoration of things paſt, neither when nor how they began, nor how they were executed and performed, nor what iſſue
C they had: I conceiued it would be well done, if by our meanes our Countrey-men might read a worke of Fortune excellently good and profitable: For although ſhee had done excellent things and worthy of admiration among men: yet ſhee hath not done any thing vnto this day, nor purchaſed the glory of victory comparable to our times. The which they that haue written the particular Hiſtories cannot make knowne, but that ſome one who peraduenture for that hee had liued in ſome renowned Towne, or for that they had ſeene them in picture, imagine preſently they know them: and conſequently the ſcituation, the forme, and the order of the World, the which is not probable nor
D likely.

They which are of Opinion that a particular Hiſtory is ſufficient for the vnderſtanding of the generall, in my Opinion ſtray no leſſe from the truth, then if ſome one conſidering the parts ſeparated of a liuing Body, thinke by this meanes to haue the knowledge of all the perfections and graces of the Creature. There is no doubt; but if any one takes theſe diſtinct and ſeparated parts, and doth preſently ioyne them together, and make a perfect Creature, giuing it forme and life, and then preſents it vnto him, hee will ſoone confeſſe that hee hath beene de-

A good Compariſon.

ceiued, like vnto them that dreame. It is true, we may haue ſome apprehenſion of the whole by the parts: But it is not poſſible to haue a true and certaine Science and Knowledge. And therefore you muſt imagine that a particular Hiſtory is of ſmall vſe for the knowledge of the generall: And that by the connexion, compariſon and ſimilitude of actions, there will be no Man found, who in reading, will not reape ſingular profite and pleaſure by Hiſtory. Wee will therefore make the beginning of this Booke at the firſt Voyage which the *Romans* made by Sea, which is ſubſequent to thoſe things which *Timerus* hath laſt written: which was in the hundred and nine and twentieth *Olimpiade*. We must therefore relate how, and what time they ended their Quarrels in *Italy*, and what meanes they had to paſſe into *Sicily*: For this is the firſt voyage they euer made out of their Territories, whereof wee muſt ſet downe the reaſon ſimply and without diſguiſing: to the end that by the ſearch from one cauſe to another, the beginning and conſideration of the whole may not proue doubtfull. The beginning alſo muſt bee agreeable to the Time and Subiects, and that it be knowne to all: the which they may conſider by themſelues, yea, in ſeeking out thoſe things which were paſt long before, and in the meane time relate the Actions ſummarily: For it is certaine that the beginning being vnknowne or obſcure, its continuance cannot perſwade, nor purchaſe beleeſe: But if the Opinion of the beginning be true, then all the ſubſequent Narration doth eaſily content the Auditors eare.

Timerus an Hiſtoriographer.

A

B

Nineteene yeeres after the battell wone vpon the Riuer *Ægos*, and ſixteene yeeres before the Warre of *Leuctra*, where the *Lacedemonians* treated a peace with *Antalcides* King of *Perſia*, when as *Denis* the old held the Citty of *Rhegium* in *Calabria* beſieged, after that hee had defeated the *Grecians* inhabiting vpon the limits of *Italy*, neere vnto the Riuer of *Elleporis*: and that the *Gaules* hauing wholy ruined *Rome*, held it, except the Capitall: During which time the *Romans* hauing made an accord with them, which they found good and profitable, and had recouered their liberty contrary to their hope and expectance, and had in a manner taken a beginning of their increaſe, they declared Warre againſt their Neighbours. As ſoone as the *Latins* had beene vanquiſhed, aſwell by their proweſſe as by the fortune of the Warre, they turned their Armes againſt the *Tuſcans*, then to the *Celtes* which are in *Italy*, and finally vpon the *Samnites* which confine the Region of the *Latins*, towards the Eaſt and North. Sometime after, the *Tarrentines* ſeeing the outrage which they had committed againſt the Romane Embaſſadours, not relying much vpon their owne forces: they called in King *Pyrrhus* the yeere before the Deſcent of the *Gaules* into *Italy*, and before the Retreate of thoſe which were defeated in Battell neere vnto *Delphos*. Then the *Romans* after they had vanquiſhed the *Tuſcans* and *Samnites*, and beaten the *Celtes* often, began to make warre againſt the reſt of *Italy*, not as contending for another mans Lands, but as for their owne, and formerly belonging vnto them, being now growne warlike by the Warres which they had had againſt the *Celtes* and *Samnites*.

Denis.

C

D

The

The *Romans* then after that *Pyrrhus* and his forces had beene chaſed out of *Italy*, taking this Warre to heart, they purſued ſuch as had followed his party. Being ſuddainly become Maiſters of all according to their deſires, and that all *Italy* was wholy ſubdued, except the *Celtes*, they preſently beſieged ſome of theirs which held *Regium*. One and the like fortune befell two Cities ſcituated vpon the Straight of that Sea, that is, *Meßina* and *Rhegium*. Some *Campanois* having beene lately in pay with *Agathocles* in *Sicily*, wondring at the beauty and wealth of *Meſſina*, they ſuddainly when they found an opportunity, A aſſailed it, breaking their Faith, they having beene receiued into it by Friendſhip: where they expell'd ſome of the Cittizens, and ſlew others. After which wicked act they ſhared their Wiues and Children among them, as their fortunes fell out during the Combate: Then they diuided their goods and lands. But after this ſuddaine and eaſie Conqueſt of ſo goodly a Countrey and City, they ſoone found others that did imitate their villanies.

Rhegium beſieged by the *Romans*.

The taking of *Meſſina* by ſome *Campanois*.

They of *Rhegium* amazed with the deſcent of *Pyrrhus* at ſuch time as he paſt into *Italy*, and fearing in like manner the *Carthaginians*, being then Maiſters of the Sea, they craued a Garriſon and men from the B *Romans*. Thoſe which they ſent vnto them, were to the number of 4000. vnder the command of *Decius* the *Campanois*, they kept the Towne for a time, and their faith in like manner with the Cittizens, in defending them; but in the end moued by the example of the *Mamertins*, who ſolicited them to cõmit this baſe act, they falſified their faith, being aſwell incited by the opportunity of the deed, as by the wealth of *Rhegium*, and chaſed away ſome Cittizens and ſlew others, finally, they ſeaſed vpon the Citty as the *Mamertines* had done. And although the *Romans* were diſcontented at the misfortune of the *Rhegins*, yet they could not relieue them, for that they muſt ſettle an order for C their precedent VVarres. But after they had ended them, they beſieged them of *Rhegium*, and afterward they entred it by force, whereas many were ſlaine: who being certaine of the puniſhments they were to endure, defended themſelues valiantly to death. Aboue three hundred were taken aliue, who preſently after their comming to *Rome*, the Commanders of the VVarre commanded them to be brought into the Market-place, where they were whipt, and in the end their heads ſtrooke off, after the manner of the Countrey. They did vſe this puniſhment to the end that their Faith (as much as might be poſſible) might be confirmed towards their confederates. Preſently after they D cauſed the Towne and Countrey to be deliuered to the *Rhegins*.

The taking of *Rhegium* by ſome *Campanois* being there in Garriſon.

The taking of *Rhegium* by the *Romans*.

The puniſhment of Traytours.

But whileſt that the *Mamertins* (you muſt vnderſtand that the *Campanois* cauſed themſelues to be ſo called after the taking of *Meſſina*) were relieued by the *Romans* which held *Rhegium* by force, they not onely enioyed the Countrey and Towne peaceably, but they committed great ſpoiles vpon many other Townes their Neighbours, aſwell of the *Carthaginians* as of *Saragoſſe* (otherwiſe *Siracuſa*:) The greateſt part of *Sicily* was tributary vnto them. But ſoone after when they were depriued of thoſe ſuccours, and that they which held *Rhegium*

The *Campanois* holding *Meſſina* are called *Mamertins*.

were beſieged, they were in like manner by them of *Saragoſſe*, for the cauſes which follow: As a little before the men of warre of *Saragoſſe* camping neere vnto *Mergane*, being in diſſention with the Gouernours of the Common-weale, they choſe for their Captaines *Artemidore* and *Hieron*, who afterwards was their King, being yet very young: But finallly ſo well endowed with all the graces of Nature and Minde, as hee wanted no Royall conditions but the Crowne. Hauing accepted the Magiſtracy, and made his entry into the Towne very well accompanied by his Friends, where hauing vanquiſhed the Burgeſſes of the contrary faction, hee vſed the Victory with ſo great clemency and modeſty, as by a common conſent of all in generall he was choſen their Commander, although they did not allow of the Election made by the Souldiers.

Hieron choſen King of the *Saragoſſins*.

A

It is true that *Hieron* made knowne to men of iudgement and vnderſtanding, that he had conceiued greater deſignes in his minde then to be their Leader. Firſt knowing well that the *Saragoſſins* were mutinous and deſirous of innouation, whenſoeuer they ſent their Souldiers and Commanders out of the Countrey, and that *Leptine* was a man of great reputation, and of more credit then any other of the Cittizens, and that he was very pleaſing vnto the Multitude, he held it fit to make an alliance with him, to the end he might leaue ſome report in the Citty for him, whenſoeuer he ſhould goe to the VVarre, and lead an Army out of the Countrey. Hauing therefore taken the Daughter of *Leptine* to VVife, knowing well that the old band of forraigne Souldiers were changeable and ſubiect to mutinies, he led his Army of ſet purpoſe againſt the *Barbarians*, who held the Citty of *Meſſina*: And hauing ſeated his Campe neere to *Centoripe*, and put his men in battell cloſe vpon the Riuer of *Ciamoſſure*, he ſtayed in a place apart all the Horſe and Foote of his owne Nation, as if he meant to charge the Enemy on the other ſide: ſuffering the forraigne Souldiers to be defeated by the *Barbarians*, and whileſt the others fled, he makes his retreate ſafely with all the *Saragoſſins* to the Citty. When he had by this pollicy brought his deſigne vnto an end, and had freed his Army of all the Mutines, hee makes a great leuy of Souldiers. Soone after when as all things were ſettled in good order, *Hieron* ſeeing that the *Barbarians* were growne too audacious and proud of their late Victory, he parts from the Citty with an Army of his Countrey ſouldiers, well trained and diſciplined, and making dilligence, he came to *Myle*, where along the Bankes of the Riuer of *Longane*, he fought with them with all his forces. Hauing vanquiſhed them and taken their Captaines, ſeeing their pride much abated by this Victory, he returnes to *Saragoſſe* with his Army, and was by the generall fauour and conſent of all the Cittizens ſaluted King by the Allies.

B

An alliance made by *Hieron* with *Leptine*.

The pollicy of *Hieron*.

The Riuer of *Ciamoſſure*.

C

D

The *Mamertins* deliuer their Towne and Fort vnto the *Carthaginians*.

The *Mamertins* as we haue ſayd, being depriued of the ſuccours of of the Romane Legion, and hauing loſt ſo great a Battell, their hearts being broken, they retire for the moſt part vnto the *Carthaginians*, and yeeld themſelues and their Fort: The reſt ſent vnto the *Romans*, deliuering their Towne vnto them, and requiring ſuccours

Succours required from

as

as to those that were of the same Nation. The *Romans* were long in suspence what to doe: For they found it strange, hauing lately punished their Citizens so seuerely, for violating their faith with the *Rhegins*, to send succours now vnto the *Mamertins* who were guilty of the like crime. They were not ignorant of all these things: Yet considering that the *Carthaginians* had not onely drawne *Affricke* vnder their obedience by force of Armes, but also many places in *Spaine*, and moreouer all the Ilands of the Sea of *Sardinia* and *Italy*, they doubted that their Neighbour-hood would be dangerous, if they made themselues Lords of the rest of *Sicily*. They likewise vnderstood, that it would be easie to effect, if the *Mamertins* were not relieued: And there was no doubt, that if *Messina* had beene deliuered vnto them, they would presently haue recouered *Saragosse*, for that they held all the rest of *Sicily*. And as the *Romans* considered these things, they were of opinion that it was necessary not to abandon *Messina*, nor to suffer the *Carthaginians* to make vnto themselues as it were a Bridge, to passe into *Italy* at their pleasure.

the *Romans* by the *Mamertins*.

This was long in debate, yet it was not concluded in that assembly: for it seemed vnto them as vnreasonable as profitable to relieue the *Mamertins*. But as the Commons much weakned with their former Warres, seemed to haue need of rest, so the Captaines shewing the great profit that might ensue, they resolued to succour the *Mamertins*. This Opinion being confirmed by the Commons, presently they appointed *Appius Claudius*, one of the Consuls, to passe the Army into *Sicily*, and to relieue the *Mamertins*, who had put out of their Towne, aswell by threats as pollicy the Captaine of the *Carthaginians* which (as we haue sayd) held the Fort. And they called vnto them *Appius Claudius*, deliuering the Citty into his hands. The *Carthaginians* hung him on a Crosse which had had the Guard, supposing that he had yeelded it basely for feare and want of Courage. Then suddainly they drew their Sea-army neere vnto *Pellore*, and that at land about the Countrey called *Sene*, holding by this meanes *Messina* streightly besieged.

The *Romans* resolue to succour the *Mamertins* by *Appius Claudius*

The *Mamertins* recouer the Fort from the Captaine of the *Carthaginians*.

In the meane time *Hieron* thinking to haue found a good opportunity to chase the *Barbarians* which held *Messina* out of *Sicily*, followed the *Carthaginians* party. And going from *Saragosse*, he takes his way to the Towne, and layes his Siege on the other side neere vnto Mount *Calsidique*: By this meanes he tooke from the Townesmen all meanes to sally forth on that side. But the Consull passing the Sea by night with great danger, in the end he arriued at *Messina*: where seeing the Enemy round about it, and that this Siege was as dishonourable vnto him as dangerous, for that the Enemies were the stronger both by Land and Sea, he desired first to try by Embassies sent to both Camps, if it might be possible to pacifie things, so as the *Mamertins* might be freed. But the Enemies not vouchsafing to heare them, he was in the end forced to vndergoe the hazard, and resolued first to giue battell to the *Saragossins*. He therefore causeth his Army to march, and put it in battell: to the which the King likewise came speedily. But after that

Hieron follows the *Carthaginians* party.

Appius

The defeate of Hieron by Appius.

Appius had fought long, in the end he preuailed ouer his Enimies, pursuing them into their Fort. The Consull after the spoile of the dead, retires into the Citty: and *Hieron* being frustrate of all hope, recouered *Saragosse* speedily the Night following.

The defeate of the *Carthaginians* by *Appius*.

The next day *Appius Claudius* aduertised of the flight of the *Saragossins*, and hauing resumed courage and confidence, he had no will to stay, but to goe and fight with the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore he commanded his men to be ready, and the next day he past early and chargeth his Enimies, whereof some were slaine, and the rest forced to saue themselues in the neighbour-townes. By this meanes the Siege being raised, he rauaged and spoyled the Countrey of *Saragosse* and their Allies without danger: And after that he had ruined all, in the end he besieged *Saragosse*. Behold then (for the causes aboue mentioned) the first Voyage which the *Romane* Army made out of *Italy*. And for that we haue held it fit for the entrance of our designe, we haue made it our beginning, in looking somewhat backe to the times past, to the end we may not leaue any occasion of doubt vpon the causes we shall yeeld. And in truth I haue held it necessary to declare first at what time, and by what meanes the *Romans* being in extreame danger to lose their Countrey, began to grow fortunate: And when likewise after they had subdued *Italy*, they began to conquer other Countries; to the end that the greatnesse of their Empire, which was since, may seeme more likely in knowing the beginnings. No man must wonder when as we speake of Townes of Note, if happily wee seeke for things farther off, in that which we shall relate hereafter: For we doe it to the end that our beginnings and grounds may be such, as they may plainly vnderstand the meanes and reasons, by the which euery Citty is come to the estate wherein it now stands, the which we haue done here of the *Romans*.

It is now time that in leauing this Discourse we returne to our designe, in shewing first summarily and briefely the things happened before the times, whereof we meane principally to Write: Among the which the Warre betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* in *Sicily* is the first, then followed the *Punique*: In the which the deeds first of *Amilcar*, then of *Asdruball*, are ioyned with those of the *Carthaginians*: At what time the *Romans* began first to sayle into *Slauonia*, and other parts of *Europe*. Moreouer their Battels against the *Gaules*, who at that time made a discent into *Italy*: The Warre also which was in *Greece* at the same time, called *Cleomenique*, to the which all this relation and the end of the second Booke tend. Finally, I haue not held it necessary nor profitable for the Reader, to relate things in particular: Neither is it my intention to Write them, but onely to touch that summarily which may concerne our History. And therefore in relating briefely, we will indeauour by an order of continuation, to ioyne vnto the beginning of our History the end of those Actions, which we shall deliuer by way of preparation. By this meanes in continuing the order of the History, they shall see we haue toucht that which others haue left in Writing: and also made an easie and open way for all subsequent things, to those which

which deſire to know. It is true that we haue had a ſpeciall deſire to write ſomewhat at large this firſt Warre of the *Romans* in *Sicily* againſt the *Carthaginians*, for that they ſhall hardly finde a longer Warre, nor greater preparations and expence, nor more encounters, nor greater diuerſity of fortune on eyther ſide; For theſe two Nations in thoſe times liued in their lawes with meane wealth and equall forces. Wherefore if we ſhall conſider the Forces and Empire of theſe two Cities, we cannot ſo well make a Compariſon by the other ſubſequent Warres as by this. But that which hath moſt incited me to write this Warre, was
A for that *Philinus* and *Fabius*, who are eſteemed to haue written well, haue in my Opinion ſtrayed too much from the truth: Yet I would not taxe them to haue done it malicioufly, conſidering their life and intention: But I conceiue, the affection which they beare vnto their Countreymen, hath deceiued them after the manner of Louers. In regard of *Philinus*, for the affection he beares to the *Carthaginians*, hee is of Opinion that they did all things with good Conduct, Prudence and Courage; and the *Romans* the contrary. As for *Fabius* he holds the contrary party. Peraduenture a man would not blame this manner of doing in other courſes of life. In truth it is fit and commendable for a good man to loue
B his Friends and Countrey, and to be a friend to the friends of his friends, and to hate his Enemies. But he that takes vpon him to Write a Hiſtory, muſt vſe ſuch things with diſcretion, ſometimes commending his Enemies, when their actions require it, and blaming his Friends and Neighbours when their faults are blame worthy. Beleeue me, as the remainder of the Body of a Beaſt, which hath the eyes puld out, remaines vnprofitable: So if truth be wanting in a Hiſtory, the Diſcourſe prooues fruitleſſe. And therefore when occaſion is offered, he muſt not forbeare to blame his Friends, nor to commend his Enemies, nor to hold it a diſhoneſt thing to praiſe thoſe whom we haue ſometimes blamed. Neither is
C it likely, that they of whom we write, haue alwaies done well, or err'd continually. We muſt therefore in leauing the perſons, iudge and ſpeake of their actions ſufficiently in our Comentaries.

The blame of *Philin* and *Fabius* Hiſtoriographers.

To prooue my aſſertion true, we ſhall eaſily ſee it by that which *Philin* writes. Who in the beginning of his ſecond Booke ſaith, the *Carthaginians* and *Saragoſſins* held *Meſſina* beſieged, and when as the *Romane* Army, after they had paſt the Sea, was arriued, they made a ſuddaine ſally vpon the *Saragoſſins*, where they were vanquiſhed and defeated, and ſo retired into the Towne: they made a ſecond vpon the *Carthaginians*, where they were not onely defeated, but moſt part of them taken: Pre-
D ſently after this Speech he ſaith, that *Hieron* after this Encounter had ſo great a feare, that he not onely ſet fire of his Lodgings and Tents, retiring by night to *Saragoſſe*, but moreouer abandoned the ſtrong places, lying betwixt *Meſſina* and *Saragoſſe*. He relates alſo that the *Carthaginians* being in like ſort amazed, diſperſed themſelues here and there throughout the Townes of *Sicily*, and that they durſt neuer after that keepe the Field, and that moreouer, the Captaines ſeeing their men diſcouraged, gaue aduice that they ſhould no more runinto the danger of the war, nor hazard any thing. He ſaith moreouer that the *Romans* in the

Philin.

 purſuit

purſuit of the *Carthaginians*, not onely ruined their Prouince, and that of the *Saragoſſins*, but alſo layed ſiege to *Saragoſſe*. This Speech is ſo farre from reaſon, as it were but loſt time to ſeeke to confute it: For he pretends that they which beſieged *Meſſina*, (to whom he giues the Victory) preſently after abandoned their Campe, and that they fled, retiring into the Citty with great feare, and that finally they were beſieged. In regard of thoſe he affirmes were beſieged by the *Carthaginians*, after the battell loſt, he makes them ſuddainly Victors, and beſieging *Saragoſſe*, hauing taken their Camps, and made courſes into the Enemies Countrey. Doubtleſſe theſe are diſcourſes which cannot well A be reconciled; for either that which he ſaith firſt, is falſe, or that which followeth: But it is certaine, and knowne to all men, that the *Carthaginians* and *Saragoſſins* abandoned their Campe, and raiſed the ſiege retiring into their Towne, and that the *Romans* vſed great dilligence to beſiege *Saragoſſe*: Wherefore the probability is great, that his firſt Speech is falſe, and that notwithſtanding the *Romans* had gotten the Victory before *Meſſina*, yet this Hiſtoriographer hath ſuppoſed that they were defeated by the *Carthaginians*. You ſhall often ſee *Philin* in this errour: and *Fabin* no leſſe, as we haue obſerued in many places. Wherefore to returne where we left, we will vſe all poſſible indeauour to make the truth B of our Hiſtory cleere and plaine, for thoſe that deſire to vnderſtand it.

Marcus Valerius and *Oſtacilius* Conſuls.

After that the newes of *Sicily* were come to *Rome* of the Victory of *Appius* and his men, *Marcus Valerius* and *Oſtacilius* being newly choſen Conſuls, they were ſent thither with all their *Roman* power. The

The order of the Romane Armies, and the number of men in a Legion.

Romans had foure Legions in their Army of their owne Nation, beſides the ſuccours which they drew from their Allies. Euery Legion conſiſted of foure thouſand Foote, and three hundred Horſe. By this meanes at the Conſuls comming, many Citties aſwell of the *Carthaginians*, as of the *Saragoſſins*, yeelded to the *Romans*. But when as *Hieron* ſaw that the *Sicilians* fainted, and that the *Roman* Army was great, and their C forces increaſed, he held it better to follow their party, then that of the *Carthaginians*. He therefore ſends an Embaſſie to the Conſuls, to treate of Peace and Friendſhip.

The *Romans* ſeeing the *Carthaginians* Maiſters of all the Sea, fearing likewiſe that the paſſage for their Victuals might be interdicted, for that their Armies which had formerly paſt, had ſuffred great wants and neceſſities, they found the friendſhip of *Hieron* to be of great conſequence for them in this regard. Wherefore they treated a peace with

An accord betwixt *Hieron* and the *Romans* and what it containes.

the *Saragoſſins* vnder theſe following Conditions. Firſt, that the King ſhould free the *Roman* Priſoners without Ranſome, and moreouer D ſhould pay a hundred Tallents of Siluer, and that hereafter the *Saragoſſins* ſhould terme themſelues Allies and Friends to the *Romans*. Afterwards *Hieron*, who of his owne free will put himſelfe vnder their protection, ſuccourd them with men and victuals when need required: So as afterwards he paſt the Remainder of his life with as great happineſſe and fortune that euer *Grecian* had done. And in my Opinion this was an excellent man amongſt others, who had beene alwayes happy in good Councell, aſwell for the affaires of the Common-wealth, as for his

his owne particular. When as the newes of this Treaty came to *Rome*, and that the people had confirmed it, they did not thinke it necessary hereafter to send all their forces out of *Italy*: Wherefore conceiuing that two Legions would suffice there with the alliance of King *Hieron*, they made their reckoning, that the Warre would be more easily managed, and that by this meanes the Army would be the better supplied with all things necessary. But whereas the *Carthaginians* saw that *Hieron* was become their Enemy, and that the *Romans* held the greatest part of *Sicily*, they knew well that they must haue a greater power to
A resist them; Wherefore they made a great leuy of *Genenois* and *Gaules* likewise of *Spaniards* to fortifie them: And after they had caused them to passe into *Sicily*, and seeing the Towne of *Agragas* very fit for the preparation of this Warre, and that it was a frontier place, and strong towards the Enemy, they put into it all the men they could draw together with store of Munition, making vse of it against the Enemy as of a Fort for the Warre. Supplies which the *Carthaginians* put into *Agragas*.

After the accord past by the Consuls with *Hieron*, they left the Prouince; in whose place *Lucius Posthumus*, and *Quintus Emilius* newly chosen Consuls, come into *Sicily* with an Army: who after they had
B carefully considered of the *Carthaginians* Designes, and their preparations for Warre made in the Towne of *Agragas*, they were of opinion to mannage the affaires of *Sicily* with greater courage and resolution then the last Consuls had done: Wherefore they drew together all their Army, and besieged *Agragas* within eight Furlongs, and so kept in the Enemy. The time of Harueſt was come, euery man made his reckoning that the Siege would be long; wherefore the Souldiers straying from their Campe, aduentured somewhat too farre in the gathering of Corne. When the *Carthaginians* saw their Enemies thus dispersed, running here and there confidently throughout the Prouince, they conceiued a great hope that they should one day be able to defeate them; whereupon
C some of them assaulted the Campe with great fury, and the rest charged those which gathered Corne. But the diuersity of the action saued the *Romans* for that day, as it had done many times before; they hauing a custome to put those to death, which abandon the place which is appointed them during the fight, or which flye from the Campe vpon any occasion whatsoeuer. By this meanes although the *Carthaginians* were farre greater in number, yet the *Romans* resisted them valliantly, who with great losse of their men made a greater slaughter of their Enemies. Finally, they not onely repulsed them from their Campe, but pursued them, killing part of them, and forcing the rest to retire in a thrung into the Towne. Moreouer that day was so dangerous to both Armies, as af-
D terwards their feare was great, so as the *Carthaginians* durst no more assault the *Romans* Campe inconsiderately, nor the *Romans* suffer their men to gather Corne rashly. But for that the *Carthaginians* made no more sallies, but did onely fight a farre off with casting of Darts and Stones, the Consuls deuided their Army in two: whereof the one was planted on the side of *Esculapius* Temple, and the other on that side which doth looke directly vnto *Heracleum*: And that

Agragas besieged by the *Romans*.

Seuerity of the *Romans* towards their Souldiers.

which remained betwixt the two Camps of either ſide of the Towne, was rampered with a double ranke of Piles: Then they made a Trench betwixt them and the Towne, to guard themſelues from the Enemies ſallies, and another without the Campe, to hinder the ſuccours which the Neighbour-townes doe vſually ſend to the beſieged. The places which were betwixt the Trenches and the Campe were well guarded. Moreouer all the Allies vſed great diligence to bring into the Towne of *Erbeſe*, victuals, and all things neceſſary for the Campe; ſo as the Souldiers liued at more eaſe, for it was not farre off.

The *Romans* and the *Carthaginians* were fiue Moneths in this eſtate, A fortune ſhewing herſelfe no more fauorable to the one then to the other: But what happened by their ſhooting and caſting of Darts: But when as hunger began to preſſe the *Carthaginians*, by reaſon of the great multitude of Men which were coopt vp within the Towne, (they were in truth aboue fifty thouſand Men) *Hanibal* who was Generall of the Army, hauing no more hope, ſends ſpeedily to *Carthage*, to acquaint them with the Rampire and Palliſado made about the Towne, and to demaund ſuccours. The *Carthaginians* moued at this Newes, raiſed an Army with a great number of Elephants, and ſent them by Sea into *Sicily* to *Hanno*, who was another Captaine Generall for them: who B after he had drawne together his whole Army, marcht to the Citty of *Heracleum*, and at the firſt (after he had conſidered what was to be done) he tooke the Towne of *Erbeſe* by Treaſon, the which vntill that day had beene a Store-houſe to the *Romans*. By this meanes he depriued them of Victuals and other things neceſſary for their Campe: wherefore the *Romans* were no leſſe beſieged, then they that were beſieged. The want of Victuals did often force them in a manner to reſolue to raiſe the Siege: the which vndoubtedly they would haue done, if *Hieron* King of *Saragoſſe* had not vſed great diligence to furniſh the Army with Victuals and other neceſſaries.

Fifty thouſand men within *Agragas*.

But when that *Hanno* (after all theſe things) ſaw that the *Romans* C were much oppreſt with diſeaſes, and want of all things (without doubt the plague was great in their Campe) and that his Men were freſh, and reſolute to fight, he drew together aboue fifty Elephants: And when as all the bands of Souldiers were aſſembled, he drawes his Army out of *Heracleum*, and cauſeth the *Numidian* Horſe-men to march before, giuing them charge to skirmiſh, and to doe all their indeauours to draw the *Romane* Horſe-men to fight, vpon whoſe charge they ſhould turne head, and not ceaſe to flye vntill they were returned vnto him. The *Numidians* failed not to execute the Command of their Cap- D taine, nor to skirmiſh with one of the Camps to draw them to fight. Preſently the *Romane* Horſe-men charge them, and purſue them indiſcreetly: But the *Numidians* obſeruing the Commandment flye backe to *Hanno*, and re-charging the Enemy againe, ſlew many, chaſing the reſt vnto their Campe.

A skirmiſh offered the *Romans* by the *Numidians*.

After theſe things the *Carthaginians* marched, and planted themſelues vpon Mount *Toro*, which was not tenne Furlongs from the Enemies Campe. Continuing in this manner for the ſpace of two Moneths,

Moneths, they attempted not any thing, but skirmiſhed daily with their Arrowes and Darts. In the meane time *Hanibal* made fires often in the Night, and ſent men to *Hanno*, to aduertiſe him that the Army could endure hunger no longer, and that many of his men were retired to the Enemy for want of Victuals. Finally, *Hanno* moued by theſe reaſons, put his men in Battell: wherein the Conſull vſed no leſſe diligence in regard of their neceſſities. Either Army drew forth in Battell into an equall place: Then they came to combate, whereas they charged one another with great fury. The Battell was long and cruell: A Finally, the *Romans* brake the Vanguard, and forced them to fly among the Elephants: who being terrified, opened the rankes of the *Carthaginians*. The Captaines of Hundreds following the Route of the Elephants, forced the Enemies to turne head. By this meanes the *Carthaginians* hauing loſt the Battell, and part of them ſlaine, the reſt retired to *Heracleum*: and the *Romans* after the taking of moſt of the Elephants, and all the baggage of the *Carthaginians*, retired to their Campe. But for that they were negligent to keepe a good Guard the night following, aſwell for the great ioy which men vſually haue for their good fortune, as for the toyle of the Battell paſt: *Hanibal* being fruſtrate of all B hope, thought this a fit and conuenient time to ſaue himſelfe and his Army, for the reaſon aboue mentioned. Wherefore he drew all his forces out of *Agragas*, and paſſed thorough the Enemies Trenches, filling them with ſtraw: By this meanes he eſcaped without any loſſe, and without their priuity.

A battell betwixt the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*.

The *Carthaginians* loſe the Battell.

The Retreate of *Hanibal* from *Agragas*.

At the breake of day, when as the *Romans* were aduertiſed of this Retreat, they followed the Enemy a little; but returning ſoone to take the Towne, they gaue an aſſault vnto the Gates, where they found no reſiſtance. The whole Army entred and ſpoyled: It was a rich Towne, where as the Souldiers tooke many Slaues, and got great Wealth. C When as the newes came to *Rome* of the taking of *Agragas*, after the deſeate of the *Carthaginians*, the *Romans* lifted vp their Heads, and beganne to conceiue greater Deſignes. They did no longer inſiſt vpon the reaſons for the which they were firſt mooued; neyther were they ſatisfied, for that they had preſerued the *Mamertins* and *Meſſina*, or to haue much weakned the *Carthaginians* in *Silily*: But hoping for greater Matters, they deſired to chaſe them away wholly, which done they had a great Hope and opinion to inlarge their Empire much. They were therefore very attentiue to this buſineſſe, and had no thoughts but of *Sicily*: knowing well that they were vndoubtedly the ſtronger at D land.

Agragas ſpoiled by the *Romans*.

After the taking then of *Agragas*, *Lucius Valerius*, and *Titus Octacilius* being choſen Conſulls they were ſent into *Sicily* with a great Army. Thus the Warre was in a manner equall, for that the *Carthaginians* were Maiſters of the Sea without contradiction; whereof this is the reaſon; for after the taking of *Agragas*, moſt of the Townes which were in the heart of *Sicily*, yeelded to the *Romans*, fearing their Army at Land: But when as the *Carthaginians* Army by Sea was arriued, many more Sea-townes yeelded for feare to their Obedience.

Thus their forces were equall. Many times alſo the Sea coaſts of *Italy* were ſpoyled by the courſes of their Army at Sea, the which *Affriche* did not ſuffer. The *Romans* conſidering carefully of theſe things, reſolued to fight with their Enemies by Sea.

This is the thing which hath mooued me moſt to Write this preſent Warre more at large, to the end the Reader may not be ignorant of this beginning, that is to ſay, in what manner and for what cauſes, and in what time, the people of *Rome* were induced to put an Army to Sea, and to fight with their Enemy. Seeing then that there was no probabillity that the Warre ſhould be otherwiſe ended, the *Romans* ſpeedily made ſixe ſcore Veſſels for the Sea, whereof a Hundred were *Quinqueremes* or of fiue bankes, and the reſt were *Triremes*. It is true that the *Quinqueremes* were more difficult to make, for that they had neuer vſed any ſuch Veſſels in *Italy* vntill that time. Wherein the excellency and great courage of the *Romans* is worthy of admiration, conſidering they had neuer beene inclined to actions by Sea, neyther had they euer thought of it vntill that day; yet they aduentured it with ſuch courage and reſolution, as they had ſooner fought with the *Carthaginians*, then made triall of the dangers of the Sea. Although the others held at that time, in that circuite of the World the principallity and commaund of the Sea, as formerly gotten by their Predeceſſours, and left it vnto them as an hereditary right: which is a ſingular teſtimony of the things which we haue Written, of the *Romans* boldneſſe and courage. Beleeue me, when they firſt aduentured to paſſe their Army to *Meſſina*, they were only a Hundred ſhips of War, and moreouer they had not one Galley nor one Briggandine. It is true when they vndertooke the Voyage of *Sicily* with an Army, they made vſe of the *Quinqueremes* and *Triremes* of the *Tarrentines*, *Locreins*, and *Neapolitans*.

Sixe ſcore veſſels for the Sea made ſpeedily by the *Romans*.

A

B

At that time many *Carthaginian* Ships ſcoured the Seas about *Sicily*, whereof a *Quinquereme* ſtraying farre from the reſt, was broken by caſualty, and afterwards taken by the *Romans*, which afterwards ſerued them for a patterne to make the like, ſo as all their ſhips were made in that manner. Wherefore if this had not hapned, they would haue found themſelues much troubled in their enterpriſe. Whileſt theſe were a making, they did practiſe a number of men to the Oare after this manner. They did ſet bankes in order vpon the Sand, vpon the which the men that were to Rowe were placed, being attentiue to the voice of the Patron or Gouernour, who was in the middeſt of them, where as they did learne to ſtretch foorth, and pull backe their armes altogether, and did draw their Oares in the Sand; finally they beganne and ended altogether according to the Patrons whiſtle. By this meanes hauing learned the Arte to Rowe, and their ſhips finiſhed, they put to Sea, and within few dayes after made a Tryall. And when as the Conſull *Cornelius*, lately appointed Commaunder of the Sea Army, had giuen charge to the Sea Captaines, to draw vnto the Port aſſoone as the Veſſels ſhould be ready, he went directly to *Meſſina* with ſeauenteene ſhips, and left the reſt vpon the *Italian* ſhore, whereas hauing

C

The *Romans* inuention to inure their men to the Oare.

D

uing made prouiſion of things neceſſary for the equipage of his ſhips, he ſailes vpon neceſſity directly to *Lipparo* ſooner then was needfull. At that time *Hanibal* Commaunder of the *Carthaginians*, kept his Sea Army at *Palermo*, who being aduertiſed of the Conſuls comming, ſent one *Boodes* a Senator of *Carthage*, with twenty ſhips to draw into that Quarter: Who arriuing by night, found the *Roman* ſhips, and beſieged them in the Port, ſo as at the breake of day, the multitude got to Land.

But *Gneius Cornelius* thus vnfortunately ſurpriſed, could finde no o-
A ther meanes but to yeild himſelfe vnto the Enemy. The *Carthaginians* after this priſe returned to *Hanibal*; ſoone after this apparent and new defeate of *Cornelius*, *Hanibal* (to whom Fortune was at that time gracious) receiued as great a loſſe. He had intelligence that the *Romanes* Army at Sea, which coaſted about *Italy*, was not farre from *Sicily*. Wherefore deſiring wonderfully to ſee their number, and their order, and the manner of the trimming of their ſhips, he takes fifty Veſſells and ſailes into *Italy*. But for that he had a contrary VVind, the which was fauourable to the *Romanes* by the reaſon of the Coaſt of *Italy*, he fell vnaduiſedly into their Army, which was in order and in Battell,
B where he was ſuddainly charged, ſo as he loſt in a manner all his ſhips, and ſaued himſelfe with very few contrary to his Hope, and the opinion of all the VVorld.

Certaine of the *Roman* ſhips with their commaunder Surpriſed by a *Carthaginian* Conſull.

A defeate of *Hanibals* ſhips, for want of a good Wind.

The *Romanes* after this defeate, approached neerer vnto *Sicily*, and being aduertiſed by the Priſoners of the Conſuls ouer-throw, they ſent ſpeedily to *Caius Duellius* Conſull, hauing at that time the charge of the Army by Land: Where hauing attended ſome ſpace, and receiued newes that the Enemies Army at Sea was not farre off, they all prepared to battell. They planted vpon euery one of their ſhips, (for that they were ill built and heauy,) a kind of Engine, which was afterwards called a Rauen; behold the faſhion of this Engine. They did
C ſet a Pillar or Maſt of foure fathome long, and nine inches thicke vpon the Prowe, the which had alſo a pulley on the top, and one the ſide was made an aſſent of boards all along, the which was foure foot broade and foure fathome long; the paſſage was turning about the pillar, in the two firſt fathomes of the aſſent: About the which were barres of eyther ſide to the height of a mans knee, and they had ſet at the end of it an Iron like vnto a peſtell, which went vp ſtreight, the which had on the top of it a King, ſo as altogether ſeemed as an Engine wherewith they pound things. To this Ring was faſtned a cord, by meanes whereof at the encounter of the ſhips, they faſtned the Rauens by the pulley, and let them fall vpon their Enemies ſhips. Some-
D times at the Prowe, ſometimes on the ſide in turning, when as they could not aſſaile them by the flanke; and after that the Rauens were faſtned within the bands of the ſhips, and that the Veſſels were grapled and faſt, if they found themſelues vpon the ſide, they entred it of all ſides: And if it were by the Prowe, they marcht by the bridge two and two to the Combate, whereof the firſt couered their bodies with their Targets, and they which followed defended the flankes,

An Engine inuented by the *Romans* called a Rauen.

and

and held their Targets euen with the bars. When as this Equipage at Sea was ready, they attended a conuenient time for the battell. When as *Caius Duelius* had beene ſuddainly aduertiſed, of the miſ-fortune of the Commaunder at Sea, he left that at Land to the Tribunes of the men of Warre, and makes haſt to that at Sea. And being aduertiſed that the *Carthaginians* ſpoyl'd the Country of *Mylæ*, hee drew thither with his whole Army: But when the Enemy was certayne of his comming, they were in great hope, thinking the *Romanes* vnderſtood not any thing in Sea-fights. Wherefore they drew out to Sea, with an Equipage of ſixe ſcore and ten Veſſels, thinking this War not worthy of any order of battell, as if they had gone to a certaine booty. Whereof this *Hanibal* who (as wee ſayd) retyred his Army by night, and paſt ouer the Enemies Trenches,) was Commaunder. He had a Veſſell of ſeauen bankes which did ſometimes belong to *Pyrrhus* King of the *Epirotes*. A

When as the two Armies beganne to approach, and that their Engines called Rauens were diſcouered, the *Carthaginians* were a time in ſuſpence for the nouelty. Finally whatſoeuer it were, without any further reckoning they charge with great fury. The ſhips ioyn'd and grapled, ſo as the *Romane* ſouldiers by meanes of their Engines called Rauens, entred their enemies ſhips, where there was a great ſlaughter made of the *Carthaginians*. The reſt being amazed at this kind of Engines, yeilded: you would haue ſayd it had beene a battell at Land, where the danger is not leſſe. The thirty Veſſells of the *Carthaginians*, which gaue the firſt Charge were taken, among the which was that of the Captayne, which we haue ſayd had belonged vnto King *Pyrrhus*. *Hanibal* whoſe Fortune was otherwiſe then he expected, ſaued himſelfe in a little Skiffe: The reſt of the *Carthaginian* Army came with great fury agaynſt their Enemies, as the former had done; but when they were aduertiſed that their firſt ſhips had beene taken by the meanes of the Engines, they did not charge in Front, thinking to auoyde them, but came vpon their flanke, truſting to the lightneſſe of their Veſſels, thinking by this meanes to auoyde the violence of their Engines; but they were made in ſuch ſort as of what ſide ſoeuer the Enemy approached, they could eaſily grapple with them. Wherefore the *Carthaginians* amazed with the ſtrangeneſſe of theſe Engines, in the end fled, after the loſſe of fifty of their ſhips. B C

A battel at Sea betwixt the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*.

The flight of the *Carthaginians*.

The *Romans* being now become maſters of the Sea, contrary vnto their Hope, ſayl'd about the Sea towards *Segeſtane*, and rayſed the ſiege which lay before the Towne. Then parting from thence, they tooke the Towne of *Macelle* by aſſault. After this battell at Sea, when as *Amilcar* (being then Captayne Generall in *Sicily* of the Army by Land) was aduertiſed, remayning at *Panorme*, that there was a great quarrell betwixt the *Romanes* and their Allies, touching the proweſſe and glory of the Combate, and that the Allies after they had beene beaten, were retired apart betwixt *Prope* and *Termine*, hee marcht with all ſpeed to the Allies Campe, and ſlew foure thouſand by ſurprize. *Hanibal* after all theſe Fortunes, retyred to *Carthage*, with D

Macelle taken by aſſault.

A defeate of foure thouſand men, allied to the *Romans* by *Amilcar*.

with those few ships which he had remaining at the battell. Within few dayes after he was dispatcht to goe with an Army into *Sardinia*, with some excellent Sea Captaines, but he was soone inclos'd in a Port by the *Romans*, and in a manner lost his whole Army: And as he had escaped the Enemy, he was suddainly taken by the *Carthaginians* which had saued themselues, and was crucified. Moreouer the *Romans* imployed all their care to seize vpon *Sardinia*, being now Masters of the Sea.

Hanniball crucified.

The yeare following there was not any thing done worthy of Memory in *Sicily* by the Roman Army. *Caius Sulpicius*, and *Aulus Rutilius* were afterward made Consuls, and sent to *Palermo*, for that the *Carthaginians* forces wintred there. And after the *Romans* had past, they put themselues in battell before the Towne: But the *Carthaginians* being within it, presented northemselues to battell. The which the *Romans* seeing, they left *Palermo*, and went to *Hippane*, the which soone after they tooke by assault: The Towne of *Mysistrate* was taken likewise by the Consuls, hauing held out sometime by reason of the scituation of the place. And as they had besieged the Citty of the *Camerins*, which had lately abandoned the *Romans*, it was taken by force by the meanes of their Batteries and breaches: Afterwards *Aeta* was carried by assault with many other Townes of the *Carthaginians*; *Lippare* was also besieged. The yeare following, the Sea-army of the *Romans* lay in the Hauen of the *Tindaretins* vnder the charge of *Aulus Rutilius*, who seeing the *Carthaginian* Army neere the shore, he sent word vnto his ships to make haste to follow him. In the meane time he put to Sea before the rest, only with ten Vessels: But when as the *Carthaginians* saw that some did but imbarque, others began to set saile, and the first were farre from their Fleet, and neere vnto them; they turned with incredible swiftnesse, and compast them in, so as most part of them were sunke, and the Consuls ship had like to haue fallen into the *Carthaginians* hands, with all that were within it: He hardly escaped by the force of his Oares and lightnesse.

Hippane and *Mysistrate* taken with many other Townes.

Aulus Rutilius Consull.

In the meane time the rest of the Romane Army, which had gotten into the open sea, encountred the Enemy, whereof ten ships were taken, and eight sunke, and the rest recouered the Ilands called *Lipparees*. But howsoeuer either of them parted from this Combate with an Opinion to haue gotten the Victory: Wherefore they were more eager to continue the War by Sea, and were more attentiue to Marrine affaires. As for their Armies at Land, during this time, they did nothing worthy of Note, busying themselues about small things, and of little esteeme. But the Summer following hauing giuen order for their affaires, (as we haue said) they prepared to Warre. In regard of the *Romans*, they made their assembly at *Messina*, to the number of three hundred and thirty Vessels armed; and saying from thence leauing *Sicily* on the right hand, and passing the Promontory of *Pachina*, they sayled to *Echnomen*, whereas the Army by Land attended them. The *Carthaginians* in like manner put to Sea, with three hundred and fifty Sayle armed, and stayed at *Lilybeum*, and from

The *Romans* Army by Sea.

The Promontory of *Pachina*.

The *Carthaginians* Army of three hundred and fifty sayle.

from thence went to *Heracleum*, and ſo to *Minoe*. The *Romans* intention was to paſſe into *Affricke*, and there to make their chiefe War, to the end the *Carthaginians* ſhould not onely run the hazard of the War of *Sicily*, but alſo haue it at their owne Houſes. On the other ſide the *Carthaginians* conſidering how eaſily their deſcent would be into *Lybia*, and what little defence the Countrey-men would make when they ſhould be once entred, they deſired to fight preſently with the *Romans*, and by that meanes to hinder the deſcent into *Affricke*. Wherefore the one being reſolued to defend themſelues, and the other to aſſaile them, conſidering the obſtinacy of either party, there was likely-hood of an vndoubted battell. When as the *Romans* had giuen order for all things neceſſary for the equipage of their Sea-army, and to make their deſcent into *Affricke*, they made choice of the ableſt men in all their Army at Land, and imbark'd them, and then deuided their Army into foure, whereof either had two Names. The firſt was called the firſt Battalion, and the firſt Army: So were the reſt according to their order, but the fourth and the third were called *Triarij*, as in an Army at Land. All this Army at Sea amounted to aboue 140000. men. Euery Veſſell had three hundred Rowers, and ſixe ſcore Leginaries. A

An Army of 140000. *Romans* and more *Carthaginians.*

In regard of the *Carthaginians*, they were furniſhed onely with men accuſtomed with Sea-fights, being in number aboue 150000. men, according to the order of their Veſſels. Wherefore they that were preſent and ſaw the great danger, and power of the two Armies, the great charges, the multitude of combatants, and of ſhips, they did not only wonder, but they alſo who heard ſpeake of it. The *Romans* conſidering that vpon neceſſity they muſt goe vpon the ſide, and that their Enemies ſayl'd more lightly, they imployed all their Art to make their battell ſtrong and inuincible. For the effecting whereof they ſet two Veſſels in front of ſixe Bankes in equall diſtance, in the which were *Marcus Attilius*, and *Lucius Manlius*. After which march'd the firſt and ſecond Battalion of either ſide, their ſhips following one another, ſo as the diſtance of the two Battalions did ſtill inlarge themſelues. The ſtems of their ſhips looked outward. By this meanes the Battalions drawne thus in length, made the two parts of a Triangle, to the which they added the third Battalion in the ſame faſhion, as a foundation, ſo as the three Battalions made a perfect figure of a Triangle. After the third Battalion the ſhips which carried the Horſes, were ordered one after another, ſeruing as a Rampier to the third Battalion. B C

The *Triarij* followed after in their order, making the fourth Battalion, euery Veſſell being ordered in ſuch ſort, as they paſt the precedent on either ſide. All the Romane Army was thus ordered, whereof the firſt part, that is to ſay, the two ſides of the point of the Triangle, were empty in the midſt: but the ſides following after the foundation were better ſupplied. By this meanes their Army was firme and hard to breake. D

A Remonſtrance made by the *Carthaginian* Captaines to the Souldiers of their Army.

In the meane time the Commaunders of the *Carthaginians* drew their Souldiers together, and put courage into them, letting them vnderſtand, that if they wone the battell, there would be no more War but in *Sicily*: But if the *Romans* had the Victory, they muſt expect not to fight

fight for *Sicily*, but for their owne Countrey, their Houſes and their Children.

After this exhortation, they make them imbarque; the which they did reſolutely, and prepared to fight, thinking of the time to come, according to the diſcourſe of their Captaines: Who ſeeing the order of the *Roman* Army, deuided theirs likewiſe into foure; whereof three gayning the Sea, making the Right-wing longer, ſtayed as if they would inviron their Enemies, againſt whom they turne their beake-heads; and they make the Fort to looke towards the Land, by a circuite of the Left
A wing of the whole Army. *Hanno* and *Amilcar* were Commaunders of the *Carthaginians*, *Hanno* (who was defeated at the battell of *Agragas*) had the leading of the Right wing, with the lighteſt Veſſels, and *Amilcar* of the Left. This is he who as we haue ſayd, fought at Sea neere vnto *Tyndaris*, who hazarding then the middeſt of his Army, vſed this kind of Stratagem of War for the Combate.

The *Romans* ſeeing at the firſt charge, that the Battalion of the *Carthaginians* was weake, forc'd reſolutely thorough them: But the *Carthaginians* obſeruing the Commaundment of *Amilcar*, left the place preſently, making ſhew to flye, to the end the *Roman* Army ſhould ſe-
B parate it ſelfe, whom the *Romans* followed with too great heate: And therefore the firſt and ſecond Battalion ſayl'd with too great Courage after the Enemy, but the third and fourth were ſtayed, drawing after them the ſhips that were laden with Horſes, with whom the *Triarij* remained for their Guard. When as the two firſt ſeemed to be farre from the others, the *Carthaginians* after a ſigne giuen them by *Amilcar*, as he had inſtructed them, turning the Prow ſuddainly, they all aſſault the Roman Veſſels which followed them.

A Battell at Sea betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*.

The Combat was cruell; It is true, the *Carthaginians* had a great aduantage by their lightneſſe, and their pollicy in turning: But when as they came to fight, and that the Armies affronted one another, the
C *Romans* had no leſſe hope then the *Carthaginians*, for the Force and Proweſſe of their men, and by the ſtaying of their Ships, and caſting of their Engines, and finally by the Combate of the two Commaunders, and the hazard they were in their fight.

This was the eſtate of the Battell: Preſently after *Hanno*, who as we haue ſayd had the charge of the Right wing, and did not budge before the firſt charge was giuen, ſeeing the Battell begun with the *Romans*, went to Sea and charged the *Triarij*, where there was a great fight, the which was long in ſuſpence. In the meane time the fourth Battalion of the *Carthaginians*, which continued neere the ſhore, turning the Prow vpon the Enemy, aſſaulted the Battalion in
D front, by the which the ſhips which carried the Horſes were towed, who ſuddainly ſlipt the Ropes and fought with great fury.

There they ſaw three parts of the Battell, and three Combats at Sea at one inſtant, in three diuers places, and farre remote. The Combate was equall, for that the Ships of eyther ſide were of the like number. Without doubt euery man performed his Duty in fighting, ſo as all was indifferent and equall. Finally,

Amilcar vanquiſhed.

Amilcar was defeated, and forced to flye with his Squadron. And *Lucius Manlius* towed away the ſhips that were taken. In the meane time *Attilius* ſeeing the Combate of the *Triarij*, and of the ſhips wherein the Horſes were, came preſently to ſuccour them with the Veſſels of the ſecond Battalion, which were yet whole and entire: But when as the *Triarij* who had beene long and violently charged by *Hanno*, ſo as they were in great danger, ſaw the Conſull come, they reſumed courage, and recharged him reſolutely: And then the *Carthaginians* being much diſcontented to haue an Enemy in front and behinde, and to be inueſted by ſuccours contrary to their expectation, gained A the open Sea, relying vpon the lightneſſe of their Veſſels, and ſaued themſelues by flight. And *Lucius Manlius* in the meane time ſeeing the third Battalion preſt neere the ſhore by the left wing of the *Carthaginians*, and *Marcus Attilius* in like manner, leauing the ſhips with the Horſes and the *Triarij* in ſafety, reſolued both together to ſuccour thoſe that were in danger: For they were in a manner beſieged, and almoſt at the laſt gaſpe, and had beene defeated, if the *Carthaginians* had not feared to ioyne with them by reaſon of their Engines or Rauens: Neither did they preſſe vpon them, but onely to chaſe them to the ſhore. Finally, the *Carthaginians* were ſuddainly compaſt in by the B Conſuls, whereof fifty of their ſhips were taken with the men. Some being driuen vnto the ſhore, ſaued themſelues. Behold the three ſeuerall Combats which the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* had in one day: Yet the *Romans* in the end had the Victory of the whole Battell: In the which 24 of their ſhips were broken and aboue thirty of the *Carthaginians*. There was not one *Roman* Veſſell taken whole by the *Carthaginians* with the men. But the *Romans* tooke three ſcore and foure of the *Carthaginians* with all the men. Soone after this battell, the *Romans* parted with an intent to ſayle directly into *Lybia*, after they had made prouiſion of Victuals, and all other munition, ioyning to their Army the C ſhips taken, being well repaired.

A Victory of the *Romans* againſt the *Carthaginians*.

The Cape of *Mercure*.

There is a place in *Affricke* which they call the Cape of *Mercure*, running farre into the Sea, and is directly againſt *Sicily*, where the *Romans* arriuing and receiuing their Veſſels, repaired all: Then paſſing this ſtrond, they ſayled vnto the Citty of *Aſpis*, where they put their Army in Battell neere vnto the Towne, and retired their ſhips, rampering them with Ditches and Palliſadoes, reſoluing to beſiege it, for that they which held it would not yeeld to the *Romans*. It is true that the *Carthaginians* who a little before had eſcaped from the Battell at ſea, and recouered *Carthage* by flight, furniſhed the moſt neceſſary places be- D longing to their Citty, with Horſe and Foot, and with neceſſary ſhipping, ſuppoſing that the *Roman* Army after the Victory would come directly vnto them. But when they were aduertiſed of their deſcent, and of the ſiege of *Aſpis*, they leuied men, and regarding no more the landing of the *Romans*, but hauing an eye aſwell to forreigne affaires as to their owne Countrey, they omitted nothing of that which was neceſſary for the Guard of the Citty and Prouince. In the meane time the Conſuls after they had taken *Aſpis* by aſſault, and

Aſpis taken by the *Romans*.

put

put a *Garriſon* into it, and in the Country, and had ſent vnto *Rome* to aduertiſe the *Senate* of their ſucceſſe, to the end they might conſider what was afterwards to be done, they drew the whole Army into the *Carthaginians* Country, where they found no Reſiſtance, ſpoyling and ſetting fire on their goodly and glorious buildings, ſo as they carried away a booty of all ſorts of Beaſts, with aboue twenty thouſand Priſoners, which were Embarked.

Courſes made by the *Romans* in the *Carthaginians* Country.

In the meane time they receiued newes from *Rome*, by the which the Senate ſent them word, that one of the Conſuls ſhould remayne
A in *Affricke*, with ſufficient forces, and that the other ſhould Returne with the ſhips. The pleaſure of the *Senate* being knowne, *Marcus Attilius Regulus* ſtayed in *Affricke* with forty ſhips, fifteene thouſand foote, and fiue hundred Horſe, and *Marcus Manlius* ſet ſayle with the reſt of the ſhips and Army, hauing the Priſoners with him, and arriued firſt in *Sicily*, and then at *Rome* without any miſchance. But the *Carthaginians* fore-ſeeing that the *Romans* War would be long, they firſt made two Generall Captaynes in their Army, which were *Aſdruball* the ſonne of *Hanno*, and *Boſtar*: Moreouer they ſent for *Amilcar*,
B who was in *Heracleum*, who Embarking preſently with fiue thouſand foote, and fiue hundred Horſe, came to *Carthage*, and was conſtituted the third Captayne of the Army, taking the Conduct of the War with *Aſdruball* and *Boſtar*.

Aſdruball, *Boſtar*, and *Amilcar* Commaunders of the *Carthaginians* Army.

When as theſe Captaynes had held a Councell, concerning the Affayres of the War, they were of opinion that it was neceſſary to relieue the Prouince, and not to indure ſo great a pillage and ſpoyle of the Country. *Marcus Attilius* ſome few dayes before marching into the Country, razed the weaker Caſtles, and beſieged the ſtronger. But when he was come to the Citty of *Adis* which was worthy of a ſiege, he plants himſelfe before it, and indeauours to force it. The
C *Carthaginians* aduertiſed hereof made haſt to ſuccour it, deſiring to Raiſe the ſiege. And therefore they march with all their power againſt the *Romans*, Recouering a little Hill to the preiudice of their Enemies, and very commodious for themſelues: Whereon planting their Camp, they hoped for an abſolute Victory, by the meanes of their Horſe and Elephants. Leauing therefore the playne, they drew into high and vneuen places, as if they would aduertiſe the Enemy what they had to doe, the which vndoubtedly they effected. For when the *Romanes* had conſidered the little vſe of Elephants, for they were in a Mountainous and Hilly Country, in the which the Enemies had ſetled their
D chiefe hope, as of great effect and terrible, they aduiſed not to attend their Deſcent into the playne: Wherefore vſing the opportunity of the time, they ſhut them vp at the breake of day in the Mountayne of all ſides.

By this meanes their Caualery and their Elephants were altogether vnprofitable: Their aduenturers onely did their duties in fighting on the top, and had already forced the *Roman* Legionaries to giue backe a little, when as ſuddainly the reſt which had gayned the top of the Mountayne ſhowed themſelues. The *Carthaginians* ſeeing themſelues incloſed of

all ſides, abandoned their Fort, and fled into the deſerts of the Mountaines. The Elephants and Horſes recouered the Playne, and ſaued themſelues without danger. The *Romans* made ſome little purſuite after the footemen, then they ſpoyled the Campe, and ouer-ran the whole Country, waſting all, and ruining the Towne.

Tunes taken by the *Romans* by aſſault.

Some few dayes after they beſieged *Tunes*, which they tooke by aſſault, where they planted their Campe, for that the place ſeemed conuenient vnto them to mannage the Warre, being a frontier to *Carthage* and to the whole Prouince. The *Carthaginians* hauing a little before beene defeated at Sea, and now by Land, not by the cowardize of their Souldiers, but by the baſeneſſe of the Commanders, they fell into a miſerable and deſperate eſtate: For after their laſt defeate and flight by the *Romans*, a great Troupe of *Numidians*, gaping after ſpoyle, fell vpon them, doing them in a manner as great harme as the *Romans*. It is a wandering and vagabone Nation and great theeues, carrying away all they finde. A

The *Numidians* great robbers.

The *Carthaginians* terrified by the *Numidians* abandoned the Country, and retired to *Carthage*, where they ſuffered much, aſwell by famine, as for their owne cowardize, and moreouer the multitude being great they feared a long ſiege: And although that *Marcus Attilius* was perſwaded that the *Carthaginians* were wonderfully weakned, aſwell by Land as Sea, being in hope that the City would be in ſhort time deliuered vnto him: yet fearing that the new Conſull, whom they expected ſoone in *Affricke*, would reape the honour of his proweſſe and valour, he began to treate of a peace with them, whereunto they willingly gaue eare. Wherefore they ſent the chiefe of their City in Embaſſie to the Conſull, to make this treaty. But when as they were arriued, they were ſo farre from agreeing, as they could hardly without choller heare the vnreaſonable things that were enioyn'd them. Make your account that *Marcus Attilius* did hope that his offer would bee accepted as a thing of grace, for that he had preuayled in all his affaires: The *Carthaginians* on the other ſide, thought that when as fortune ſhould reduce them to extremity, the Conſull could not make them a more bitter anſwere. B

Embaſſadours ſent by the *Carthaginians* to *Marcus Attilius*.

C

Their Embaſſadours therefore returned, not onely without any agreement, but deteſting wonderfully the Conſuls anſwere, as to hard and proud. The which being heard by the Senate of the *Carthaginians*, they entered into ſo great an indignation vpon the Conſuls demaund, and reſumed ſuch courage, that although formerly they were out of hope, yet then they reſolued to attend all extremities, and rather to trye their fortune, and to attend the time, then to ſuffer ſo ignominious a thing and vnworthy of their valour. It happened at the ſame time, that ſome one of thoſe which had beene ſent into *Greece*, in the beginning of the warre to Leuie Men, returned and brought with them a good number of Souldiers: among the which there was one *Xantippus* a *Lacedemonian*, a man of Iudgement, and practiſed in the warre: who after that hee had heard a relation of the defeat of the *Carthaginians*, and the manner, the place, and that what time it happened: hauing alſo conſidered the equipage of the D

Xantippus a *Lacedemonian*.

the *Carthaginians*, with the number of their Horſe and Elephants, he returned ſuddainly to his Companions, ſaying, that the ignorance of the Captaines, not the *Romans*, had defeated the *Carthaginians*. This ſpeech ran preſently thoroughout the whole Citty, and came vnto the Princes.

The *Carthaginians* cauſed him to be called, and reſolued to vſe his Councell, who in their preſence deliuered plainly the Reaſons of his ſpeech, and the cauſe of their Defeate; and if they would follow his Councell, and hereafter keepe the Plaines, leauing the hilly Coun-
A try, and there plant their battell, hee would teach them how their Army ſhould be out of danger, and their Enemies Vanquiſhed. The Captaines mooued with the words of *Xantippus*, preſently Reſigned vnto him the Conduct of all this Warre, and now there ranne a bruite throughout the whole Campe of *Xantippus* ſpeech, with great Hope and Ioy. But after that all the Companies of the Army were drawne into the field, and that hee had put them in order, there was ſo great a difference betwixt his and that of the other Captaines, who vnderſtood not the Art of Warre, that preſently the common cry demanded nothing but to fight, ſo much they were aſſured vnder the leading
B of *Xantippus*.

The Leading of the *Carthaginians* Army, giuen to *Xantippus*.

This done, the *Carthaginian* Captaines ſeeing the courage of their Men, exhorted them a little according to the opportunity of the time, and within few dayes after they marched to find out the Enemy. There were in the *Carthaginians* Army aboue twelue thouſand foote, foure thouſand Horſe, and neere a hundred Elephants. When as *Marcus Attilius* heard of the comming of the Enemy, and that the *Carthaginians* kept their Horſes vpon an euen Country, camping contrary vnto their cuſtome on the plaines, hee wondred as at a new accident: Yet hee marcht directly to them deſiring battell, and lodged within twelue hundred paces of their Campe. Three dayes after the *Carthaginian*
C Captaines held a Councell what was to be done: But the multitude deſiring the combate, turned towards *Xantippus*, calling him by his name, with a countenance ſeeming to be willing and ready to vndergo all dangers, and intreated him to lead them ſpeedily vnto the battell. When as the *Carthaginian* Captaines ſaw their Men thus reſolute, and deſirous to fight, and that *Xantippus* ſayd the time was fitting and conuenient, they ſuffred them to prepare to battell, and gaue him leaue to do all at his pleaſure. Who after he had taken charge of the Captaines, hee orders the battell, before the whole Army hee ſets the Elephants one after another. After which hee cauſeth a Legion of *Carthaginians* to march, with ſome diſtance, and placeth the ſtrangers
D vpon the Wings. Then he ordereth the braueſt among his foote, to fight of eyther ſide betwixt the Wings of the Horſe men.

The order of the battell by *Xantippus*.

The *Romans* ſeeing the *Carthaginians* in battell, ſtayed not to doe the like; yet fearing the Violence of the Elephants, they ſet in Front the moſt actiue of their men, re-inforcing their Reare with many Enſignes, and diuiding their Horſe men vpon the Wings. Their Ordonance was leſſe then formerly, but more cloſe, for feare leaſt the E-

lephants

lephants ſhould open them. But as the *Romans* had ſet a good order againſt the Elephants, ſo they had neglected to keepe themſelues from incloſing. For as the *Carthaginians* had a greater number of Horſe, ſo the cloſe Ordonance, gaue them an eaſie meanes to breake and ſeperate them.

Battell giuen by the *Romans* to the *Carthaginians.*

The two Armies being in battell, either attending who ſhould firſt Charge; ſuddainly *Xantippus* cauſeth the Elephants to beginne the Charge, and breake the Enemies rankes, and that the Horſe-men of both Wings ſhould withall charge furiouſly. The *Romanes* cauſe their Trumpets to ſound after the manner of the Country, and charge where the Enemies forces were greateſt. It is true that the *Roman* Horſe-men terrified with the multitude of their Enemies, abandoned the two Wings: And the Foote-men of the left Wing wauing from the Fury of the Elephants, and making no account of the forreigne Souldiers, charged the right Wing of the *Carthaginians* with great fury, and put it to flight, purſuing them vnto their Fort. On the other ſide, they which indured the charge of the Elephants, were broken and trodden vnder their feete by heapes. It is true that the whole Ordnance continued for a time in battell, for that their ſupplies beeing in the Reare were very cloſe. But after that the *Romane* Legions, ſet in the Reare-ward, and compaſſed in of all ſides by the *Carthaginian* Horſe-men, were forced to make reſiſtance there, and that they (who as wee haue ſayd) were appointed to make head againſt the Elephants, were by them repulſed into the thickeſt of the enemies Battalion, where they were defeated and ſlaine, then the *Romans* beeing aſſaulted on all ſides, ſome were beaten downe and ſlaine by the intollerable fury of the Elephants, and others by the Horſe-men, in the ſame place where they had their firſt poſture giuen them, ſome few of them ſeeing no more hope, ſought their ſafety by flight, of which (conſidering that the Country was very plaine) ſome were defeated by the Elephants, and the reſt by the Horſe-men: And ſome flying with *Marcus Attilius*, were taken to the number of fiue hundred.

Marcus Attilius taken with 500. *Romans.*

A B C

The *Carthaginians* loſt that day but fiue hundred Aduenturers ſtrangers, whom the left Wing of the *Romanes* had defeated: But of all the *Romane* Army there eſcaped but two thouſand with their Enſignes, who (as we haue ſayd) purſued a troupe of enemies into their Fort. All the reſt were cut in pieces, except *Marcus Attilius* and a few Men which fled with him; in regard of thoſe Enſignes which beyond all hope eſcaped, they came vnto *Aſpis*. Finally the *Carthaginians* after the ſpoile of the Dead retired to *Carthage*, with the Conſull and other Priſoners, making great ioy and tryumph.

D

A remonſtrance of *Polybius.*

If we ſhall duely conſider this, we ſhall finde many things profitable for the conduct of Man. Firſt, *Marcus Attilius* ſerues for a faire example to all the World, that it is a great folly and indiſcretion, to put his Hope in Fortune, vnder the colour of good ſucceſſe and enterpriſes brought to an end according to our deſire: Who of late after ſo many tryumphant Victories, had not any compaſſion of the *Carthaginians*, being reduced to extremity, refuſing to grant them peace, which they craued

craued with so much humility, hath beene presently after reduced to that constraint, as to make the like request.

Moreouer that which *Euripides* hath formerly spoken so well, that the good Councell of one man alone doth vanquish a great Army, hath beene this day verified by that which hath happened. In truth one man alone, and the Councell of one man, hath vanquished and defeated an Army, formerly invincible; raising and restoring a Towne lost, and the hearts of so many desolate men. Beleeue mee, I haue thought good to relate these actions for the benefit and instruction of the Readers of
A these Commentaries.

For as there are two meanes easily to correct and amend our errours, whereof the one is his owne Misfortune, and the other the example of another mans Miseries; there is no doubt but the first hath greater efficacy, but it is not without the losse and preiudice of him to whom it happens: And although the second be not of so great force, yet it is the better, for that they are out of danger, and therefore no man imbraceth the first meanes willingly, for that they cannot helpe it without their owne trouble and losse. As for the second, euery man followes it willingly; For wee may see by him (without any hazard
B or losse) what wee ought to follow for the best.

Wherefore if wee consider it well, we shall finde that experience (by the remembrance of another mans faults) seemes to be a very good doctrine of a true life: Without doubt it is that alone which makes the good Iudges of reason without any losse: But wee haue discoursed sufficiently of this Subiect.

The *Carthaginians* hauing ended their affaires happily, and to their content, they reioyced in many sorts, both in giuing thankes vnto God; and sacrificing after their manner, or in vsing amongst themselues a mutuall beneuolence and courtesie.

Xantippus returnes into his Country.

C Soone after that *Xantippus* had raised the hearts of the *Carthaginians*, hee returned into his Countrey, as a man well aduised: For the Prowesse and Valour of men, and their Vertues, are many times the cause of great enuy and detraction: Against the which Cittizens that are well allied, and haue many Friends, make easie resistance: But strangers which haue not that support, are easily ruined and defeated. They say hee went away for some other reason, which wee will deliuer when it shall be fitting.

Aspis besieged by the Carthaginian.

After that beyond all hope the *Romans* had receiued Newes of the defeate of their Army in *Affricke*, and the taking of the Con-
D sull: And that the remainder of their men was besieged in *Aspis*, consulting presently of the safety of those which were remaining in *Affricke*, they appointed an Army to bee raised to goe thither with all speede.

In the meane time the *Carthaginians* besieged *Aspis*, striuing to force it, with hope soone to haue this remainder of the Battell: But the Vertue and Courage of the *Romans* which defended it, was so great, as all the Enemies attempts could not preuaile. Wherefore being out of hope to enter it, they raisd the Siege. Soone after

Newes came that the *Romans* prepared an Army at Sea to ſend into *Affricke*: For the which the *Carthaginians* being mooued, they vſed all dilligence to repaire their old Veſſels and to make new. Preſently after they laboured to ſtand vpon their guard, and to hinder the deſcent of the *Romans* into *Affricke*, with two hundred Veſſels armed and well furniſhed: But when as the preparation of three hundred and fifty Roman Veſſels was ready, they ſent *Marcus Emilius* and *Seruius Fuluius* with the whole Army into *Affricke* in the beginning of the Spring. When as the Conſuls had ſet ſayle, to draw firſt into *Sicily*, and from thence into *Affricke*, they were not farre from the Cape of *Mercure*, A but they preſently diſcouered the *Carthaginian* Army: the which (as wee haue ſaid) watched their comming at the paſſage, and charged them ſuddainly with great fury, taking a hundred and foureteene Veſſels armed: ſailing from thence to *Aſpis*, they retired their Men, and after they had ſtayed ſome time in *Affricke*, they returned into *Sicily*.

One hundred and fourteene Veſſels of the *Carthaginians* taken by the *Romans*.

But when they had paſt the Sea betwixt *Affricke* and *Sicily* with a proſperous Winde, and had anchored neere vnto the *Camarins* Towne, it is not poſſible to deliuer the greatneſſe of the torment and miſery that befell them. Hardly could they preſerue foure ſcore Veſſels whole B of foure hundred three ſcore and foure which were in their Army. All the reſt (either ſunke in the Sea, or ſplit againſt the Rocks) fill'd all the ſhore with wracks, or dead Bodies.

A great number of the Romane ſhips periſhed by a Tempeſt.

It is not in the memory of man of any ſuch ſhipwracke by a tempeſt. This miſerable misfortune happened not caſually and by chance, but by the ouerweening of the Conſuls, conſidering that the Marriners had let them vnderſtand, that they muſt auoid the Coaſts aboue *Sicily*, for that it was not to be approached, being bad and difficult to ſayle in, eſpecially at that ſeaſon, for they ſayled betwixt the Starres of *Orion* and the *Dog-ſtarre*. Whatſoeuer it were the Conſuls diſdaining the C admonition of the Marriners, made haſt with a glorious confidence of their late Victory, to ſurprize ſome Townes along that ſhore: where as they fell into extreame calamity vnder the ſhaddow of a poore hope. Then they knew their folly, carrying the repentance of their preſumption. Defacing by this wracke the things which formerly they had done well.

And although that in all things the *Romans* relye vpon their forces, and thinke whatſoeuer they reſolue, muſt be put in execution, holding nothing impoſſible when they haue once vndertaken it, and that this obſtinacy doth many times turne to good. Yet ſometimes they fall in- D to great and apparent errours, eſpecially in Sea-matters. It is true that in Battels at Land fighting with men, it is not ſo ſtrange if they vanquiſh: For the Combate is equall, although they bee ſometimes vanquiſhed: But as for the Sea, for that they thruſt themſelues into hazard, and without conſideration, they fall many times into great inconueniences.

This happened at this time, and hath done formerly, and will befall them many times hereafter, vntill they haue ſuppreſt and reformed

reformed this ouer-weening, thinking they are able to goe to Sea at all ſeaſons. The *Carthaginians* being aduertiſed of the ſhipwracke of the Romane Army, they had the greater deſire to raiſe an Army both by Land and Sea: For that their force ſeemed as great at Land, as that of the *Romans*, by reaſon of the defeate of *Marcus Attilius*: The like they conceiued of the Sea, after the great loſſe the *Romans* had indured. Wherefore they preſently ſent *Aſdruball* into *Sicily* with the old Bands, and a new leuie of the Men of *Heracleum*, with an hundred and fifty Elephants. They wrigd out a Fleete of two hundred Veſſels, and other Equipages neceſſary for Nauigation. When as *Aſdruball* landed at *Lylibeum* with his whole Army, he trayned his Men, and exerciſed his Elephants, making roads into thoſe Countries which were allied vnto the *Romans*. Finally, he was very watchfull and dilligent. And although the *Romans* loſſe had much abated their courage, yet they vſed all poſſible diligence to rayſe a Fleete of two hundred and twenty Veſſels with a Palliſado: the which they effected within three Moneths, and put it to Sea, the which is difficult to beleeue, to the end the World ſhould not thinke they would ſtrike ſayle vnto the *Carthaginians*. *Lucius Aquilius*, and *Caius Cornelius* Conſuls, were appointed to leade this Army, to fight with the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*, who paſſing the Sea preſently, arriued at *Meſſina*, where they receiued the Remainder of the ſhips, which had beene preſerued in the ſtorme. By this meanes their Army conſiſted of three hundred Veſſels.

Aſdruball ſent into *Sicily* by the *Carthaginians*.

From thence they tooke their Courſe to *Palermo*, the chiefe Towne of the *Carthaginians*, the which they aſſailed vigorouſly, erecting two ſorts of Engines, and other preparations to that effect, ſo as they eaſily ouerthrew a Tower ſeated vpon the Sea, by the which the Souldiers entring by force, tooke that part of the Towne which was called *Naples*. After this the Burgeſſes dying for feare, yeelded vnto the Conſuls the other part which they called the old Towne.

Palermo beſieged by the *Romans*, and taken by aſſault.

After the taking of *Palermo*, the Conſuls put in a good Garriſon, and then returned to *Rome*. The yeare following, *Gneus Sempronius*, and *Caius Seruilius* were Conſuls, who in like manner paſt into *Sicily* with an Army, to goe from thence into *Affricke*: where being arriued, they diſperſed their Men into diuers places, and committed great ſpoiles, yet they did not any thing worthy of Memory. Finally, they arriued at the Iſland of *Lotophages*, which they call *Mirmyx*, which is neere vnto a little Shelfe or Barre of *Barbary*, where not knowing the paſſages, they were in a great ſtreight, and were ſtayed by reaſon of the ebbing of the Sea: They were for a time in ſuſpence what to doe. Finally, the Flood comming ſuddainly vpon them, they were almoſt driuen to diſpaire: Yet they could not ſaue themſelues vntill they had lightned their ſhips, and caſt out their baggage to ſaue themſelues.

After that Day the *Romans* were ſo amazed with ſo many dangers, as they ſailed continuallly as if they had fled. Soone after they returned into *Sicily*, and leauing *Lilybeum*, they tooke Port at *Palermo*. But ſoone after that they were gone from thence to ſaile into *Italy*, there

One hundred and fifty of the *Roman* Veſſels loſt.

roſe ſo great a ſtorme as aboue a hundred and fifty of their ſhips were driuen vp and downe, and in the end periſhed. And although the *Romanes* after ſo many loſſes, were of aduice to preferre the honor and Maieſty of the Empire before all other things, yet they were ſo broken with ſo great miſeries, as they reſolued to abandon the Sea. And therefore they only leuied an Army by Land, wherein they thought they ſhould be more confident and of better hope, the which they ſent into *Sicily* with the two Conſuls, *Lucius Cecilius*, and *Caius Curius*: To whom they deliuered only three ſcore Veſſells for their Victualls. By this meanes the *Carthaginians*, became againe Maiſters of the Sea with A out contradiction, ſeeing the *Romans* had no more any Fleete at Sea. Moreouer they had great confidence in their Army at Land, and not without cauſe. For after that the report of the battell giuen in *Affricke*, came to *Rome*, and that they vnderſtood that the defeate of their men happed by the force and fury of the Elephants, for that they had broken the Rankes and opened the battalions, and that they had made a wonderfull ſlaughter of them.

Their feare of the Elephants from that day, was ſo great, as for two yeares after they neuer durſt charge the *Carthaginians*, although they made many incounters in *Affricke*, and in the Country of *Selinuntia*, nor Campe in the Plaines within fiue or ſixe furlongs of them, keeping alwayes the Mountaynes and hilly Countries, to ſaue themſelues from the Elephants; ſo as they only forced *Theruce* and *Lipara*. Where- B fore the *Romanes* knowing the feare their Army had, reſolued againe to put a Fleete to Sea.

Theruce and *Lipara*.

At that time the *Romane* people being aſſembled, they choſe vnto the Conſulſhip *Caius Attilius*, and *Lucius Manlius*: They alſo made fifty new ſhips, and Rigg'd out the olde, the which they furniſhed with Souldiers proportionably. When as *Aſdruball* Generall of the *Carthaginians*, knowing well the feare of the *Romans*, had beene ad- C uertiſed by the Fugitiues, that one of the Conſuls was returned vnto *Rome* with halfe the Army, and *Cecilius* remayned alone at *Palermo* with the other, he parts from *Lylibeum* (when as Harueſt approached) with his Army to ſpoile, and falls vpon the Territory of *Palermo*, planting his Campe vpon the Mountaines. *Cecilius* hauing newes of their comming, and knowing that *Aſdruball* deſired nothing but a battell, kept his Army within the Towne.

A new Army at Sea, prepared by the *Romans*.

By this meanes *Aſdruball* growing very confident, conceiuing that *Cecilius* kept himſelfe cloſe for feare, he cauſeth his Army to March to *Palermo*, hauing ruined and burnt all the Champion Countries. The D Conſull was alwaies of opinion not to go to field, vntill that his enemy was drawne to paſſe the Riuer, which runnes neere vnto the Towne Walls. But when he ſaw that the Campe and the Elephants approached, he cauſed a ſally to be made by the nimbleſt and moſt actiue men of his Army, commaunding them to skirmiſh with the enemy, vntill their whole Campes ſhould be forced to come to the combats. And afterwards conſidering that matters had ſucceeded as he deſired, he ordaines the lighteſt and moſt actiue, to plant themſelues beyond the Towne

The policy of *Cecilius* to deſeate the Elephants.

Towne ditch, giuing them charge to cast Pertuisans, Darts, and Spits a farre off at the Elephants: And if they came running vpon them with fury and violence, they should slip into the Ditch, and from thence cast their Darts at them. He also commaunded the Archers of the Market place, to go out of the Towne, and to fight at the foote of the wall. In the meane time, he issued foorth with all the Ensignes, by another side of the Towne right against the enemies left Wing, and sent many to those which fought with Darts.

Presently after the skirmish began, the Maister of the Elephants, who with a desire of glory would haue the honour of the Victory, incensed them against the enemies, not attending *Asdrubals* pleasure. The *Romans* obseruing the Consuls commandment, turned head presently, and when as the Elephants pursued them with fury, they slipt into the Ditch, the Elephants being vppon the side of it, they were suddainly charged with Darts and Pertuisans, aswell by the Townesmen which were vpon the Walls, as from the Souldiers which lay in the Ditch. And when as they could passe no further, they turned head, being necessarily forced to fall vpon their owne battallions with great slaughter.

In the meane time *Cecilius* goes suddainly to field, hauing his whole Army entire and in good order, by another gate, and chargeth his enemies furiously, who being already broken by the Elephants, and charged againe by the Consuls Troupes, were easily defeated. A part of them were slaine, the rest saued themselues by flight: There were ten Elephants taken with their Indian Maisters, the rest were taken after the battell, their Gouernours being cast downe. This Victory purchased great honour to *Cecilius*, as the Man who by the report of all the whole World, had beene the cause that the *Romanes* after that time resuming courage camped in the Plaines. When the *Romanes* had newes of this Victory, it is not credible the ioy which they conceiued, not so much for the taking of the Elephants, whereby the *Carthaginians* power was much decreased, as for that themselues seemed to be growne more hardy in the Warre, for that they had conquered them. Wherefore they Prepared an Army at Sea, as they had formerly resolued, and sent the Consuls into *Sicily* with two hundred Vessells, desiring to make an end of that Warre. Whither they past hauing made prouision of Victualls, and other things necessary. This was the fourteenth yeare since the beginning of the Warre.

A defeat of the *Carthaginians*, by the *Romans*.

An Armie at Sea prepared by the *Romans*.

The Consuls being arriued, and receiuing the Bands of Souldiers that were there, they go and lay siege to *Lylibæum*, hoping after the taking thereof, they might easily transport the Warre into *Affricke*. But the *Carthaginians* mooued with the like considerations, resolued by all meanes to keepe it, knowing well that after the losse of *Lylibæum*, they had nothing else remaining in *Sicily*. The *Romans* in truth held in a manner the whole Iland, except *Trepanum*. But to the end that what wee speake of *Sicily*, may not seeme obscure to some one, by reason of the ignorance of places, we will deliuer the Scituation in few words.

The Scituation of the Iland of *Sicily*.

All *Sicily* hath its Scituation in regard of *Italy* and the limits thereof, like vnto *Morea* in reſpect of *Greece*, and its bounds. It is true, there is ſome difference, for that there is a little Sea betwixt this and *Italy*. Whereas *Morea* is ioyned vnto *Greece*, by a little ſlip of Land, for they may goe on dry foote from *Morea* vnto *Greece*, and not from *Sicily* into *Italy* without ſhipping. *Sicily* is of a Triangular forme, and ſo many Angles as it hath, ſo many Capes or Promontories there are vpon the Sea ſhore. Among the which, that whereon the *Sicilian* Sea doth beare is called *Pachinus*, and lookes towards the South: that which tends towards the North, where the Sea doth end, and is not aboue a mile and a halfe from *Italy*, is called *Pelorus*. The third which hath his Aſpect towards *Affricke*, and towards the Winterly Weſt, and which is right againſt *Carthage*, from the which vnto the *Affricke* ſhore, there is not aboue one hundred twenty and ſeuen miles, is called *Lylibeum*, diuiding the Sea of *Sardinia* and *Sicily*. There is a Towne on this Cape, which carries the ſame name, the which the *Romans* beſieged at that time: The which is ſtrong with Walls and Ditches, and moreouer with Marſhes and Pooles, by the which lyes the paſſage for ſhips into the Port; but the entry is difficult, and not acceſſible but by expert Mariners.

Three principall promontories in *Sicily*.

A

B

The *Romans* then to beſiege it throughly, made round about it Trenches, Rampiers, and Baſtions, one neere vnto another. Finally, they ſet vp their Engines of Warre; neyther did they omit any thing that was neceſſary to force a Towne. At their firſt beginning they battered a Tower, which was ſeated vpon the Sea ſhore, looking towards *Affricke*, adding daily new Engines and planting them in order. Finally, they ouerthrew at the ſame time ſixe other Towers neere vnto it, by the ſhaking of great Beames, armed with iron at the end, like vnto a Rams-head. Wherefore as this ſiege was troubleſome and dangerous, and that ſome Towers were much indammaged, and others ouerthrown by the Violence of the Engines, and the Towne continually battered, the beſieged beganne to faint, and to grow fearefull and amazed. They were ten thouſand Souldiers beſides the inhabitants of the Town. Yet *Imilcon*, who had the guard thereof, maintayned this ſiege againſt the *Romans* by his Councell and great courage: Whereſoeuer the *Romans* made any breach in the Walls, he repayred it within; and if the enemy did Mine, he preuented them by countermines. By this meanes he ſtill defeated their interpriſes. Sometimes hee alſo made ſallies, hindring them much in all their attempts, and trying if hee could to fire their Engines of battery. Many times hee gaue Allarums, both by day and night, ſo as there was a greater ſlaughter and loſſe of men by this kinde of incounters, then many times in their ſet Battells.

Many Towers ruined by their Engines.

C

Imilcon.

D

A Conſpiracy by mercenary Souldiers ſeruing vnder the *Carthaginians*.

At that time ſome Commaunders of mercenary Souldiers, conſpired to yeild the Towne vnto the *Romans*, who being confident of the conſent of their Companions ſlipt downe the Wall in the night, and goes vnto the Campe, diſcouering their charge vnto the Conſull: At what time there was likewiſe a *Grecian* in *Lylibeum* called *Alexon*, who had

Alexon.

had ſometimes ſaued the Towne of *Agragas* from Treaſon, when as the *Saragoſſins* held it.

This man after that he had vnderſtood the enterprize of the Treaſon, reuealed it vnto *Imilcon*: who cauſed all the Captaines to bee preſently called, except ſuch as had ſlipt downe the Wall, and declared vnto them what he had vnderſtood of the Treaſon, intreating them they would not ſo ignominiouſly deliuer him and the Towne vnto their Enemies. Moreouer he made them great promiſes, if they would keepe their faith: And when they had all conſented to that which hee propounded, he preſently ſent *Haniball* with them to pacifie a Troope of *Gaules*. This was the Sonne of that other *Haniball*, who (as we haue ſaid) was hang'd vpon a Croſſe in *Sardinia*, after he had made that loſſe of the Army at Sea. He hoped well that he would be pleaſing vnto them, for that had beene at the Warre with them vnder his Fathers commaund. Hee likewiſe ſent *Alexon* to other bands of ſtrangers, for that they had great confidence in him. Preſently after hee had aſſembled the Companions, he preuailed ſo by prayers and promiſes, as all generally kept their Faith and Friendſhip with the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore aſſoone as the Chiefe of the Treaſon were returned, and ready to ſpeake vnto them, and to relate what they had treated with the *Romans*, they not onely denied to conſent vnto them, but they diſdained to heare them, driuing them from the Walles with Darts and Stones.

Thus the *Carthaginians* being in a great and manifeſt danger of Treaſon, had like to haue fallen into their Enemies hands. But *Alexon* (who formerly for to keepe his Faith with them of *Agragas*, had not onely preſerued the Towne, but the Countrey likewiſe, their Lawes, and liberty) was the cauſe at this time (in the opinion of all the world) that the *Carthaginians* were not defeated. And although they of *Carthage* could not be aduertiſed of the affaires of *Lylibeum*, yet doubting the neceſſities which they might fall into during a long Siege, they armed fifty ſhips with ten thouſand men: whereof *Haniball* the Sonne of *Amilcar*, who formerly was Captaine of the *Triremes*, and a great friend to *Atarbe*, had the leading: to whom they gaue charge in few words to doe what poſſible he might, to enter into *Lylibeum*, and to ſuccour the beſieged. *Haniball* then with theſe ten thouſand Souldiers, arriues firſt at the Hlands of *Egoſe*, which are mid-way betwixt *Carthage* and *Lylibeum*, and there attends the Winde: After which ſetting ſayle, he bent his courſe directly to the Hauen of *Lylibeum*, hauing his men all in battell and ready to fight.

The foreſight of the *Carthaginians*.

Haniball ſonne of *Amilcar*, Captaine of 50 ſhips with 10000. men.

The Conſuls amazed at this ſuddaine approach of the Enemy, doubted that if they attempted to fight with them, the violence of the winde would likewiſe driue them into the Port. Wherefore they reſolued not to ſtop their entry. It is true that they prepared themſelues vpon the ſhore, and ſought to terrifie them at their entry. In the meane time all the troops within the Citty, ſeeing ſuccours come, reſumed courage, leaping for hope and ioy, and giuing courage by ſignes and ſhouts to their Succours. *Haniball* with incredible courage, ſayles wonderfull

derfull ſwiftly and enters the Port, the which no man would haue imagined, and puts his Army ſafe into *Lylibeum*. It is incredible the ioy which they within the Towne conceiued, after their ſuccours were entred, not ſo much for the refreſhing of men, but for that the *Romanes* durſt not hinder the entry of the ſhips.

But *Imilcon* Commaunder of the *Carthaginians*, ſeeing that the Souldiers demaunded nothing but to fight, aſwell the old Garriſon, in regard of their ſupplies, but the new ſuccours, for that they had not felt the former miſeries; he would not looſe this opportunity, reſoluing to ſet fire on the *Romanes* Engines by what meanes ſoeuer. Wherefore when hee had drawne them altogether, hee made a ſpeech vnto them, promiſing good rewards to ſuch as ſhould ſhew themſelues braue Men: And aſſured them that the *Carthaginians* would acknowledge it. The Souldiers mooued with theſe ſpeeches, told them that they were ready to do their duties. Moreouer they cryed out with a loud voyce, intreating him that without any further ſtay he would lead them to fight. *Imilcon* commending their courage, ſent them to refreſh themſelues, and gaue them charge to be ready, and to performe that which their Captaines ſhould commaund them: Whom preſently after hee drawes a part, and acquaints them with his interprize; then hee appoints vnto euery one his Quarter and place, commaunding them that euery one ſhould retire ſpeedily in the beginning of the night, the which they performed.

At the breake of day *Imilcon* made his ſallies in many places, and fell vpon the Engines. The *Romans* who doubted the enemies deſigne, were not negligent, but were all in Armes keeping a good Guard. Wherefore as ſoone as the *Carthaginians* begunne their ſally, they marcht againſt them, ſo as the Allarum was great neere vnto the walls. The *Carthaginians* were about twenty thouſand men, and the *Romanes* many more. And for that the combate was without any order of battell, the danger was the greater: For in ſo great a multitude of Souldiers, they did fight Man to Man, as if it had beene a ſingle combate. It is true, that the heate of the fight, and the greateſt Allarum was neere vnto the Engines. Beleeue that they which were appointed, aſwel by the *Carthaginians* to aſſaile, as by the *Romanes* for defence, came to ſo great and cruell a combate, as they dyed with incredible Reſolutions, neuer abandoning the place which they had beene ordain'd them. But they which were mingled in fighting, caſt themſelues vpon the *Romanes* with ſuch great courage, aſſailing the Engines with fires, Darts, and ſuch like Armes, as the *Romans* that day, ſeeing themſelues not able to reſiſt the enemies interprize, thought in a manner all to bee vtterly loſt.

When as the combate had continued long, *Imilcon* ſeeing the great loſſe of his men, and that he could not preuayle, he cauſed a Retreate to be ſounded. And although the *Romanes* were that day in great danger to looſe all their equipage for battery, yet in the end they defended their Engines, and all their furniture, reſiſting the enemies with incredible valour.

After

After theſe actions, *Hanniball* parting in the Night from *Lylibeum*, vnknowne to the Enemy, with all the ſhippes which hee had brought with him, hee ſayled to *Tripanum* to *Adherball*, who was Generall of the *Carthaginians*, for that they had alwayes a great care to keepe it, in regard of the opportunity of the place, and the beauty of the Port: It is but fifteene miles from *Lylibeum*. And although that in the meane time the *Carthaginians* were very deſirous to heare newes of the affaires of *Lylibeum*, yet it was not poſſible, for that the Towne after *Hanibals* departure was kept ſo ſhort, as no man could enter or come forth. *Hanibal a Rhodien.*

A At that time a *Rhodien* named *Haniball*, an able Man, ſeeing the great deſire of the *Carthaginians*, promiſed them to enter into *Lylibeum*, mauger all the World, and to bring them certaine newes of their eſtate. But although the *Carthaginians* were glad to heare him, yet they held it impoſſible, for that the *Romanes* Army at Sea was in a manner within the Port. Yet the *Rhodien* aſſures them, and parts with his ſhip: And being arriued at an Iſland neere vnto *Lylibeum*, three dayes after hauing the Winde in Poope, hee ſayled directly thither at noone-day, and in the ſight of the Enemy, (ſtriuing by all B meanes to hinder him) hee entred, performing that which hee had vndertaken. The great reſolution of the *Rhodien.*

One of the Conſuls wondring much at the great courage of this man, drew by night to the entry of the Port ten of their beſt Saylers to ſurprize him in his returne: with the which hee himſelfe kept watch vpon the departure of the *Rhodien*, and gaue charge to the whole Army to doe the like.

The ſhippes which were at the entry of the Port of either ſide the Mariſhes, attended with their Oares ready the returne of the *Rhodien* ſhippe, thinking that hee could not auoid it, but would bee inueſted: C But the *Rhodien* relying much vppon his courage, and the ſwiftneſſe of his Veſſell, paſt thorough the Enemies ſhips being thus prepared, not in the night, nor by ſtealth, but in the open day: and not contenting himſelfe to bee thus eſcaped ſafe with his Men, ſeeing himſelfe a little out of the preſſe, hee turned the Prow of his Veſſell, calling them to fight, yet no man durſt aſſaile him, in regard of the ſwiftneſſe of his Veſſell.

Finally, hee returned to *Carthage*, hauing triumphed ouer the Enemies with one Veſſell, and related all the newes vnto the Senate. The which he hath performed ſince many times, doing great ſeruice by D this meanes to the *Carthaginians*, in aduertiſing them of what was neceſſary, and bringing hope and comfort to the beſieged, with an amazement to the *Romans* of ſo great boldneſſe, wherein hee was animated, for that a little before the route that was made vnto him by diligent experience: But ſuddainly when hee was diſcouered, hee turned his Prowe directly to the Tower which ſtands vpon the Sea towards *Italy*; ſo as they which looke to *Lybia* were in ſight to all Men: which was the onely meanes whereby Saylers might with a good wind recouer the Port. Many mooued with the vndaunted boldneſſe of

this *Rhodien*, and knowing the places preſumed to doe the like.

The *Romans* diſcontented with this great affront and ſcorne, vſed all diligence to fill vp the entry of the Port, for the effecting whereof they filled many Merchants ſhips with land, and ſunke them: Then they caſt great ſtore of earth vpon them, yet they loſt their labour and time, for the great depth ſwallowed all; and the ebbing and flowing of the Sea diſperſed whatſoeuer they caſt in. Finally, there was ſome part, which by chance had made a Barre or Banke, where ſuddainly a *Carthaginian Quadrireme* ſent in the Night was ſtayed: After the taking whereof, being well armed and furniſhed in the Port, the *Romans* attended the comming of others, eſpecially of the *Rhodien* A
Veſſell. By chance hee arriued with the accuſtomed celerity: But at his returne, the *Quadrireme* purſuing him, began to preſſe him neere. The *Rhodien* at the firſt ſight wondred at the lightneſſe of the Veſſell: But hauing well viewed it, hee knew that the *Carthaginian Quadrireme* had beene taken by the *Romans*. Wherefore hauing no more hope in flight, hee reſolued to fight.

But when they came to ioyne, the *Romans* had the aduantage, aſwell by reaſon of the multitude of their ſhippes, as the bounty of their men. Wherefore the ſhip was eaſily taken with the *Rhodien*. B
After which prize the *Romans* ioyn'd it to the *Quadrireme*, and kept them continually armed and ready in the Port: By which meanes they tooke from them all eaſie entrance into *Lylibeum*. In the meane time they battered the Towne violently, and the Walles were ouerthrowne in diuers places with their Engines. But *Imilcon* built a new Wall where as the old had been ouerthrowne, hauing no more hope in his Sallies, nor be able to ſet fire on the Engines. And as they had continued ſome time in this manner, there did ſuddainly riſe ſo great a ſtorme, as all the Engines and Inſtruments were ſhaken by the vehemency of the Winde: ſo as the vpper ſtory of ſome Towers were ouerthrowne to the ground. C

The *Rhodien* taken with his ſhip.

A Sally of the *Carthaginians* vpon the *Romans* Engines of Battery.

Some *Greeian* Souldiers among the beſieged, holding this very commodious for the burning of the Engines, diſcouer their Opinion to the Gouernour, who finds this conceit good, and after that hee had made prouiſion of things neceſſary, hee ſuddainly makes a Sally, and caſts fire in three places vpon the Engines. The which when the Souldiers had done ſuddainly, the fire by reaſon of the violence of the Winde tooke eaſily, and conſumed them ſpeedily, for that they were dry, and had beene long burnt in the Sunne: Neither was it poſſible to preuent it by the hand of Man, for the violence of the Winde. In D
trueth they were ſo amazed at this new accident, as they had not iudgement to ſee and conſider what they had to doe, ſo as ſtriuing to ſuccour their Engines, ſome fell, being ouerthrowne with great Firebrands falling from aboue, or blinded with ſmoake. And the more the *Romanes* found themſelues croſſed and troubled for the reaſons aboue mentioned, the more beneficiall and fortunate it was for the *Carthaginians*: For they might eaſily diſcouer the Enemies and all the Engines, and if they threw caſt any thing againſt the *Romans* or

their

their Engines, the Winde draue it with great violence, and made the blow more forcible. Finally, the fire was ſo great, as the foundation whereon the Towers were ſet, were burnt, and the Heads of the Rammes conſumed.

The Conſuls after this had no more care to repaire their Engines, reſoluing to carry the Towne by a long ſiege, in cauſing a great Trench with a Rampier to be caſt vp round about it, and there Campe, with a reſolution not to raiſe the Siege before they had taken it. When as they of *Lylibeum* had rampired all places neceſſary, they indured the
A Siege with great courage. But after the *Romans* had receiued newes of this Diſaſter, the Senate cauſed ten thouſand men to bee raiſed, which they ſent into *Sicily* to refreſh their Army, for that many had died at this ſiege, and their Army at Sea was bare of Men: Theſe ſaild firſt vnto the Port, then they marcht by Land vnto the Campe before *Lylibeum*.

Appius Claudius being now Conſull, and chiefe of the Army, and the other Conſuls vpon their returne to *Rome*, ſeeing the Succours alſo arriued, aſſembled the Captaines, and let them know that in his Opinion it was time to ſayle to *Tripanum* with all their forces by Sea, to
B ſurprize *Adherball*, the Generall of the *Carthaginians* nothing doubting of the Succours which were newly arriued into *Sicily*, and would neuer conceiue that the Romane Army would put to Sea after ſo great a loſſe of men, during the ſiege of *Lylibeum*. When as this aduice was approued by the Captaines, hee made choice of ſome out of the old and new Bands, and furniſhed all his ſhips with the ableſt men in the whole Army, who imbarked moſt willingly, for that the Voyage was ſhort, and the promiſes great. Being then ready, they parted at mid-night vnknowne to the Enemy, and ſayled directly vnto *Tripanum*. An enterprize of the *Romans* vpon *Tripanum*

C But at the breake of day, being neere the Towne, and they diſcouering that they were Romane ſhips, *Adherball* recouered his ſpirits, and aſſured himſelfe, although that at the firſt hee was amazed at their ſuddaine arriuall, reſoluing to try the fortune of the fight, and to vndergoe the hazard rather then to be beſieged ſhamefully in the Port. Wherefore he preſently cauſed their Oares to imbarke, and cauſed the Trumpet to ſound, to draw the Souldiers together, ſhewing them in few words, according to the neceſſity of the time, that if they did their duties, there was hope of Victory: But if they refuſed to fight, he layed them before the miſeries of men beſieged. And when as the Soul-
D diers made ſhew of reſolution, crying out that hee ſhould make no ſtay to march againſt the Enemy, then *Adherball* commending their forwardneſſe, cauſeth them all to imbarke, giuing them charge to haue an eye vnto his ſhip, and that they ſhould follow with courage. Preſently after hee parts firſt out of the Port, as he had ſaid, on the contrary ſide to the *Romans*.

But the Conſull ſeeing the Enemies contrary to his hope, not to abandon the place, nor ready to flye, but ſeeking the Combat with great heate, hee called backe his ſhippes, whereof ſome were

already in the Port, others at the entry, following them neere. And when as the firſt turned head, according to the Conſulls commaund, and that the reſt which followed farre off made haſt to enter into the Port, they fell foule one vpon another at the entry, and at the coming foorth, ſo as the *Romans* were in danger to haue loſt all. Finally after the Veſſells had recouered the open Sea, the Captaines Ranked themſelues along the ſhore one after another, turning their Prowe to the enemy. But the Conſull who from the beginning had alwayes followed the Army, made the left Wing, caſting himſelfe into the open Sea.

In the meane time, *Adherball* hauing gotten aboue the left Wing of the *Romans* with fiue Veſſells, and turning the Prowe to the enemy, he fortified himſelfe by the Sea, commaunding other foure which followed him to do the like. When they were thus in Front againſt the enemy, he giues them a ſigne to charge the *Romanes*, whoſe ſhips (as we haue ſayd) were Rank'd along the ſhore. It is true they had done it, to the end that the enemies Veſſells which ſhould part out of the Port, might be incountred with more eaſe. The battell was long and furious, ſo as the danger ſeemed equall; without doubt they were the choyce men of both the Armies at Land. Yet the *Carthaginians* had alwayes the better, for that their Veſſells were lighter, their men more expert in Rowing, and moreouer they were in the open Sea, where they might turne vp and downe at their pleaſure. If any one were neere preſt by the Enemy, he knew how to ſaue himſelfe ſuddainly, by the lightneſſe of his ſhip: And if the Enemies purſued him, many others turning preſently together, compaſſed and hemb'd them in by their lightneſſe.

A Combate at Sea betwixt the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians*.

By this meanes they ſpoiled them much, and ſometimes ſunke them. And if any one of their companions were in danger, they relieued him eaſily without perill, ſailing in the open Sea. Contrariwiſe the ſhore neere vnto the *Romanes* did annoy them much; for being forced in a ſtreight, they could not Retyre in neceſſity, nor defend themſelues, nor ſuccour them that were preſt, nor paſſe beyond the Enemies to charge them againe. Which is a moſt requiſite thing in fighting at Sea. For that they were cloſed vp in a ſtreight, and their Veſſels were heauy, and their Marriners vnskilfull in Sea cauſes, nor well practiſed to Rowe. The Conſull ſeeing that all went from bad to worſe, ſome of his ſhips being broken vpon the ſhore, others ſunke, and finally being voide of all hope, he flyes away firſt. There were about thirty Veſſells remayning of the whole Army, which by chance were neere him, and followed him; all the reſt to the number of foureſcore and thirteene were taken by the *Carthaginians*. Moreouer all the bands of men were taken, except thoſe which periſhed by the Wracke.

A Victory at Sea by *Adherbal* againſt the *Romans*.

Adherball was in wonderfull great eſteeme among the *Carthaginians* for this Victory, hauing well mannaged the Affaires by his onely Wiſdome and great Courage. Whereas on the other ſide, *Appius Claudius* was infamous, and indured a thouſand iniuries by the *Romane* people, for that he had carried himſelfe ſo indiſcreetly, and had drawne

drawne the *Romane* Common-wealth into ſo great danger. Finally, being Depoſed from the Conſulſhip, he dyed by the hand of Iuſtice with great ignomy and ſhame.

Appius Claudius depoſed from the Conſulſhip, and condemned to dye.

And although the *Romans* were very ſenſible of this great Defeate; yet like Men of great Courage and Reſolution, they ſuddainly prepare a Fleete at Sea with a new Leuy of Men, and ſend *Lucius Iunius* the Conſull into *Sicily*; to whom they giue charge to Relieue the Campe before *Lylibeum*, and to carry them Victualls and other neceſſary Munitions.

Lucius Iunius.

A He ſail'd directly to *Meſſina* with threeſcore Gallies, and there drawes together all the Veſſells with Beake-heads in *Sicily* out of *Lylibeum*, and makes a Fleete of ſixeſcore Men of Warre, beſides the Merchants, and thoſe which he had to carry the Victualls, to the number of eight hundred, of which he gaue in a manner the one halfe to the Queſtor, with ſome that had Beake-heads, to conduct the Victuals vnto the Campe. In the meane time he ſtayed at *Sarragoſſe*, expecting the reſt of the ſhips which came after him from *Meſſina*, and the Corne which the Allies of the inland Country did furniſh. At the ſame time *Adherbal* ſent the Priſoners and ſhips which he had taken at the battell to *Carthage*. Then he diſpatch'd Captaine *Carthalo* with

B thirty Veſſels, to go and find the enemy, whom he followed neere with threeſcore and ten others.

Moreouer he gaue charge to *Carthalo*, to take what ſhips he could whole from the Enemy, and to burne the reſt. When as *Carthalo* (vſing dilligence to ſaile all night) had ſurprized the *Romane* Fleete ſuddainly, which was retired into the Port of *Lylibeum*, and had burnt ſome, and taken others, hee drew the *Romans* into great danger; for when as they which kept a Guard about the ſhips made great cryes, and gaue an Allarum, *Imilcon* hearing the noyſe, and ſeeing theirs coming at the breake of day, he preſently made a ſally vpon the Enemy.

The *Romans* ſurprized by *Carthalo.*

C By this meanes the *Romane* Army being inuironed on all ſides, was in great danger.

After that *Carthalo* had taken and burnt ſome *Romane* ſhips, he went to *Heracleum*, to cut off the Victualls which came from thence to the Campe. And as he made the Voyage, ſome Diſcouerers bring him newes that they had ſeene a great multitude of ſhips. After which newes, *Carthalo* without making any ſhew; (for that hee did not much eſteeme the *Romanes* in regard of the former Victories) makes haſt to meete them. The *Romanes* were likewiſe aduertiſed that the *Carthaginian* Army approached. But for that they did not hold themſelues able

D to incounter them at Sea, they caſt themſelues by Fortune vpon the neereſt ſhore, where there were ſome retreates and turnings: Ouer the which did hang ſome Rocks, whether the *Romans* retiring, they repulſ'd the Enemies ſhips with ſtones and ſlings: And although at the firſt the *Carthaginians* were reſolued to keepe them beſieged vntill they had taken them. Yet ſeeing that the place by Nature defended them, and that *Romans*, reſiſtance was greater then they expected, they ſailed in the end (after they had taken ſome Merchants veſſels) to a Riuer which lay neere vnto them, to obſerue the parting of the *Romans*. In the meane

time the Conſull hauing diſpatch'd the Affaires for the which he ſtaied at *Sarragoſſe*, he paſt the Cape of *Pachinus* to come vnto *Lylibeum*, hauing no aduertiſement of that which had hapned vnto his men ſome dayes before.

The *Carthaginian* Captayne hauing newes by his Scouts of the Conſulls comming, vſed all dilligence to incounter him farre from the other ſhips. But when as *Lucius Iunius* ſaw the enemies Army a far off, he was amazed at the great number, ſo as he durſt not fight; neyther could he well flye being ſo neere vnto them. Wherefore Retyring by dangerous and difficult places, hee ſtayed in the firſt Port, reſoluing A rather to indure all extremities, then to ſuffer the *Roman* Army to fall into the enemies hands. The which *Carthalo* Commaunder of the *Carthaginians* perceiuing, he made no more purſuite, but retyred into a Port betwixt the two *Roman* Armies, hoping by this meanes to keepe both Armies from parting. Some few dayes after there roſe a great ſtorm; the which the *Carthaginians* perceiuing, as Men which had great experience in Sea matters, and knowledge of the places where they were, informed *Carthalo* that in paſſing ſpeedily beyond the Cape of *Pachinum*, he ſhould auoyde the violence of the ſtorme: whereby they preſerued all his Fleet. But the *Romans* were ſo beaten with the ſtorm, B for that the places where they were had no Ports, that their ſhips were broken in ſuch ſort, that there remayned not any thing, whereof they could afterwards make vſe. By the meanes of theſe miſ-fortunes at Sea, the *Carthaginians* were afterwards the ſtronger.

The *Romanes* Fleete broken at Sea by the Violence of a ſtorme.

The *Romanes* hauing lately made ſo great a loſſe at *Tripanum*, and now agayne hauing loſt all their Equipage abandoned the Sea, relying only vpon the Land. The *Carthaginians* on the other ſide were Maiſters without contradiction: neyther were they without hope at Land. And therefore the Lords of the Senate, and they which were at the ſiege at *Lylibeum*, were of aduice to continue the ſiege, although they had bin afflicted with the former miſ-fortunes. By this meanes the *Ro-* C *manes* ſent to the Campe at *Lylibeum* whatſoeuer they thought neceſſary, and they of the Campe vſed all poſſible meanes to continue the ſiege. *Lucius Iunius* after this great ſhipwracke arriued at *Lylibeum* much diſcontented, ſtudding continually how he might performe ſome Act, whereby he might in ſome ſort Repayre his diſgrace for the laſt loſſe. Wherefore ſoone after he tooke by Treaſon without any great occaſion Mount *Erix*, the Temple of *Venus* and the Towne. *Erix* is a Mountayne of *Sicily*, which hath his Aſpect vpon the Sea towards *Italy*, betwixt *Trypanum* and *Palermo*, but neereſt to *Palermo*. It is D the greateſt in all *Sicily*, but *Ætna*. It hath a playne vpon the top, where ſtands the Temple of *Venus Ericina*, the which (by the Report of all the World) is the richeſt and moſt beautifull of all *Sicily*. A little vnder the top of the Hill, there is a Towne of the ſame name, which is very long, and hath the acceſſes very vneaſy and difficult on all ſides.

Mount *Erix*.

Mount *Ætna*.

The Conſull ſet a Garriſon vpon the top of the Mountayne, and at the foot vpon the approaches from *Trypanum*, thinking by this meanes that

that he ſhould be able to keep the Towne and all the Mountayne ſafely. After the taking of *Erix*, the *Carthaginians* made *Amilcar*, ſurnamed *Barca* Captaine Generall of their Army at Sea. This man falling vpon *Italy* with his Army ſpoyled all the coaſt (it was then the eighteenth yeare ſince the beginning of the War) and from thence (after that he made great ſpoiles in the Countries of the *Locrines*, and *Calabria*) he returned into the Territory of *Palermo* with his whole Army, where he planted himſelfe in a Place betwixt *Rhegium* and *Palermo*, the which lay high aboue the Sea, and was fortified by nature, and ſafe for his Campe. *Amilcar* ſpoiles the Coaſts of *Italy*.

A

It is a Mountayne inuironed with caues and holes, vpon the which there is a playne not leſſe then twelue miles in compaſſe, the which is commodious and fit for labour. It hath moreouer all the Sea Winds, and is not infected with any venomous Beaſt: Moreouer it is inuironed both by Sea and Land with inacceſſible Rockes; in regard of the places which are betwixt both there is no great need of buildings. It hath on the top a little Hill which ſerues for a Watch and Fortreſſe; it hath likewiſe a very pleaſant and commodious Port, for ſuch as paſſe from *Trypanum* or *Lylibeum* into *Italy*; and it hath ſtore of Water. There are but three wayes to go vnto this Mount, which are difficult and vneaſy, two vpon the firme Land, and the third towards the Sea. *Amilcar* Planted his Campe there, where there was no conuenient Towne, but was lodged among his enemies, whom he did not ſuffer to liue in reſt: For many times he went to Sea, and ſpoyl'd the coaſt of *Italy* vnto *Cumes*, and then he led his Army by Land vnto *Palermo*, and beſieged it within eight hundred Furlongs of the *Romanes* Campe: where he ſtaied neere three yeares, performing many braue Acts which were difficult to relate in particular. For euen as when excellent Combattants re-doubling their blowes with dexterity and force, the prize of the Victory being propounded, it is neyther poſſible for them, nor for the ſtanders by, to yeild a reaſon of euery charge and blow, taking in generall a ſufficient knowledge of their Valour, aſwell by the Proweſſe of the Men, as by their mutuall indeauours, and by their Experience and Vertue; we muſt conceiue the like of the Commaunders of whom we now ſpeake. *Amilcar*.

B

C

For if any one will Write the cauſes, or manner how they lay Ambuſhes, and intertayne skirmiſhes and incounters, he ſhould not be able to number them, and would cauſe a great trouble without any profit to the Reader; where we may better attayne to the knowledge of things paſt, by a generall narration and by the end of the War. They likewiſe cannot perceiue in this preſent War, any thing by the Hiſtory of the great pollicies, nor by the time, nor by the feeling of the preſent eaſe by things done, which haue bin decided with an ouer-weaning and violent boldneſſe. There are many cauſes, for the which they could not diſcerne betwixt the two Campes; for the Armies were equal and their Forts not eaſie to be approached vnto, for that the ſpace betwixt both was very ſtrong and little; ſo as there daily hapned particular combates. Finally they performed nothing which concerned the

D

end

end of the Warre: For many times in incounters ſome were ſlayne, and others turning away, and eſcaping the danger aſſured themſelues, and fought againe, where Fortune remayning like a good Diſtributer, changing them from Front to Front, hath incloſed them in a narrower compaſſe, and a more dangerous fight in regard of the place and precedent Combat.

Whilſt the *Romans* (as we haue ſayd) kept the top and foote of the Mountayne of *Erix*, *Amilcar* ſurprized the Towne, which was betwixt the top of the Hill, and the foote of it, where the *Roman* garriſon lay. By this meanes the *Romans* which held the top, were beſieged by the *Carthaginians*, with great danger: The *Carthaginians* likewiſe were no leſſe in the Towne, ſeeing they were beſieged from the top of the Mountayne, and from the foote, and hauing but one way, they could hardly draw vnto them that which was neceſſary. Thus either Party perſiſted one againſt another with extreame obſtinacy: Suffring great extreamities and running into great dangers. Finally, they purchaſed a ſacred Crowne, not as *Fabius* ſayth, as Men weakned and tyred, but conſtant and not vanquiſhed: For before that one party ouercame the other, although the War continued two yeares, yet beganne to haue an end by another meanes. Finally the Affaires of *Erix*, and the forces were in this eſtate.

The Towne of *Erix* taken from the *Romans* by *Amilcar*.

A

B

You may imagine that theſe two Common-Weales, did like vnto Rauening Birds fighting among themſelues vnto the laſt gaſpe: For although that ſometimes their flight fayled them for want of breath, yet they repulſe the aſſaults with great courage, vntill that hiding themſelues willingly, they fled away eaſily; this done ſome take their flight before the reſt. In like manner the *Romanes* and the *Carthaginians* tyred with toyle, grew cold in their continuall combats, abating their forces for the ordinary charges. And although the *Romanes* had abandoned the combats at Sea, almoſt for fifteene yeares, aſwell for their miſ-fortunes, as for that they did hope to make an end of this Warre by the Army at Land; yet ſeeing their deſigne not ſucceſſefull, conſidering likewiſe the courage of *Amilcar*, they conceiued a third hope in their Forces at Sea. They aduiſed well, that if their deſigne were ſucceſſefull, it would be a meanes to make an end of their Affaires, the which in the end they effected.

A good Compariſon.

C

Firſt, they left the Sea yeilding vnto their miſ-fortunes: And for the ſecond time, for that they had bin vanquiſhed neere vnto *Trypanum*, and finally at the third time, they were of another humour, by the which being Victors, they cut off the Victuals from *Erix*, and made an end of the Warre. This attempt for the moſt part was like a Combate of great courage, for the publicke Treaſure vnable to furniſh thiscarge: But the Cittizens contributing euery Man vnto his power, many together built a Quinquereme, ſupplying the neceſſary expences; ſo much the peoples hearts were inflamed to Armes, and to augment the *Romane* Empire. By this meanes they made a preparation of two hundred Quinqueremes, after the patterne of the *Rhodien*, the which as we haue ſayd had beene taken before *Lylibeum*: Wherefore they

D

they afterwards gaue the commaund vnto *Lucius Luctatius* Conſull, and ſent him in the Spring againſt the *Carthaginians*, who being ſuddainly arriued in *Sicily* with his Army, tooke the Port of *Trepanum* at his entry, and all the reſt which were about *Lylibeum*.

The port of *Trepanum* taken by *Luctatius*, Commaunder of the *Romane* army.

In the meane time all the *Carthaginians* ſhips retired to their Captaine. Afterwards hee indeauoured to take *Trepanum* with his Engins, and other things neceſſary to force a Towne: But for that the *Carthaginian* Army at Sea was not farre off, they had a remembrance of things paſt, and of what importance the knowledge of the Sea was, he was not
A idle nor negligent, cauſing his Rowers and Marriners to bee continually kept in practice, not ſuffring any one to be idle. By this meanes the Souldiers in a ſhort time were inured to the Sea. The *Carthaginians* contrary to their hope, hauing newes of the *Roman* Army at Sea, preſently prepared their ſhips, and fraighted them with Corne & other Munition, to the end the beſieged within the Towne of *Erix* ſhould not haue any want of things neceſſary. *Hanno* had the charge of this Army, who paſt firſt to the Iſland of *Hieroneſus*, and from thence he made haſte to ſayle aboue the Enemy to *Amilcars* Campe, to diſcharge his ſhips, and to victuall it. But *Luctatius* being aduertiſed of their comming, and doubting of their
B enterprize, (for it was not hard to coniecture) made choice of the ableſt men of the Army at Land, and ſailed directly to the Iſland of *Equſe*, which is not farre from *Lylibeum*. Then hauing giuen courage to the Souldiers, he makes a Proclamation that euery man ſhould be ready the next day to fight.

An Army at Sea prepared by the *Carthaginians*.

Hanno.

Three daies after the Conſull ſeeing at the breake of day that the wind was good and proſperous for the Enemy, and contrary to his Army; and that the Sea was much troubled with a ſtorme, he was long in ſuſpence what he ſhould doe: but ſuddainly he reſolued, that if his men came to fight during the ſtorme, he ſhould haue nothing to doe but with *Hanno*
C and his Army at Sea, and with ſhips that were laden and incumbred: But if he ſhould delay the fight vntill the Sea were calme, he ſhould haue to deale with ſhips that were light and very ſwift, and with the choice of the Land ſouldiers: and moreouer with the courage of *Amilcar*, who was then held to be very terrible. Finally, he reſolued to fight with the Enemy notwithſtanding the ſtorme and the contrary Winde. The *Carthaginians* comming with full ſayle, he put himſelfe before them with his Army ready and in battell. When the *Carthaginians* ſaw the Iron-worke to bee hindered by the Enemy, and their ſhips in battell, they ſtrooke ſaile, and prepared to fight, where they charged
D of either ſide with great courage: But for that things were manna-ged in another manner, than when they were defeated at the battell of *Trepanum*, it was no wonder if that their Affaires had another ſucceſſe.

A fight at Sea betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*.

In regard of the *Romans*, their ſhips were very light, and free from all incombrance, but of that which was neceſſary for the Warre. Their Rowers had beene long practiſed, and were therefore eager and ready to fight. They had alſo made choice of the beſt men in their Army at Land: the which fell out contrary with the *Carthagini-*

G *ans*.

ans. Their ſhips were laden, and therefore vnfit to fight: Their Rowers and Marriners were men gathered together by chance, and not accuſtomed to the War: their Souldiers were alſo new, and had not ſeene any thing: for they had no more care for the affaires at Sea, imagining that the *Romans* would not attempt any thing more at Sea. And therefore as ſoone as the Battell began, the *Romans* had the Victory; whereas fifty of the *Carthaginians* ſhips were broken or ſunke, and three ſcore and ten others that were laden, taken. The reſt ſet ſayle and got the Winde, and recouered *Hieroneſe* with incredible ſwiftneſſe, by a ſuddaine change of the Winde. After the Battell the Conſull retired to *Lylibeum* with his whole Army, whereas the booty and Priſoners were deuided amongſt the Souldiers: For beſides the dead, there were aboue ten thouſand men taken. A

A Victory of the *Romanes* againſt the *Carthaginians*.

The *Carthaginians* amazed at this heauy and great defeate, found themſelues troubled for many reaſons, although their minds were alwayes inclin'd to Warres. Firſt they had no meanes to victuall thoſe that were in *Sicily*, after the defeate of their Army at Sea: Conſidering that their Enemies were Maiſters of all the Sea. Moreouer they imagined that it would be a Traiterous act to ſuffer their Generall and the Souldiers which had ſerued their Common-wealth to be loſt. In regard of continuing the War, they had neither Men nor Captaines to mannage it: wherefore they ſent a Man to *Amilcar*, and gaue him full power and Authority to doe what he ſhould thinke fitting for the good of the Common-weale. *Amilcar* performed the duty of a good and wiſe Captaine: For whileſt there was any hope in the *Carthaginians* affaires, he neuer complained of his paines, nor auoided perill, but being a man of great induſtry and courage, he thruſt himſelfe continually into all dangers, to vanquiſh aſwell as any of the other Captaines. But when as he ſaw there was no more hope in the *Carthaginians* affaires, hee ſent Embaſſadours to the Conſull, to treate vpon an accord, yeelding wiſely and diſcreetly vnto the time: For wee muſt know that the duty of a good Captaine conſiſts aſwell in conſidering of the time, not onely to vanquiſh, but alſo to ſtrike ſayle. Whereunto *Lutatius* did willingly giue eare, knowing well the neceſſities which the people of *Rome* endured by this tedious War. Finally, a peace was thus concluded: that the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* ſhould liue in amity and friendſhip, if the people of *Rome* would conſent vnto it: And that the *Carthaginians* ſhould leaue all *Sicily*: Neither ſhould they hereafter make War againſt *Hieron*, nor againſt the *Saragoſſins*, or their Allies, and that they ſhould reſtore all the Priſoners without ranſome: And moreouer they ſhould pay thirteene hundred and twenty thouſand Crownes within twenty yeares. B C D

Theſe Articles were ſent to *Rome*, which the people notwithſtanding would not yeeld vnto: but commaunded ten men with power from them who were ſent into *Sicily*: Being arriued, they altered nothing of the treaty of peace, but the time of payment, which they ſhortned, augmenting the ſumme with 600000. Crownes more. Moreouer they did articulate, that they ſhould not onely diſlodge out of *Sicily*, but alſo

alſo out of all the Iſlands which are betwixt it and *Italy*.

Behold the end of the firſt Warre betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* for *Sicily*. It continued foure and twenty whole yeares, and hath beene the longeſt and the greateſt that was euer heard ſpoken of. During the which (I omit other things worthy of memory) they haue fought at one inſtant with aboue fiue hundred Quinqueremes on both ſides: Afterwards with not much leſſe then ſeauen hundred. The *Romans* haue loſt ſeauen hundred *Quinqueremes*, beſides thoſe which at ſundry times the torments haue ſunke, and the *Carthaginians* about fiue hundred. Wherefore they which formerly haue admired Armies
A aſwell by Land as Sea, and the Combats at Sea of *Antigonus*, *Ptolomey*, and *Demetrius*, haue reaſon to ceaſe, conſidering the great deeds of the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*. But if they will conſider how great a difference there is betwixt the Quinqueremes and Triremes, whereof the *Perſians* made vſe againſt the *Grecians*, and which the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians* vſed in their Warre, they ſhall vndoubtedly ſee, that there was neuer ſeene ſuch great forces fight at Sea, wherefore that appeares plainely which we haue propounded in the beginning, that the *Romans* haue not onely indeauoured to conquer the vniuerſall Empire by
B vallour, but they haue alſo accompliſhed their deſire, not by good Fortune as ſome *Grecians* ſuppoſe, nor by chance, but by a wonderfull experience and practice in ſuch great affaires.

Although that ſome may demaund how it happeneth that the *Romans*, who are at this day farre greater Lords both at Land and Sea, conſidering that they held in a manner the Empire of the whole world, cannot draw together ſo many Veſſels, nor rayſe ſo great an Army at Sea at one inſtant. The reaſon will be eaſie, when they ſhall let them vnderſtand what the Romane Common-wealth was, what their Lawes and their manner of liuing, although it will not be profitable neither
C for vs nor for the Readers of our Workes, to make mention of things which concerne not our purpoſe. Without doubt the Reaſons are great: the which notwithſtanding in my Opinion no man hath knowne vnto this day by the errour of Hiſtoriographers: Whereof ſome knew not what they wroto, and if others vnderſtood them, they haue made them obſcure and vnprofitable. If they would duely conſider this War, they ſhall finde that the courage and power of theſe two great Citties were equall. Firſt their deſire was alike, they had the ſame courage, and the like deſire of glory. It is true, the *Romans* had the better Souldiers: But *Amilcar* Generall of the *Carthaginians*, ſurnamed
D *Barca*, Father to *Hanibal*, who afterwards made Warre againſt the *Romans*, had not his equall in prudence and vallour. When as the peace had beene concluded, either of them fell in a manner into the like inconueniences: for Ciuill war followed after. The *Romans* had preſently War againſt the Inhabitants of Mount *Eracon*: the which was ſoone decided and their Towne taken.

Amilcar Father to *Hannibal*.

But the *Carthaginians* being aſſailed at the ſame time by Strangers, *Numidians*, and other people of *Affriake*, who reuolted with them, were in a manner quite ruined. Finally, they were forced to fight not onely

for the Prouince, but for themſelues, for their liberty, for their Children, and for their owne Country.

This is a warre which we will relate ſummarily and briefly, for it is worthy, as we haue promiſed in the beginning. So they ſhall eaſily ſee by the deeds of theſe times what this warre was, and of what fury, which they call irreconciliable: And they may likewiſe obſerue to what things the Commander of an Army ought to haue care, and to be wary how he imploies Mercinary men: And moreouer what difference there is betwixt the confuſed manner of liuing of *Barbarians*, and thoſe that are bred vp vnder Diſcipline, Lawes, and Policy: And wi hall they may A eaſily ſee by the knowledge of this warre, the cauſes for the which *Hannibal* made warre againſt the *Romans*, which is a principall poynt, whereof in opening the truth, wee haue not done little for thoſe which deſire to ſee our worke. For that they haue not onely beene doubtfull and obſcure to thoſe which haue written, but alſo to ſuch as haue beene preſent. After that *Amilcar* had treated the peace with the *Romans*, he led his Army from the Towne of *Erix* to *Lylibeum*, and reſigned his charge, giuing the conduct thereof into *Affricke* to Captaine *Geſcon*, who
Geſcon. was at *Lylibeum*: who fearing that if ſo great a multitude of men, ſhould B paſſe together into *Affricke*, there would grow ſome mutiniy and contention for that there was much due vnto them for their pay, the which they could not ſatisfie for want of treaſure: Wherefore he prouided long before, that the troupes ſhould not paſſe altogether, but at diuers times, leauing ſome reſpite of purpoſe: to the end that they might with more eaſe prouide, in ſending them backe by troupes; and that the firſt might be retired to their houſes, before the ſecond arriued. The *Carthaginians* had conſumed their treaſure, in their former charges, and did not ſend them backe to their houſes but commanded them to attend within the City vntill the returne of their Companions, to the end they might make ſome accord with them altogether C
Inſolency of the Souldiers within *Carthage.* concerning their Paye. But whenas the Souldiers committed many Royots day and night within the City, and that the inſolencies of ſuch a troupe were inſupportable, the *Carthaginians* called the Captaines, and intreated them to leade all this multitude aſſembled in their City to the Towne of *Sicca*, vntill they had giuen order for their Prouinces. Moreouer they cauſed ſome money to be deliuered to euery one of them, to the end they might tolerate their expectance the more eaſily. The Captaines obeying the will of the *Carthaginians*, drew forth their Men.

But for that euery man deſired to leaue his baggage within the City, D as they had done, hoping to make a ſhort returne for their paye: the *Carthaginians* doubted that if they ſhould allow that, ſome would not budge for the loue of their children, others for their wiues, and by this meanes they ſhould bee nothing bettered within the City. Wherefore in the end they forced them to depart with their baggage. Being within the Towne of *Sicca*, they liued at pleaſure in idlenes and baſely, which is a pernicious thing for an Army, and in a manner the onely fountaine and beginning of Mutinies. Some began to demaund their pay more audatiouſly,

tiously then they had beene accustomed, and much more, reducing to memory the promise of Presents, which the Captaines had made vnto them at need, when as they intreated them to fight valiantly. More ouer they expected much more then their Pay amounted vnto: But they were frustrated of their hope: For assoone as they were all assembled in *Sicca*, *Hanno, Pretor* of the *Carthaginians* was sent vnto them: Who bringing no presents vnto them, intreated them moreouer for some abatement of their Pay, shewing them the pouerty of the Treasure. They generally mutining at this speech, began to rise suddain-
A ly, so as there was a great tumult and sedition in the Army, considering the great diuersity of their manner of liuing, and languages. It is true the *Carthaginians* had some reason to raise their Army out of diuers Nations: For by this meanes so diuers an assembly could not easily make a Conspiracy. Moreouer the Captaines better obeyed. And likewise if there did rise any mutiny or sedition in the Army, they should not finde meanes to pacifie them, for ignorant men are mooued with fury. Beleeue me when they are once in choller, they increase it more and more, like bruite Beasts with an vnrestraine cruelty. The which happened at that time in the *Carthaginians* Campe: For some were
B *Spaniards*, others *Gaules*, some *Geneuois*, and others of the Islands of *Maiorqua*, and *Minorqua*.

Mutiny of the Souldiers.

There was also a good Troope of *Grecians*, most of which were fugitiues and slaues, and the greatest number were *Affricans*. Wherefore it was not possible to draw them altogether at that time, although they could not haue taken a better course. Moreouer *Hanno* could not vnderstand all their languages: and it seemed in a manner more impossible to imploy many Interpreters at one time to draw the Army together, and withall to vse the same speech vnto them foure or fiue times. The last remedy was to mannage this by the Captaines; the which
C *Hanno* attempting preuailed nothing: For some vnderstood not what their Captaine sayd vnto them, others related it otherwise then they had spoken, although they had consented vnto the chiefe, some did it of ignorance, but the greatest part through malice. Wherefore all was full of perplexity, inhumanity and distrust.

Among other things they complained, that the *Carthaginians* of purpose did not send one of the Captaines vnder whose charge they had made War in *Sicily*, and who had made them so many promises; but one who had beene in those actions. Finally, they runne to Armes being all in a mutiny, making no accompt of *Hanno*, nor of the other Cap-
D taines, and marcht directly to *Carthage*, planting their Campe neere vnto the Towne of *Tunes*, which is fifteene miles from *Carthage*, being aboue twenty thousand Men. Then the *Carthaginians* began to looke one vpon another, and to acknowledge their great errour, when there was no redresse in their affaires. In trueth it was a great fault in them to haue drawne together so great a multitude into one place after the War was ended. They committed another which was no lesse; when as they did not retaine their Wiues Children and baggage, whereof they might haue made vse in necessity as of Hostages. Being in no small feare

The complaint of the Souldiers.

of ſo great a multitude of Men, they omitted nothing which they thought behouefull to pacifie their Rage, cauſing Corne to be carried vnto them, and all other things neceſſary, and to be deliuered vnto them at their owne prize.

Moreouer the Senate ſent Embaſſies often vnto them, promiſing to do according to their commaund, ſo as it were in their power: But the Souldiers who are now growne more inſolent, did forge daily new Quarrels, perceiuing the feare of the *Carthaginians*, eſpecially for that they had bin trayn'd vp in the War of *Sicily*, and that the *Carthaginians* nor any other durſt looke vpon them in order of battel. Wherfore A whereas formerly they had made their quarrell, but for the pay that was due, they now demaunded Recompence for their Horſes that were ſlayne, and not content with that, they pretended there was Corne due vnto them for many yeares, for the which they demanded payment at a priſe, whereof vntill that day they had neuer heard them ſpeake. Finally they daily pretended new quarrels to enter into War, for the moſt Wicked and Mutinous had the greateſt credite in the Army.

And when as the *Carthaginians* had made promiſe vnto them, to do all things poſſible, in the end they agreed, that for any thing that ſhould be doubtfull, they ſhould Refer themſelues to that which the B Generall ſhould decree, vnder whom they had made War in *Sicily*. They did not much affect *Amilcar Barca*, vnder whoſe charge they had bin, for that he came not to ſee them during this diſſention, and that he had formerly Relinquiſht his commaund ouer them of his owne motion: Contrariwiſe they all in generall loued *Geſcon*, who had bin their Captaine in *Sicily*, and who had intreated them curteouſly aſwell in all other things, as in their paſſage to *Affricke*; wherefore he had the charge by a common conſent. Preſently being imbarked with Mony, and ariuing at *Tunes*, he called the Captaines: then he cauſed C euery nation to Aſſemble, and blamed them for their faults paſt, and admoniſhing them for the preſent, and giuing them aduice by a long ſpeech for the time to come, to continue good friends to the *Carthaginians*, who had intertayned them ſo long. Finally he perſwades them to Reſt ſatisfied with their pay, the which he deſired to diuide among the Nations.

Of *Geſon*.

Geſcon makes remonſtrances to the Souldiers

There was by chance a *Campanois* in the Army called *Spendius*, who being lately a ſlaue vnto the *Romanes*, had fled into *Sicily*: This was a bold and hardy Man, and a good Souldier: Who (fearing that if they agreed with the *Carthaginians*, he ſhould be Reſtored to his Maiſter, D and then put to Death according to the *Roman* Lawes) vſed Audacious ſpeeches, and laboured by all meanes to mutine them all, deſiring troubles rather then any accord, and Wars then Peace. Moreouer an *Affricaine* called *Matho*, a free Man who had beene in the Wars of *Sicily*, for the *Carthaginians*, feared to be puniſhed, for that he had much incenſed the Munity, during the Diſſention. This *Matho* ioyning with *Spendius*, drawes together all the *Affricaines*, and Aduiſes them to conſider well what they had to doe in this Action, and that they

Spendius.

Matho.

they ſhould reſt aſſured, that preſently after the Retreate of the other Souldiers, hauing receiued their pay, the *Carthaginians* would be reuenged wholly vpon them, (labouring by this meanes to terrifie all the *Affricanes* with puniſhment) and for this reaſon they ſhould looke well to themſelues.

The whole Troupe being much mooued with this ſpeech, and likewiſe for that *Geſcon* had onely ſpoken of their bare pay, without any mention of Recompence for Horſes dead, nor of Corne for ſo many yeeres, they drew preſently all together to conſult of their Affaires.
A And when as *Spendius* and *Matho* vſed very bad ſpeeches againſt *Geſcon* and the *Carthaginians*, they eaſily gaue eare vnto them. And if any one ſought to ſhew the contrary, they had not the Patience to heare them, if it were contrary to the opinion of *Spendius*, but beat them downe preſently with ſtones. By this meanes the Murther was great, not onely of Captaynes but of ſimple Souldiers, ſo as there was nothing heard in the Army during this Mutiny, but all cryed out together, Charge, charge. And although they did this continually, yet their fury was greater, when they parted drunke from the Table. By this meanes as ſoone as any one cryed Charge, the ſtones flew about, ſo
B as there was no meanes of Retreate. Wherefore when no Man durſt ſpeake any thing in the Aſſembly, they made choiſe by a generall conſent of *Matho* and *Spendius* for their Captaines. And although that *Geſcon* ſaw this great trouble and mutiny in the Campe, yet he deſired to prefer the Publicke Vtility before all other things. Wherefore ſeeing that by the mutiny of the Souldiers increaſing daily more and more, the *Carthaginians* were in great danger, he reſolued to pacifie it, and to trye all meanes with the hazard of his life.

One day he called the Heads of the Conſpiracy, another day ſome Nation apart, labouring to pacifie their fury by prayers and promiſes.
C But for aſmuch as they had not yet receiued the Corne, which they ſayd was due vnto them, and that they quarrelled continually, *Geſcon* deſirous to reſtraine their contempt, commaunded them to ſet downe their demaunds to their Captaine *Matho*. At which words the Commons incenſed grew ſo inſolent, as they preſently ſeized vppon all the Siluer which was brought thither for their pay, laying hold vpon *Geſcon* and the *Carthaginians* that were with him. But *Matho* and *Spendius* Captaynes of the whole Troupe, thought preſently to commit ſome Act of great Villany, to the end that the War might be the more inflamed. And therefore in commending the inſolency of the Souldiers,
D they tooke with the Money all the baggage of the *Carthaginians*, and gaue order to ſhut vp *Geſcon* with all his company, after they had done them many outrages.

After this, they made open War againſt the *Carthaginians*, with the moſt cruell Conſpiracy, that euer had beene heard ſpeake of vnto that day. Behold the cauſes of the beginning of this War, made againſt the Souldiers, which they call *Affricane*.

Embaſſies ſent throughout all *Affricke* by *Matho* and *Spendius*.

After that *Matho* and *Spendius* had done as wee haue ſayd, they ſent Embaſſies to all the people of *Affricke* mouing them to liberty, and

and intreating them to giue them ſuccours againſt the cruell and tyrannous Empire of the *Carthaginians*, who in a manner all found the enterprize good, and ſent Men and Victualls in aboundance. And after that the Captaines had diuided their Army in two, one part went to beſiege *Biſarthe*, and the other *Hippona*, for that they would not conſent vnto the Conſpiracy. The *Carthaginians* who had beene accuſtomed to feed their families only by Tillage, and to draw their publicke Treaſure from the Tributes of *Affricke*, and moreouer to mannage their War by Mercenaries; being then not onely fruſtrated of all theſe things, but moreouer ſeeing they were all turned to their Ruine, found A themſelues ſuddainly in great difficulties, not knowing which way to turne them. And they found them the more deſperate, for that they had hapned contrary to all opinion.

It is true, they were in hope, after they had beene tyred with the long Wars of *Sicily*, and had in the end made a peace with the *Romans*, that they might reſt for a time, and take breath; but it ſucceeded otherwiſe. Beleeue me, this War ſuddainly kindled, was more dangerous than the other: For that in the firſt, they did not fight with the *Romans* but for the Conqueſt of *Sicily*; but in this they were forced, to vndergoe the danger for themſelues, for their families and their Country. Moreouer they were vnfurniſhed of Armes, of a Fleete B at Sea, and of Equipage for ſhipping, for that they had loſt many in their battels at Sea. They had no more hope of Tributes, nor in the ſuccours of their friends and Allies. Finally they ſaw then what difference there was betwixt a Forraine and Tranſmarine War, and the mutiny of a ciuill ſedition, of which miſchiefe vndoubtedly they themſelues were the cauſe: For in their firſt War, they did Lord it ouer the people of *Affricke*, with too great Tyranny and coueteouſneſſe, for that they were of opinion they had good cauſe, ſo as they leuied a full moiety of all their fruites. They alſo doubled the Tributes, and did not pardon thoſe which had offended through ignorance. C They gaue Offices not to ſuch as were milde and gracious, but to thoſe which augmented the publicke Treaſure, although they had tyrannized the people, like vnto *Hanno* of whom we haue ſpoken.

The cruell and coueteous Empire of the *Carthaginians*.

By this meanes it hapned that the people of *Affricke* ſeemed glad to Reuolte, not onely at the perſwaſion of many, but at a ſimple Meſſenger. There is nothing more true, than that the Women of euery Towne conſpired, for that in former times they had ſeene their Husbands and Children led into ſeruitude, for that they had not payed the Tribute: ſo as they made no reſeruation of their goods which they had remayning, but moreouer they did contribute their Iewels, (a hard thing to beleiue) to ſupply the payment of the Souldiers. By this meanes *Matho* and *Spendius* gathered together ſo great a quantity of ſiluer, as it was not onely ſufficient to ſatisfie the promiſes which they had made to the Souldiers, from the beginning of the Conſpiracy, but they had more than was needfull to mandage the War. Wherefore a wiſe man muſt not looke vnto the preſent time, but alſo vnto the future.

The Conſpiracy of the Women of *Affricke*.

And

And although the *Carthaginians* were enuironed on all ſides with ſo many miſeries, yet they fainted not: but gaue the conduct to *Hanno* (for that formerly they held he had ended the Warre neere vnto *Hecatontophylon*) of thoſe Souldiers they could leuie in this neceſſity of time. They alſo armed the young men of the Towne, and cauſed their Horſes to be practiſed: They repaired the remainder of their ſhips, and old Triremes, and cauſed new to be made.

In the meane time *Matho* and *Spendius*, (to whom three ſcore and ten thouſand armed men of *Affrica* had ioyned,) after they had deuided
A their Army in two as wee haue ſaid, held *Biſarthe* and *Hippona* beſieged, yet not abandoned their Campe neere vnto *Tunes*. By this meanes all *Affricke* was ſhut vp to the *Carthaginians*. You muſt vnderſtand that *Carthage* is ſeated vpon a Promontory, which aduanceth into the Sea, and is in forme of an Iſland, but that it ioynes vnto *Affricke* by a little ſpace of land. In regard of the Citty, it is enuironed of the one ſide by the Sea, and on the other by Mariſhes. The breadth of the Countrey whereby it is ioyned to *Affricke*, containes not aboue three miles; whereof the Towne of *Biſarthe* is not far off from that ſide which looks towards the Sea: And that *Tunes* ioynes vpon the Mariſhes. The Ene-
B mies hauing planted their Campes at *Tunes* and *Biſarthe*, tooke from the *Carthaginians* the reſt of *Affricke*: and making courſes ſometimes by Day, and ſometimes by Night vnto the walles of the Citty, they gaue them great Allarums, and put them in feare.

The ſcituation of *Carthage*.

In the meane time *Hanno* made preparation of all things neceſſary for the Warre. Hee was a diligent man, and well practiſed in ſuch things; although that ſoone after hee had gone to field to finde the Enemy, he committed an act of little iudgement, in not diſcerning the times. You muſt vnderſtand that aſſoone as he was ſent to ſuccour the beſieged in *Biſarthe*, he forced the Enemies at the firſt charge, being
C terrified with the multitude of Elephants: but afterwards his conduct was ſo bad, as hee drew the beſieged (for whoſe ſuccours hee was come into great danger, and extreame miſery. For when he had brought great prouiſion of all ſorts of Engins for battery, and had lodged his Campe neere vnto the Towne-walles: hee fought with the Enemy, who could not endure the violence of the Elephants: Wherefore they abandoned the Campe, with great loſſe of their men, and retired to a little Mountaine ſtrong of it ſelfe, and full of Groues. But *Hanno* who had not beene accuſtomed to make Warre but againſt the *Numidi-*
ans, who after they haue once taken a flight, doe ſeldome ſtay vntill
D the third day, had no care to purſue them, ſuppoſing he had gotten an abſolute victory; but entred into *Biſarthe*, not thinking of any thing but to make good cheere.

Hanno.

The Nature of the *Numidians*.

But the Enemies hauing made Warre in *Sicily* vnder *Amilcar*, and beene accuſtomed many times to flye before the Enemy, and ſuddainly to charge againe the ſame day, hauing newes of *Hanno's* retreate into *Biſarthe*, and that the Campe as Victors was ſecure; they aſſayled it by ſurprize, and ſlew part of them: the reſt were forced to recouer the Towne, to their great ſhame and ignominy. All the equipage

Surprize of the *Carthaginians* Campe.

of Engins was taken without reſiſtance. It is true, that this was not the onely misfortune which at that time did preiudice the *Carthaginians* by the folly of *Hanno*. For ſome few dayes after, when as the Enemies camped neere vnto *Sorze*, and that an opportunity was offered to deſeate him eaſily, hauing beene twice in quarrell, and twice in battell one againſt another, as they are accuſtomed, hee loſt theſe two occaſions by his folly and baſeneſſe.

Wherefore the *Carthaginians* conſidering that *Hanno* did not manage this War well, they by a generall conſent made *Amilcar* Captaine againe: to whom they gaue three ſcore and ten Elephants, and all the Souldiers and Fugitiues, with ſome Horſe-men, and the young men of the Towne, ſo as hee had about ten thouſand Souldiers. But aſſoone as he had marcht forth with his Army, he preſently by his admirable vertue brake the hearts of his Enemies, and raiſed the ſiege of *Biſarthe*: and then he ſhewed himſelfe worthy of the glory which they had giuen him for his proweſſe in times paſt; and that hee was worthy of the hope which all men conceiued of him. Behold wherein they firſt diſcouered his diſcretion and iudgement.

Amilcar. A

The Cape whereon *Carthage* ſtands, is ioyned to *Affricke* like vnto a crooked backe, and is very ſtony; with Mountaines full of wood, whereas the wayes are very vneaſie and inacceſſible, they being moſt of them made by the hand of man. And therefore *Matho* had ſeized vpon all the little Hills that were vpon the way, and had planted good Garriſons. Moreouer hee paſſed the Riuer which they call *Machera*, the which hath high banks, and a very ſwift courſe, and cannot be paſt but by a Bridge, vpon the which ſtands the Towne of *Sephyra*, the which *Matho* did likewiſe hold. By this meanes the paſſages of *Affricke* were not onely ſhut vp from the *Carthaginian* Army, but alſo from a priuate perſon. The which *Amilcar* conſidering, and trying all meanes to paſſe into *Affricke*, in the end hee vſed this inuention. Hee had obſerued that ſometimes the courſe of this Riuer was ſo ſtopt by the Winde, as the mouth of it ouerflowed, and made in a manner a great poole, and at that time it had no great fall into the Sea. Wherefore hee was of opinion, that at this ſeaſon they might paſſe it neere vnto the Sea. Hee kept this ſecret, and onely made neceſſary preparation for the Army to march. Hee carefully attended the opportunity of the time, and then appointed his Army to part ſecretly in the Night, and to paſſe the Riuer.

B

The Riuer of *Machera*.

Sephyra.

C

But at the breake of day the Enemy and they that were in the Towne, were wonderfully amazed at this paſſage. In the meane time *Amilcar* march'd with his Army directly to thoſe which held *Sephyra*. When as *Spendius* had the news that *Amilcars* Campe had paſt, he preſently makes haſte with his forces to ſuccour his men. Behold how the two Campes ſuccoured one another. There were 10000. men in *Sephyra*, neere vnto the Bridge: and about 15000. in *Biſarthe*. Theſe thinking they might eaſily compaſſe in the *Carthaginians*, if they all marcht againſt them at one inſtant, ſome in front, and the other at their backes, ſuddainly they tooke courage, and marcht againſt *Amilcar*

D

with

with all their Troopes; who alwayes marcht hauing the Elephants in the fore-ward, then the Horſe and the Souldiers that were lightly armed, and vpon the Reare the Legionaries. But when hee ſaw the Enemies charge his men couragiouſly, he preſently changed the order of his Army, and turned it quite contrary: So as they which were in the fore-ward, returned backe, making ſhew of ſome flight, and they which were in the Reare, taking another way; marcht directly to the fore-ward. The which the *Lybians* ſeeing who aſſailed the *Carthaginians* on either ſide, and thinking that the Enemies amazed at this Alarum, had fled, they began to purſue them without order, and came ſuddainly to fight. But when as they ſaw the Horſe-men approach, and the other Battalions to fall vpon them with great fury, amazed at this new manner of War, they were ſoone-broken; and in the end flying away, ſome were defeated by the Legionaries, who charged them vpon the flanks with great ſlaughter, others by the Elephants and Horſe-men who entred after the Legionaries.

The Pollicy of *Amilcar.*

The Victory of *Amilcar.*

There were ſixe thouſand men ſlaine, and about two thouſand taken; the reſt ſaued themſelues by flight, ſome in the Towne of *Sephyra*, the reſt retired to the Campe before *Biſarthe*. After this good fortune, *Amilcar* purſued thoſe which had gotten into *Sephyra*, the which he tooke at his comming, for the Souldiers that were within it, fled preſently to *Tunes*: and from thence running ouer the Prouince, he tooke diuers Townes, whereof ſome were won by breach and aſſault. By this meanes the *Carthaginians*, who before were deiected and without hope, tooke heart, and recouered their ancient courage.

At that time *Matho* held *Hippone* beſieged, and had perſwaded *Spendius*, and *Autarice*, Captaine of the *Gaules*, to purſue the Enemy, and that flying the Plaines, by reaſon of the multitude of Elephants and Horſe-men, they ſhould keepe the foote of the Mountaines, and not to goe farre from them vpon any occaſion that ſhould be offered. Moreouer he ſends often to the *Numidians* and *Lybians*, ſoliciting and intreating them to giue him ſuccours, and not to loſe ſo great an opportunity to reſtore *Affrick* to liberty: *Spendius* then hauing made choice of ſixe thouſand old Souldiers out of the Campe which was at *Tunes*, lodged continually neere vnto the Enemy, keeping the foote of the Mountaines. Moreouer he had the *Gaules* with him, which were vnder the charge of *Autarice*, to the number of about two thouſand men: for the reſt of their Troope which was in *Sicily*, had retired to the *Romans* during the ſiege of *Erix*.

Whilſt that *Amilcar* ſtayed with his Army in a Plaine wholly inuironed with Mountaines, there came great ſupplies of *Numidians* and *Affricans* to *Spendius*. By this meanes the *Carthaginian* Army was beſieged with three Camps. The *Affricans* were in front, the *Numidians* vpon their taile, and *Spendius* on the ſide. *Hannibal* was long in ſuſpence what counſell hee ſhould take, being thus beſet. There was at that time among the *Numidians* a certaine man called *Naraue*, of a noble and auncient extraction, and of a Royall courage. Hee had alwayes beene fauourable vnto the *Carthaginians*, keeping his Fathers affection,

Supplies of *Numidians* come to *Spendius.*

Naraue.

affection, and who then had ſuccoured them, for that *Amilcar* was choſen their Captaine. Thinking now to haue found a good opportunity to purchaſe their friendſhip, he marched directly to the Campe, accompanied with about an hundred *Numidians*: being neere vnto it he makes a ſtand, giuing them a ſigne with his hand that he would parley. *Amilcar* wondring at his great boldneſſe, ſends an Horſe man vnto him, to whom he ſayd, that he was come to ſpeake with the Commaunder of the Army. And as *Amilcar* ſtood ſtill in doubt, and could not beleeue him, the *Numidian* leaues his Horſe, his Lance, and his Company, and goes directly vnto him without any feare or amazement. A The whole Army wondred, and were amazed at this *Numidians* great confidence. Finally, being called to parley, he told him that he had alwayes borne a great affection to the *Carthaginians*, and that he had long deſired the Friendſhip of *Amilcar*. Moreouer that he was come to doe him ſeruice, and to put himſelfe and his eſtate faithfully into his hands vpon all occaſions. *Amilcar* hearing this Speech, was ſo ioyfull, aſwell for the boldneſſe of this young Man, who had preſented himſelfe ſo confidently vnto him, as for the plaineneſſe of his Speech, that he not onely made him Companion of his fortunes, but proteſted and vowed vnto him to giue him his Daughter, in keeping his faith to B the *Carthaginians*. After this diſcourſe *Naraue* retired to his men, and within three dayes after returned to *Amilcar* with two thouſand men which he had vnder his charge.

The *Carthaginians* being fortified with this troope, *Amilcar* durſt fight with the Enemy. *Spendius* likewiſe ſupplied with *Numidians* and *Affricans*, drawes his Army into the Plaine, and without any long ſtay comes to the Combate, which was cruell. Finally, the *Carthaginians* relying in the multitude of their Elephants, and likewiſe *Naraue* performing his duty well, they had the Victory: *Autarice* and *Spendius* hauing no more hope, fled. There were ten thouſand men C ſlaine, and about foure thouſand taken.

The Victory of the *Carthaginians* againſt *Spendius*.

After this battell *Amilcar* freed thoſe that would follow the Warre vnder him, and armed them with the Enemies ſpoyles, telling them that refuſed, that they ſhould no more carry Armes againſt the *Carthaginians*, and for all that which they had formerly done they were pardoned. Moreouer, that it was lawfull for them to retire into their Countrey, if they thought it good: but if they were found heereafter attempting any enterprize, their puniſhment was certaine. At the ſame time the mercenary ſtrangers which kept *Sardinia*, aſſailed all the *Carthaginians* that were there, after the example of *Spendius* and *Ma-* D *tho*, and hauing ſhut vp Captaine *Boſtare* with his Company into a Fort, they put him to death. *Hanno* was afterwards ſent with a new Army, againſt whom the Strangers conſpired with the old Souldiers, and after they had committed great cruelties, they hang'd him. Then feating to be puniſhed for ſo great a villany, they ſlew and ſtrangled all the *Carthaginians* which inhabited *Sardinia*, and tooke all the Townes and Forts, enioying the Iland vntill that a ſedition riſing betwixt them and the *Sardinians*, they chaſed them away, and forced them

A mutiny of mercenary Souldiers in *Sardinia*. *Boſtare* ſlaine.

Hanno hang'd on a Croſſe.

them to flye into *Italy*. By this meanes the *Carthaginians* lost *Sardinia*, a very great Iſland, well peopled, and abounding with all commodities: It will not be needfull to relate thoſe things which are apparent by that which others haue written. The Carthaginians loſe Sardinia.

Matho, *Spendius*, and *Autarice* Chiefe of the *Gaules*, fearing that this clemency of *Amilcar*, in freeing the Priſoners with pardon, would gaine the *Lybians*, and other Souldiers, they laboured to commit ſome villanous act, to eſtrange the hearts of their men wholly from the *Carthaginians*. And therefore they aſſembled them together, where ſoone after a Poſt comes with Letters, as if hee had beene ſuddainly arriued
A from *Sardinia*; the tenor whereof was, that they ſhould keepe *Geſcon* and the other Priſoners carefully: and that there were ſome in the Campe, who to purchaſe grace and fauor with the *Carthaginians*, would ſet them at liberty. *Spendius* hauing found this occaſion, firſt aduiſed his Companions that they ſhould not regard the deliuery of the Priſoners, vnder the colour of *Amilcars* counterfeite clemency: For hee had not freed them for any deſire hee had to ſaue them, but to the end that by this meanes hee might haue them all, and afterwards puniſh them in generall. Moreouer he gaue them charge to keepe *Geſcon* with
B his Company carefully, that they might not eſcape through negligence: but if they did otherwiſe, the Enemies would make no great accompt of them, and withall they ſhould haue great inconueniences in their Warre.

But who will doubt that ſo excellent a Captaine, and of ſo great experience in the Warre, will not ſuddainly become their mortall Enemy, when he ſhall bee eſcaped by their negligence? Whileſt hee was thus ſpeaking, behold another Meſſenger comes from *Tunes*, bringing them Letters of the ſame Tenour, the which being Read vnto the Aſſembly, *Autarice* Commaunder of the *Gaules* ſtood vp, ſaying, that he ſaw no meanes for their ſafety, but by taking away all the hope they
C haue in the *Carthaginians*. For as long as any one hath reſpect vnto their clemency, he can neuer be a loyall Companion in the War. And therefore we muſt beleeue, heare, and conſent vnto the opinion of thoſe, which ſhall giue aduice to do the worſt we can vnto the *Carthaginians*, and to hold ſuch as ſhall ſay the contrary for enemies and Traytors. When he had made an end of this Speech, hee aduiſed them to put *Geſcon* and his company to ſome cruell death, with all the *Carthaginians* which had bin ſince taken. Letters from Tunes, to the Mutines Camp.

This *Autarice* had great credite in their Aſſemblies, for that they all vnderſtood him, ſpeaking the Punique Language, which at that
D time was common among the whole Army, by reaſon of the long War, wherein he had ſerued vnder the *Carthaginians*; and therefore his Aduice was eaſily allowed by the Army, in regard of the fauour he had among the Souldiers. And although many of euery Nation, walking and conferring together, did not thinke it fit to vſe ſuch cruelty, eſpecially againſt *Geſcon*, who had done them ſo much good, yet they heard nothing of that which they ſpake, for that they talked among themſelues in their Languages. But when as they ſaw that they did not like of putting the *Carthaginians* to Death, a ſeditious Man

who was by chance among them, cryed out with a loud voice, Charge: At which word they were presently beaten downe with stones by the Multitude, so as their Kinsmen carried them away soone after, dismembred as if brute Beasts had torne them in peeces.

A great inhumanity.

This done, they take *Gescon*, and the other Prisoners which were to the number of seuen hundred, and led them without the Rampiers, and there beginning with the head, whom a little before they had chosen among all the *Carthaginians*, as the Man which had intreated them best, they cut off all their hands, and Dismembred them, and in breaking their Legs, they cast them thus liuing into a Ditch. The *Carthaginians* aduertised of so great a cruelty done vnto their Citizens, knew not what to do, but that which was in them, to be wonderfully incensed, and to lament for the great ignominy of their Citty, and the misery of their Citizens. Finally, they sent to *Amilcar* and *Hanno*, which were the other Commaunders of the Army, intreating them that so great a cruelty done vnto their Citizens, should not remayne vnpunished.

Gescon with his Company put to death.

Moreouer they sent an Embassie to these enemies, to require the bodies to be interr'd. Who not only refused them, but also forbad them not to send hereafter any Treaters of Peace vnto them, nor Embassies, and if they did it they must expect to indure the like paynes that *Gescon* had suffred: and moreouer they had concluded, that as many *Carthaginians* as fell into their hands, should be cruelly slayne: And as for their Allies they should lose their hands; the which afterward they did carefully obserue. Wherefore he that will duly consider these things, may boldly say, that the Bodies of Men, and some of their Vlcers, do not onely increase sometimes, but also their hearts much more. Beleeue that euen as Vlcers are inflamed by Medicines, and are impaired if they be applyed; and if they make no reckoning of them, they dilate and extend themselues of their nature, and neuer cease vntill the Body be wholy corrupted and rotten, so it many times fals out of the Vices and corruptions of mans minde, so as there is no Beast so cruell or sauage as Man: To whom if thou doest any grace or remission of punishment, or some other good, he growes worse, esteeming all this but Deceite, and wilbe more distrustfull of his Benefactors: And if on the other side thou seekest to resist him, there is nothing so vnreasonable, so cruell, nor so wicked, but he will easily vndertake it, glorifying himselfe in his presumption, vntill his proud Spirit hath past the bounds of Reason. Of which things the beginning and the greatest part, proceedes from the lewd life, and bad breeding of Youth. There are other things which adde much vnto it, and namely the Couetousnes and cruelty of the Captaynes. All which Vices were found at that time in this Army, and especially in the Commaunders.

A cruell resolution.

In the meane time *Amilcar* bearing the enemies outrages impatiently, caused *Hanno*, another Captayne Generall for the *Carthaginians* to come vnto him, imagining that when the whole Army were together, the Warre would be the more easily ended. Finally, he caused the enemies which were then taken, or afterwards, to bee cruelly

slayne

ſlaine, or deuoured by Beaſts, hoping that the Warre would then haue an end, if he might put them all to Death. As the *Carthaginians* ſeemed at that time to be in better hope, Fortune ſuddainly changed, ſo as their Affaires beganne to impaire and grow worſe: For as ſoone as theſe two Captaines were ioyned together, they fell into ſuch diſſention, as they not onely left purſuing the enemy, but gaue them great occaſions of their owne defeate. Diſſention betwixt *Amilcar* and *Hanno*.

For which cauſes the *Carthaginians* being moued, they ſent word that one of them ſhould returne to the Citty, and that hee which the
A Souldiers loued beſt, ſhould remayne in the Campe. They had alſo another inconuenience: For their great ſhippes wherewith they brought Corne and other neceſſaries to the Campe, were in a manner all broken in a ſtorme. Moreouer *Sardinia*, from whence they were wont to draw great ſuccours for the affaires of Warre, was loſt for them, as we haue ſayd. And to the end their miſeries ſhould be full, the Townes of *Hippona* and *Biſarthe*, which alone among all the people of *Affrick* had kept their Faith inuiolable to the *Carthaginians*, not only in this War, but in that of *Agathocles*, and in the time of the *Romanes*; reuolted then not onely ignominiouſly from the *Affricanes*, but alſo ſhewed
B them ſuddainly a wonderfull Affection and Loue: And to the *Carthaginians* an implacable hatred, caſting into the Ditches all the *Carthaginians* with their Captaines, which were there for their Guard, to the number of fiue hundred, after they had cruelly ſlayne them: And they deliuered the Towne, and would not render the Bodies to the Citizens of *Carthage* to interre them. The Townes of *Hippona* and *Biſarthe* reuolt from the *Carthaginians*.

By this meanes *Spendius* and *Matho* grew more inſolent, and layed ſiege before *Carthage*. *Amilcar* at that time had *Hannibal* for a companion in his charge, whom the *Carthaginians* ſent him, when as the Souldiers left *Hanno*, to whom during the diſſention of the Captaines,
C the people of *Carthage* left a power to retayne whom they pleaſed. *Amilcar* accompanied by *Hannibal* and *Naraue*, ouer-ran the whole Prouince, cutting off the Victuals from the enemy; wherein the *Numidian Naraue* did him great ſeruice. This was the eſtate of their Campes. The *Carthaginians* being thus oppreſt by their enemies, were forced to craue ſuccours from their Allies, to whom at that time *Hieron* of *Saragoſſe* ſent them great aſſiſtance, ſupplying them with whatſoeuer they demaunded. For he was of opinion that the preſeruation of the *Carthaginians* was neceſſary for him, as well for the ſafety of his eſtate, as to entertayne the friendſhip of the *Romanes*; to the end that after the
D ruine of *Carthage*, they might eaſily do whatſoeuer they pleaſed without contradiction. The Prudence of *Hieron*.

This was wiſely conſidered of him: For in truth no Man muſt ſeeme careleſſe of ſuch things, neyther muſt they ſuffer any one to grow to ſo great a power, as he ſhall haue cauſe euer after to feare a manifeſt iniuſtice. The *Romans* alſo bound by the Articles of the peace, did what they could poſſibly to relieue them. It is true, that in the beginning, there was ſome diſſention for the cauſes which follow. When the *Carthaginians* were firſt beſieged, they tooke about fiue hundred Men,

Men, who ſayling from *Italy* for gayne, were taken and put in priſon. The people of *Rome* tooke this in ill part. But when as ſoone after they had ſent an Embaſſie for this cauſe, the *Carthaginians* freed them, and intreated them curteouſly. This was ſo pleaſing vnto the *Romanes*, as preſently they deliuered all the Priſoners, which they had yet remayning ſince the Warres of *Sicily*, without Ranſome, ſuccouring them ſtill whenſoeuer they required it, and ſuffered their Merchants to carry them Corne, forbidding them to furniſh the enemies Campe with any Victuals. Moreouer at ſuch times as the old Souldiers of *Sardinia* reuolted againſt the *Carthaginians*, they would not giue Audience to their Embaſſadours, who were ſent to deliuer them the Iſland. A while after they would not receiue the *Biſarthins*, who would in like manner haue giuen themſelues vnto them: For that they would not in any ſort infringe the Articles of the Peace: The *Carthaginians* thus relieued by the ſuccours of their Allies, indured the ſiege more eaſily.

The courteſie of the *Romanes* to the *Carthaginians*.

Matho and *Spendius* were no leſſe beſieged than they did beſiege: For *Amilcar* had reduced them to ſuch great want of all things, as they were in the end forced to raiſe the ſiege. Soone after they made choyſe of the ableſt Men of all their bands, to the number of fifty Thouſand, and went preſently to ſeeke out *Amilcar*. Moreouer they kept not the plaines, fearing the Elephants and the Horſe men, whereof *Narave* had the Charge, but ſtriuing ſtill to gaine the high and inacceſſible places: during the which, although they were as ſtrong and hardy as the *Carthaginians*, yet they were often beaten, for that they vnderſtood not the practiſe of Warre. Then they might eaſily iudge what difference there is betwixt the good conduct of a Captaine, and the ouer-weaning of a Multitude. He ſeparated ſome and incloſed others by his induſtry, being forced by their priuate neceſſity. He alſo defeated many by Ambuſhes in full fight. Some times he terrified the enemies, falling vppon them by ſurprize. All ſuch as were taken aliue, were caſt vnto the Beaſts.

Finally, he lodged about his enemies to their great diſaduantage, and to the benefit of the *Carthaginians*, drawing them into ſuch neceſſity, as they neither durſt come to fight for feare of the Elephants and Horſe-men, neyther could they ſafely flye, for that they were enuironed with Ditches and Palliſadoes. Finally, hunger did ſo preſſe them as they did eate one another. Behold the reuenge which the gods tooke of them for the cruelties they had committed againſt their Friends. They came not to fight, both for that the *Carthaginians* were aſſured of the Victory, and their puniſhment was certayne. They made no mention of any treaty of peace, for that they knew well there was no hope of Mercy, hauing committed ſuch great cruelties. Finally they indured all miſeries, expecting daily ſuccours from *Tunes*. But when they had cruelly eaten vp their Priſoners, and their Seruants, (a kind of liuing which they had long vſed) and that no ſuccours came from *Tunes*, they knew not what to reſolue, for the extremity of the Famine, and the feare of puniſhment. Finally, *Autarice*, *Zarxe*, and *Spendius* reſolued to parley with *Amilcar*. By this meanes they demaunded leaue to ſend

The extreame neceſſity which preſt the ſtrangers Campe.

Famine makes them to eate men.

ſend Embaſſadours : The which being granted, the Embaſſie comes, with whom *Amilcar* agrees, that it ſhould be lawfull for the *Carthaginians*, to chuſe ten ſuch as they pleaſed out of their whole Army, and that the reſt might retire in their ſhirts without any harme. The which when they had concluded, *Amilcar* told them, that according to the agreement he made choiſe of thoſe that were in his preſence. By this meanes *Spendius*, *Autarice*, and the other heads of the Army were deliuered vnto him.

When the *Lybians* had newes of the taking of their Captaines, thinking that the *Carthaginians* had broken their Faith, for that they knew not the Articles of the peace, they tooke Armes, fortifying themſelues in a Quarter of the Campe : To whom *Amilcar* gaue battell with the Elephants and his whole Army, and ſlew them all, whereof the number was aboue forty thouſand men. This was neere vnto a place which they call *Serra*, for that it doth reſemble an inſtrument, which at this day is called *Sie*. This done, the *Carthaginians* who before ſeemed to haue loſt all hope, began to aſſure themſelues, and to recouer their courage and Spirits. In the meane time *Amilcar* with *Hannibal* and *Naraue* ouer-ran the Country, and the Townes of the Prouince, where hauing reduced the greateſt part of *Affricke* with the Townes, they go and lay ſiege to *Tunes*, and beſiege *Matho* with all his Company. *Hannibal* lay on that ſide which lookes to *Carthage*, and *Amilcar* was oppoſite vnto him : Thither they brought *Spendius* and his Companions, who were hang'd on a Croſſe.

Forty thouſand men ſlaine by *Amilcar*.

Matho ſeeing that *Hannibal* made his retreat but badly, and without order, did not thinke it fit to loſe this occaſion. Wherefore he preſently gaue a charge, and ſlew part, the reſt flying away. Finally hee ſpoyl'd the Campe and all the Baggage. *Hannibal* himſelfe was taken, whom preſently they crucified in the place of *Spendius*, after they had done him a thouſand indignities. Moreouer they ſlew thirty Gentlemen of *Carthage*, about the body of *Spendius* moſt cruelly, by a power giuen them by Fortune for a mutuall reuenge. *Amilcar* was not ſoone enough aduertiſed of the enemies ſally, by reaſon of the diſtance of the two Campes, neyther was it in his owne power to relieue them, in regard of the difficulty of the places. Wherefore leauing *Tunes*, and leading his Army to the Riuer of *Machera*, he lodged vpon the bankes at the mouth of it.

A defeat of the *Carthaginians* by *Matho*.

Hannibal crucified.

The *Carthaginians* hauing newes of this defeate, began againe to haue a bad conceite of their Warre : But they preſently reſumed courage, vſing all poſſible diligence for the preſeruation of the Citty. They ſent an Embaſſie to *Amilcar* of thirty Senators, with a leuy of young men vnder the Commaund of that *Hanno*, who formerly had beene the Generall. They giue theſe Senators charge, to deale ſo with the two Captaines, as their priuate hatred might be ſmothered and ſuppreſt, and that they ſhould force them to manage this Warre by their common Counſell, in laying before them the miſeries of the time and the preſent neceſſity. After that the Senators had drawne theſe two Captaines together, and vſed diuers ſpeeches vnto them, in the

Reconciliation of *Amilcar* and *Hanno*.

end they perſwade them to pardon one another, and to obey the *Carthaginians*. By this meanes all the Affaires were gouerned by a common Councell, ſo as when as *Matho* was reduced to a ſtreight, after many incounters, Ambuſhes, and purſuits which they had layd for him neere to the Towne of *Leptis*, and in other places, in the end they appointed a ſet day of battell with the enemy: to the which both Armies prepared with Reſolution. So they called their Allies, and drew men from all parts, euen vnfurniſhing their Townes of Garriſons, as if by this battell they ſhould decide all their affaires. When as all things neceſſary for the fight were ready on eyther ſide, they ioyned vpon the day appointed. The battell was cruell, but in the end the *Carthaginians* had the Victory. The greateſt part of the enemies were ſlaine in fighting: The reſt which retired to the next Towne, yeilded ſoone after to the *Carthaginians*. In regard of *Matho* he was taken aliue. They only of *Biſarthe* and *Hippona* finding themſelues guilty, and hauing no hope of pardon and Mercy, continued obſtinate in their Rebellion. See how a reaſonable contentment hath power in all things, and how much better it is, not to affect and ſeeke a thing, which afterwards is intollerable to another.

Affignation of a Battell.

A Battell won by the *Carthaginians*.

A

Finally after that *Amilcar* and *Hanno* began to approach neere vnto them, they had no more hope, but were forced to yeild vpon ſuch conditions as pleaſed the *Carthaginians*. Thus ended the Warre of *Affrick*, but ſo happily for the *Carthaginians*, as they not only recouered *Affricke*, but puniſhed all the Heads of the Rebellion according to their merites. Thus *Matho* and all the other Priſoners, were led in Tryumph through the Citty by the Youth of *Carthage*, and in the end puniſhed for their Villanies. This Warre continued neere three yeares and foure moneths, the moſt cruell and inhumane that euer was heard ſpoken of.

B

Matho puniſhed.

The *Romanes* at that time ſolicited by the Souldiers which were retired out of *Sardinia* vnto them, prepared to vndertake the Voyage. And when as the *Carthaginians* were diſcontented, ſaying that the Iſland belonged vnto them, and prepared an Army to ſend thither, the *Romanes* laying hold of this occaſion, ſignified Warre vnto them, complayning that this preparation of an Army was not ſo much for *Sardinia* as againſt them. But the *Carthaginians* yeilding to the time, vnderſtanding well their owne weakneſſe, to renew a Warre againſt the *Romanes*, indeauoured to auoide all occaſions, ſo as they left the Iſland vnto them. And moreouer they paied vnto the *Romanes* ſeauen hundred thouſand Crownes to redeeme the Warre. Thus matters paſt at that time.

C

Note the Iniuſtice of the *Romans*.

D

THE

THE SECOND BOOKE of the Hiſtory of POLYBIVS.

A WE haue related in the Firſt Booke, at what time the *Romanes* began to inuade Forraine Nations, after they had pacified *Italy*: And how they paſt into *Sicily*, and the cauſes why they made Warre againſt the *Carthaginians*: At what time alſo they began firſt to put an Army to Sea, and Summarily all the Affaires which hapned to the end of this Warre, to the one or the other. In the which finally the *Carthaginians* abandoned *Sicily*, whereof the *Romanes* were abſolute Lords, except thoſe places which *Hieron* King of *Saragoſſe* held. Wee haue ſubſequently ſet downe, how after the Mutiny raiſed betwixt the *Carthaginians* and their Souldiers, the Warre was kindled, which they call *Affricaine*: And what extremity and incredible cruelty was vſed, and what the end was. Now we will indeauour to write in few Words the accidents
B which hapned ſince, touching euery thing as we haue propounded in the beginning.

After that the *Carthaginians* had reduced *Affricke* to their obedience, they ſent *Amilcar* preſently into *Spaine* with an Army, who (parting with all his Troupes, and hauing his Sonne *Hannibal* with him, about nine yeares of age) paſt beyond the pillars of *Hercules*, and recouered a great part of *Spaine*. Where ſtaying about nine yeares, conquering many Townes by force, and others by compoſition, to haue their liues and goods ſafe, hee dyed a Death worthy of his actions. The death of *Amilcar*.

actions. For when he had made Warre againſt couragious and powerfull people, he dyed after hee had expoſed himſelfe to all dangers, with great aſſurance, and the admiration of all the World. After this the *Carthaginians* made *Aſdrubal* kinſman to *Amilcar*, (who had commaunded the *Triremes*) Generall of their Army: At which time the *Romanes* paſſed to *Sclauonia*, and to that part of *Europe* with an Army. They which deſire to vnderſtand truely our Diſcourſe, with the beginning and increaſe of the *Romane* power, muſt diligently obſerue it. This Voyage by Sea, was vndertaken for the cauſes which here follow.

Aſdrubal made Generall.

Agron King of *Sclauonia*, was the Sonne of *Plurate*. This King drew to field more foote and Horſe, than any that had reigned before him in *Sclauonia*. It is true, that he was corrupted with money at the perſwaſion of *Demetrius* Father to *Philip*, ſo as he ſuccour'd the *Midioniens*, whom the *Etoliens* held beſieged. You muſt vnderſtand, that when the *Etoliens* ſaw that they could not draw the *Midioniens* to liue according to their Lawes, they began to make Warre againſt them, laying ſiege to diuers places, and doing what they poſſibly could to take the Citty. And as in the meane time the day of the aſſembly was come, wherein they were to chuſe another Captaine of the Army, and that the beſieged were growne ſo weake, as they ſeemed to haue no other thoughts but of yeilding; he which at that time was Generall, came vnto the *Etoliens*, and let them vnderſtand that it was reaſonable, that he who had indured ſo great paines, and expoſed himſelfe to ſo many dangers during the Warre, ſhould haue the booty and ſpoile of the enemies if they were vanquiſhed. There were many, euen of thoſe which had any colour to attaine vnto that charge, who diſcontented with this kind of demaund, intreated the multitude not to determine any thing, but to leaue the booty to him to whom Fortune ſhould giue it. Finally the *Etoliens* decreed that whoſoeuer ſhould winne the Towne, he ſhould ſhare a moiety of all the Booty, Riches, and Armes, with him who formerly had beene the Commaunder.

Agron King of *Sclauonia*.

Demetrius Father to *Philip*.

A

B

C

While matters ſtood on theſe termes, and that within three dayes after the Aſſembly was to meete (where according to the Cuſtome of the *Etoliens*, the laſt Commaunder was to be Depoſed, and a new choſen) there arriued in the night about a hundred ſhips neere to *Midionia*, with ten thouſand men of *Sclauonia*: Who after they had recouered the Port, and the day began to breake, they landed in haſte and by ſtealth, and then they marched in battell after their manner againſt the *Etoliens* Army. And although the *Etoliens* being aduertiſed of their comming, were at the firſt amazed at this newes, and the boldneſſe of the *Sclauonians*: Yet hauing great ſpirits and courage, relying alſo in their Forces, they drew out before their Campe, the greateſt part of their Horſe and Armed men, and placed vpon ſome paſſages, which were not farre from the Camp, ſome Horſes and ſuch as were lightly Armed. The which were charged and broken by the *Sclauonians*, as well by reaſon of the multitude of their Souldiers,

Succours from *Sclauonia* to the *Midionians*.

D

Souldiers, as for that the middeſt of their battell was ſtrongly fortified. In regard of the Horſe men, they were forced to flye ſhamefully vnto their Campe: From thence thorough the aduantage of the place, they marcht ſpeedily againſt thoſe which kept the Plaine, whom they charged and put preſently to flight. The *Midionians* ſally forth, and purſue them; ſo as there was a great ſlaughter of the *Etoliens*, and many Priſoners, with the ſpoile of all their baggage, hauing found no reſiſtance. When as the *Sclauonians* had performed their Kings Commaund, and ſhipt all their baggage and booty, they ſet ſayle and retire to their houſes.

A defeate of the *Etoliens* by the *Sclauonians*

A

The *Midionians* alſo being thus preſerued contrary to their hope, they aſſembled, and held a Councell among themſelues, as well for other affaires, as for the diuiſion of the booty taken from the Enemy, and of their Armes, to deuide them in common, by an example taken of him who had beene Chiefe of the *Etoliens*, and of thoſe which according to the decree of the *Etoliens*, ſhould ſucceed him: as if Fortune had done it willingly, to make the world know her force by the misfortune of the others. In truth, theſe in a ſhort time made their Enemies to feele the miſeries which they themſelues expected ſuddainly. The *Etoliens* after this miſery ſerued for an example to the world, not to hold future things as already done, nor to put their hope in things which may ſucceed otherwiſe: And that wee muſt alwayes reſerue ſome part in things which may happen contrary to our hope, as well as in all other actions, (ſeeing we are men) as in the affaires of Warre.

B

When as the victorious ſhips were arriued, King *Agron* tranſported with incredible ioy for the exploits of his men, hauing vanquiſhed the *Etoliens*, relying much vpon their forces; he gaue himſelfe ſo to banqueting in the night, and to a fooliſh delight of drinking and watching, as hee fell into a Pleuriſie, the which grew to violent, as hee died within few dayes after. After whoſe death his Wife *Teuca* reigned, gouerning the Realme by the counſell and aduice of her Friends. But afterwards ſhee followed her womaniſh affections, hauing no care but of this proſperity, nor any regard to forreigne affaires: ſuffering all thoſe that would goe to Sea, to ſpoile all paſſengers. Shee alſo raiſed a great Army at Sea, letting the Captaines vnderſtand, that the Countrey which was right againſt hers, was Enemy vnto her: Who at the firſt aſſailed the *Elienſes* and *Meſſeniens*, whom the *Sclauonians* ſpoiled often. But for that there is a large Sea, and that the Townes of thoſe Regions were all vpon the firme Land; they could not eaſily preuent the *Sclauonians* courſes: and therefore they did ſpoile and ruine the Countrey without any obſtacle, And as at the ſame time they ſayled to *Epirus* to fetch victuals, they came to *Phenice*, where there were about eight hundred *Gaules*, entertained by the *Epirotes* to guard the Towne. Heere they landed and parled with them to deliuer it, whereunto they yeelded: ſo as they tooke it, and all that was within it by the helpe of the *Gaules*.

The death of King *Agron*.

Queene *Teuca*.

Phenice taken by the *Sclauonians*.

C

D

When the *Epirotes* had the newes, they came preſently to ſuccour them with all their people, and lodged vpon the banks of a neere Riuer.

Then they tooke away the planks of the Bridge, to be free from the danger of thoſe which kept the Towne. In the meane time they were aduertiſed, that *Scerdilaide* came by Land with fiue thouſand men, by the Streights of *Antigonia*. Wherefore they deuided their Army in two, whereof the one went to guard the paſſages of *Antigonia*, and the other remained in the Campe idlely and negligently, conſuming what was in that Countrey without feare, and diſdayning to keepe any watch or guard. The *Sclauonians* within the Town aduertiſed of the ſeparation of the Army, and of the negligence of the Enemy, goe forth at mid-night, and lay planks vpon the Bridge: So croſſing the Riuer, they gaine a place ſtrong by Nature, where they paſſe the remainder of the Night without any noiſe. At the break of day either ſide were in battell, and the fight began. The *Sclauonians* got the Victory: ſo as few *Epirotes* eſcaped, the reſt being taken or ſlaine.

Scerdilaide.

The Victory of the *Sclauonians* againſt the *Epirotes.*

The *Epirotes* ſeeing themſelues involued with ſo many miſeries, and out of all hope, they ſent an Embaſſie to the *Etoliens* and *Acheins*, craning Succours from them; who hauing compaſſion of their afflictions, & deſiring to relieue them, marcht to *Helicrane*: whither the *Sclauonians* (who as we haue ſayd had taken the Towne of *Phenice*, being ioyned to *Scerdilaide*) came and lodged neere vnto them, deſiring battell. But the difficulty of the places kept them aſunder: together with their Queenes letters, who commrunded them to make no longer ſtay, but to returne, for that ſome Townes of *Sclauonia* had reuolted to the *Dardaniens*. Wherefore after they had ſpoiled the whole Prouince, they made a truce with the *Epirotes*: by the which they yeelded the Citizens and the City, but carried away all the ſlaues and pillage in their ſhips. Thus one part retired by Sea, and the other by Land by the ſtreights of *Antigonia*, leauing a wonderfull feare in the Sea-townes of *Greece*. Without doubt when they conſidered, that ſo ſtrong and powerfull a Towne of the *Epirotes* had beene ſpoil'd, contrary to all expectance, they were not onely in feare (as formerly) for the Countrey, but alſo for themſelues and their Townes.

After that the *Epirotes* had ended their Affaires farre better than they expected, they were ſo farre from taking reuenge of the wrongs which they had receiued, or to thanke thoſe which had aſſiſted them, as they preſently ſent an Embaſſie to Queene *Teuca*, and made a league with the *Arcanians* and *Sclauonians*. Wherefore following after that time the party of the *Illiriens*, they became Enemies to the *Acheins* and *Etoliens*. Wherein they were not only ingrate and vnthankefull to their Benefactors, but alſo they had beene very ill counſelled from the beginning of their affaires. And where as many (like men) fal ſomtimes by the hazard of Fortune into great aduerſities and miſeries, it happens not ſo much by their owne fault, as by that of Fortune, or by ſuch as are the procurers: But when as men ſeeke their misfortune by their owne indiſcretion, their fault is euident. And therefore when we ſee ſome great diſaſter and aduerſity befall ſome men by Fortune, we doe not onely pitty them, but relieue them to our power; whereas we blame, condemne, and hate thoſe whom we know to haue

A reprehenſion of the *Epirotes.*

haue beene the cauſe of their owne misfortunes by indiſcretion and malice. The which the *Grecians* might at that time do with reaſon vnto the *Epirotes*.

But what man is ſo confident, which hauing no feare of the common fame of the *Gaules* inconſtancy, would haue dared to commit ſo noble a Citty vnto their charge, who had ſo many reaſons to doubt of their faith, being baniſht out of their Countrey, for that they had falſified their faith with their owne Nation: and who afterwards being retired by the *Carthaginians*, at ſuch time as they had Warre with the A *Romans*, and bearing a bruite of the reuolte of mercenary Souldiers for pay which they had pretended was due vnto them, began firſt to ſpoile *Agragas*, whereof they had the Guard, being about a thouſand men. Afterwards they were put in Garriſon into *Eryx* by the *Carthaginians*: the which they would haue betrayed whileſt the *Romans* beſieged it. The which notable to effect, they retired to the *Romans*, who receiued them: After which they ſpoyled the Temple of *Venus Erycina*.

Some *Gaules* baniſht their Countrey for their diſloyalty.

When as the *Romans* ſaw the treachery and falſehood of theſe *Barbarians*, hauing concluded a peace with the *Carthaginians*, they B diſarmed them, and ſhipped them away, chaſing them out of all *Italy*. Theſe are the men whom the *Epirotes* made the Guardians of their Lawes and Common-wealth, to whom they intruſted ſo faire and rich a City: Who will not then blame them? Who will not ſay but they haue beene the cauſe of their owne miſeries? Without doubt it is a great folly and indiſcretion to entertaine forces, eſpecially of barbarous men; and to put them into a Towne where they may bee the ſtronger, or more in number than the Cittizens. But wee haue ſpoken ſufficiently of the *Epirotes* folly.

The *Sclauonians* before, and many times ſpoiled ſuch as ſaild from *Italy* and *Phenicia*, ſeeing that of late dayes they inhabited there, C who ſeparating themſelues ſometimes from the Army at Sea, ſpoiled many *Italian* Merchants, or ſlew them. They had alſo carried away a good number of Priſoners. When this had beene often complained of to the Senate, they made no accompt thereof: Yet in the end they ſent into *Sclauonia*, *Caius* and *Lucius Coroncanus* in Embaſſie, when as the complaints of many came vnto them concerning the outrages of the *Illirians*.

VVhen the ſhips were returned from *Phenicia* in ſafety, *Teuca* (wondring at the beauty and greatneſſe of the ſpoile) had a great D and longing deſire to make Warre againſt the *Grecians*; for in truth, it was the richeſt Towne of all *Epirus*: But for that her Countrey was then in Combuſtion, ſhee could not attempt it. Moreouer, after ſhee had pacified *Sclauonia*, and at ſuch time as ſhee held *Iſſa* beſieged, which had alwayes continued firme, the *Romans* Embaſſie arriued; who hauing a day of audience appointed them by the Queene, they made knowne vnto her the outrages her men had done them. The Queene gaue eare vnto them with great pride and arrogancy.

The *Illirians* are *Sclauonians*.

The *Romans* Embaſſie to *Teuca* Queene of *Sclauonia*.

After

After they had deliuered their charge ſhe made anſwere, that ſhe would take order, that her Subiects ſhould not make open War againſt them: but it was not the cuſtome of Kings to prohibite their priuate ſubiects to make what profit they could at Sea. At which words the yongeſt of the Embaſſadours made a bold and couragious anſwere, but in bad ſeaſon.

A bold anſwer of an Embaſſadour.

And therefore ſayd he, *Madame, it is the cuſtome of the Romans to take a publicke reuenge for priuate wrongs, and to relieue the afflicted. So as if it pleaſe God, wee will take ſuch order, that hereafter you ſhall not be much troubled to reforme this kinde of royall cuſtomes.* The Queene an ouer-weening woman, grew into ſuch a rage, as neglecting the right of Nations, ſhee ſent men at the returne of the Embaſſadours, to kill the youngeſt who had vſed this Speech. A

The *Romans* being aduertiſed of this great affront, prepared preſently to Warre, leuied men, and made a good number of Veſſels: Finally, they prepared all things neceſſary to take reuenge of ſo great a crime. In the meane time the Queene ſent in the Spring a greater number of ſhips into *Greece* than formerly: whereof one part ſaild to *Corfue*, and the other bent their courſe to the Port of *Durazo*. Where making a ſhew to refreſh themſelues with water and victuals, they reſolued to take the Towne. They of *Durazo* being confident, and fearing nothing, ſuffered them to enter without Armes, vnder colour of water and victuals; although their true intent was to take the Towne by Treaſon. But when they ſaw themſelues within the Towne, they tooke their Armes which they had hidden in their veſſels for water, and killing the Guards at the Gate, made themſelues Maiſters thereof. Thoſe in the ſhips being ready, entred in like manner, and ſeized vpon a great part of the Walles: And although that they of the Towne were much amazed at this great and ſuddaine accident, yet they made a long reſiſtance, defending themſelues valiantly; ſo as the *Sclauonians* were forced to retire. By this meanes it happened, that the *Durazins* who were in danger to loſe themſelues and their Citty by their negligence, after they had eſcaped the perill by their vertue, did afterwards ſettle a better order in their affaires. B C

Durazo ſurprized by the *Sclauonians*.

The *Sclauonian* Captaines weighed Anchor preſently, and put to Sea, ioyning with thoſe, who, as wee haue ſayd, went to *Corfue*, and made haſte ioyntly to beſiege the Towne. They of *Corfue* being thus ſuddainly ſurprized, and not finding themſelues ſtrong enough, ſent to craue aide from the *Acheins* and *Etoliens*; the like they did to them of *Appolonia* and *Durazo*: intreating them not to ſuffer them to bee thus ſhamefully chaſed away from their naturall Countrey by the *Barbarians*; who hauing pitty of their fortune, armed ten ſhips of Warre of the *Acheins*, and within few dayes after ſayled to *Corfue*, hoping to raiſe the *Barbarians* ſiege at their comming: But the *Illirians* hauing recouered ſeuen Veſſels armed from the *Acarnanians*, with whom they had made a league, marched againſt the *Acheins*, whom they encountred neere vnto the Iſlands which they call *Paxes*, and there they fought. The *Acarnanians* and the *Acheins* ſhips fought equally, and continued long firme, onely their men were wounded. D

Corfue beſieged by the *Sclauonians*.

But

But the *Illirians* interlaced themſelues with their Enemies, who were tied foure together, and enuironing them, they hindred them much: Then the Enemies Veſſels were much troubled, being pierced and grapled withall, their Spurs being faſtned to the *Sclauonians* Veſſels: who entred them with fury, and vanquiſhed them eaſily by reaſon of their multitude. By this meanes foure Quadriremes of the *Acheins* were taken by the *Illirians*, and one Quinquereme ſunke, and all that was in it: In the which was *Marcus Caryneus*, a man of great eſteeme among the *Acheins*, who had alwayes performed his duty well for the Countrey. But when as they which fought againſt the *Acarnanians*, ſaw that the *Illirians* had the Victory, they fled, relying much in the lightneſſe of their Veſſels: And ſaued themſelues from the Battell, retiring to their houſes. The *Sclauonians* growing proud of this Victory, beſieged the Towne more boldly than they had done. They of *Corfue* hauing no more hope, after they had maintained the ſiege for a ſeaſon, in the end yeelded it to the *Illirians*, receiuing their Garriſon, and *Demetrius* of *Pharos* their Captaine. After which the *Illirian* Captaines returned to *Durazo*, and beſieged it.

A Victory of the *Sclauonians* againſt the *Acheins*.

Corfu yeelded.

In the meane time the *Roman* Conſuls, *Caius Fuluius* with an Army at Sea of two hundred ſhips, and *Lanchus Poſthumus* with the Army at Land, parted from *Rome*: So as *Fuluius* came to *Corfue*, thinking that the ſiege had continued ſtill. But when hee ſaw that hee came too late, for that the *Illirians* were within it, hee reſolued to paſſe on, as well to vnderſtand what had beene done, as to try what Opinion they had of *Demetrius*: And for that he had vnderſtood that his Enemies had brought him in diſgrace with the Queene, and that hee feared her fury, he had ſent men to *Rome*, to promiſe them the Towne, and whatſoeuer he held. They at *Corfu* being ioyfull at the *Romans* arriuall, deliuered vnto them (by the conſent of *Demetrius*) the Towne and the *Illirian* Garriſon. Finally, they put themſelues vnder their protection, hoping that by this meanes they ſhould bee no more ſubiect to the outrages of the *Illirians*. When the *Romans* had receiued them into league, they ſayled to *Apolonia*, whither *Demetrius* guided them. At the ſame time *Ancus Poſthumus* cauſed his Land-army to imbarke at *Brunduzium*, being about twenty thouſand Foote, and two thouſand Horſe, all which met at *Apolonia*; the which being yeelded, they ſayled to *Durazo*, for that they had newes the *Illirians* had beſieged it: who being aduertiſed of the *Romans* comming, they raiſed the ſiege for feare, and fled here and there.

Corfu yeelded to the *Romans*.

Apolonia yeelded to the *Romans*.

When the *Romans* had receiued them of *Durazo* into friendſhip, they ſayled on into *Sclauonia*, taking many Townes in their way, and ſhut vp the *Sardiens*. In the meane time there came an Embaſſie from *Parthenia* to the *Romans*, giuing themſelues and their City vnto them. Who being receiued with the *Antitanes*, they tooke their way to *Iſſe*, hauing vnderſtood that the *Illirians* held it beſieged: where they entred after they had raiſed the ſiege: After which they tooke many Townes in *Sclauonia* by force, wherein they loſt not only many Souldiers, but alſo ſome of their Tribunes, with the Queſtor neere

Parthenia yeelded to the *Romans*.

vato *Nutria*. They tooke twenty of the *Illirian* ſhippes, which ſerued them to victuall their Campe. In regard of thoſe which were within *Iſſe*, they were all defeated, and fled to *Narente*, except thoſe which were of *Pharos*, which were giuen to *Demetrius*. Queene *Teuca* with a ſmall company retired to *Rhyzon*, a ſtrong Towne, and farre diſtant from the Sea, ſeated vpon the Bankes of the Riuer of *Rhyzon*.

When the Conſuls had put many Townes and great *Seignuries* into the hands of *Demetrius*, they returned to *Durazo*, with their Armies both at Sea and Land. From thence *Caius Fulnius* returned to A
Rome with the greateſt part of both Armies. But *Poſthumus* ſtayed at *Durazo*, whereas he riggd forty Veſſels, and after hee had leuied men in the neighbour Countries, he ſetled his Garriſons, hauing in his company the *Ardienſes*, and all the reſt that were allied to the *Romans*. When the Spring came, *Teuca* ſent an Embaſſie to the *Romans* to treate a peace, the which in the end ſhee obtained vpon theſe conditions. That ſhee ſhould pay them a yeerely tribute, and that ſhee ſhould leaue all *Sclauonia*, except ſome petty places : And as for that which concernes the *Grecians*, ſhee might not ſayle beyond *Iſſe*, but onely with two ſhips without any furniture of Warre. During theſe B
actions *Poſthumus* ſent an Embaſſie to the *Cheins* and *Etoliens*, to aduertiſe them of the cauſe of the Warre, and of the *Romans* voyage by Sea : And to let them vnderſtand what they had done, and to reade the conditions of the peace. Who after they had obeyed the Conſuls commaund, and had beene well receiued by theſe two people, they returned againe to *Corfue*; the Cittis of *Greece* being then freed from feare by this accord made with the *Illirians*. For in thoſe times the *Illirians* did not aſſault any one in particular, but all the world in generall. Theſe are the cauſes for the which the *Romans* paſt firſt with an Army into *Sclauonia*, and into that Countrey of *Europe*. Since they ſent an Embaſ- C
ſie to *Corinth*, and to the *Athenians*, at ſuch time as the *Corinthians* deſired to make the *Romans* partakers of the Warre, which they made againſt them of the *Iſtmus*.

An accord made with *Teuca*.

At that time *Aſdrubal* (for here wee formerly left our diſcourſe of the affaires of *Spaine*) had by his great vertues much increaſed the *Carthaginians* Empire in *Spaine*, and built a Towne which ſome called *Carthagena*, others *Villanoua*, moſt commodious by reaſon of its ſcituation, as well for the affaires of *Spaine* as of *Affricke*. Of whoſe ſcituation, and of the benefit it may bring to the two Prouinces, we will ſpeake in another place when it ſhalbe fitting. The *Romans* ſeeing the D
Carthaginians forces growne thus powerfull in *Spaine*, did not hold it fit to let things paſſe in this manner : But acknowledging their negligence for that formerly like men aſleepe, they had by their owne weakneſſe ſuffered the *Carthaginians* name to grow great there, they reſolued to repaire this errour : Yet they durſt not begin a Warre, fearing a deſcent of the *Gaules*, whoſe fury they apprehended much. And therefore they reſolued to treate firſt with *Aſdrubal* touching *Spaine*, and then to aſſaile the *Gaules* : And whatſoeuer ſhould happen to vndergoe

Carthagena built in *Spaine* by the *Carthaginians*.

vndergoe the danger, in holding it for certaine, that it was not poſſible for them, to be Lords of *Italy*, nor to keepe their owne Countrey and houſes, vnleſſe they had ſubdued the *Gaules*. Thus they ſent an Embaſſie into *Spaine* to *Aſdrubal*, who concluded a treaty of peace: By the which among other things it was agreed, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould not paſſe the Riuer of *Ebro* with an Army, and that they might ouer-runne the reſt of *Spaine*. Preſently after the concluſion of this treaty, they prepared for Warre in *Italy* againſt the *Gaules*: the which wee haue thought good to relate ſummarily, A to the end that as wee haue propoſed the preparation for the other, Hiſtories may be more manifeſt. Wee will looke backe vnto the time when as the *Gaules* ſeazed firſt vpon *Italy*. For in my Opinion the Hiſtory will not onely be pleaſant, and worthy of memory, but moſt neceſſary to vnderſtand with what people afterwards, and in what Countries *Hannibal* truſting himſelfe, durſt aſſaile the *Roman* Empire. And firſt wee will ſpeake of their Prouince, what ſcituation, and what proportion it hath to the reſt of *Italy*. For by this meanes they may the better vnderſtand the things which concerne the knowledge of the Hiſtory, in declaring firſt the property of places and B Countries.

A treaty made betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*

All *Italy* is of a triangular forme. That ſide which lookes towards the Eaſt, is confined by the *Ionian* Sea, and the *Adriatique* Gulfe: and that which tends towards the South and Weſt, is incloſed by the Seas of *Italy* and *Sicily*. Theſe two ſides ioyned together make the point of the Triangle: Where in front lies the Promontory, which the people of the Countrey call *Cocynthe*, and hath its aſpect to the South, deuiding the *Ionian* Sea from the *Sicilian*. The third ſide, which tends to the *Pole Artique*, and to the firme land, is limited by the continuation of the *Alps*, the which beginning at *Marſeilles*, and in thoſe Countries which are about the *Sardinian* Sea, continue vnto C the ſhore of the *Adriatique* Sea, leauing ſome little ſpace betwixt both. Within on this ſide which wee meane to bee bounded by the *Alps*, and is as it were the Baſis or foundation of the Triangle, there are from the Southerne Countrey, tending towards the North, Plaines which make the end of *Italy*, and are the greateſt and the moſt fertill in all *Europe*: whoſe figure is likewiſe Triangular.

A deſcription of *Italy*.

The *Appenin* Hill, and the *Alps* ioyning together make a point of the Triangle, neere vnto the *Sardinian* Sea, and aboue *Marſeilles*. That ſide which lookes to the North is made by the *Alpes*, whereof D the extent is two thouſand, two hundred Furlongs. That ſide which hath its aſpect to the South, is bounded by the *Appenin* Hill, the which hath three thouſand and three ſcore Furlongs in length. The ſhore of the *Adriatique* Sea holds the faſhion of the foundation of the whole figure, whereof the greatneſſe (which begins at the Towne of *Senegaille*, vnto the Gulfe of the ſame Sea) hath two thouſand fiue hundred Furlongs in compaſſe.

By this meanes the Circuite of the whole Plaine containeth tenne thouſand Furlongs in compaſſe. It is not in my power to

The fertillity of *Ital*.

About three pence.

deſcribe the great fertillity of the Country, ſo much it abounds in all ſorts of Fruites, that many times a Buſhell of Wheate, after the meaſure of *Sicily*, hath beene ſold in our times for two Soulz, and foure Deneers: That of Barley for foureteene Deneers, and a Veſſell of wine for aſmuch. Moreouer it is not credible the aboundance of Mill and Paniqué, which they call Indian Oatmeale. There is alſo a great aboundance of Akornes, which come from the Forreſts which are in diuers parts of that Region: Conſidering that the *Italians* breed an infinite number of Swine, to Sacrifice, and for their vſe and neceſſary prouiſion of an Army; the which the Fertillity of this Country doth A ſupply abeundantly.

It is eaſie to conceiue that the aboundance of other particular things neceſſary for the vſe of Man, is great: Conſidering that when as Gueſts come vnto their Innes, they neuer make a particular price for the things they take, as they do in o'her Countries, but onely what euery Man is to pay for his ſhare. When as the Gueſts had beene honeſtly intreated, and haue had whatſoeuer was neceſſary for their refection, they neuer payd aboue halfe an Aſſaire, which is worth three-halfe-pence, they ſeldome exceed this price. Moreouer it is very well peopled; the Men are actiue, goodly, and ſtrong for the Warre, the which is more B eaſie to be knowne by their Actions, than by that which can be ſpoken. The *Gaules* whom they call *Tranſalpins* inhabite the Mountainous places on either ſide the *Alpes* towards the *Rhone* and the North. And on the ſide of the plaines dwell the *Turinois*, and the *Agoniens*, and many other Barbarous Nations, which are of the ſame Race with the *Tranſalpins*, and differ only in their Habitation: The other are called *Tranſalpins* becauſe they dwell beyond the Mountaines. As for the top of the Mountaines, it is ſo farre from being inhabited, as they do not find ſo much as the tract of a man, both by reaſon of the difficulty and vneaſineſſe, as for that it is alwayes couered with Snow, and C full of Ice.

A price hard to be credited.

The *Turinois* and *Agoniens*.

The *Genouois*.

But the *Genouois* dwell aboue *Marſeilles*, where as the *Appenin* Hill begins to ioyne with the *Alpes*. Moreouer they hold all that Coaſt which lookes to the Champion Country, and to the Sea of *Italy*: So as along the Sea they hold all vnto the Towne of *Piſa*, which is the firſt Citty of *Italy*, towards the Weſt, and towards the firme Land to *Aretzo*. Next to the *Genouois* come the *Italians*, and of eyther ſide of the *Appenine* Hill lye the *Vmbrians*. Then the *Appenin* Hill being diſtant about three ſcore and three miles from the *Adriatique* Sea, leauing the Plaine, bends to the right hand, and in croſſing *Italy*, extends D it ſelfe to the Sea of *Sicily*. The Country which is betwixt it and the *Adriatique* Sea, extends vnto *Senegaille*.

The *Poe*.

The Riuer of *Poe*, which the Poets call *Eridanus*, and which beginnes at the Foote of the Mountaines, where as they make in a manner a point of the Triangle (as we haue ſayd) takes his courſe to the plaine towards the South, and from thence bending towards the Eaſt, it enters by two mouthes into the *Adriatique* Sea. It is the greateſt of all the riuers of *Italy*. For all the waters which deſcend from the *Alpes*

and

and the *Appenins*, fall into the *Poe*. It is farre greater in Summer than in Winter, by reaſon of the abundance of Snow which melts. It is nauigable from a place which the people of the Countrey call *Volane*, two hundred and fifty miles towards the *Alpes*. Its ſpring is but a ſmall Riuolet; but after it deuides it ſelfe in two, and enters into the *Adriatique* Sea by two Armes, which they of the Countrey call *Padoua* and *Volane*. The laſt is the ſafeſt Port of all thoſe of the *Adriatique* Sea. *Volane.* *Padoua.*

They which dwell vpon the *Poe*, haue ſometimes called it *Bodencus*. *Bodencus.*
A Finally, the *Grecians* ſpake many things of this *Poe*, as that *Phaeton* gouerning the Horſes of his Fathers Chariott, fell into it: and how that the *Heliades* powre forth teares continually, the which are preſerued by a Tree: and that the people of the Countrey ſince that day began to weare blacke Robes in ſigne of mourning, and haue alwayes vſed it ſince; with many other things, whereof I will now to leaue to ſpeake, for that in my Opinion they doe not conduce to the preparation of our Worke. Hereafter notwithſtanding we will treate of them, when any neceſſary occaſion ſhall be offred: being moſt certaine that *Timeus* did not vnderſtand thoſe things which did concerne this
B Region.

The *Tyrreins* haue formerly held all the Champion Countrey, which is confined by the *Appenine* hill, and the *Adriatique* Sea, at what time alſo they enioyed the Countrey called *Phlegrein*, which is about *Capoua* and *Nola*: at what time alſo they purchaſed a greate eſteeme of vertue. Wherefore Hiſtoriographers muſt not attribute the power of the *Tyrreins* to the Region which they now inhabite. The *Gaules* frequented much with them, by reaſon of their neighbour-hood: who moued with the beauty and fertility of the Countrey, vpon a ſmall occaſion made Warre againſt them, and hauing chaſed them away, ſetled
C themſelues there. The Countrey betwixt the *Poe* and the *Alpes*, is inhabited by the *Layes*, then by the *Vercellains*. Neere vnto whom are the *Milanois* in great numbers, and vpon the banks of *Poe* lye the *Cenomans*. In regard of thoſe places which are neere vnto the *Adriatique* Sea, they are inhabited by people, which are aunciently deſcended from *Paphlagonia*, whom they call *Venetiens*, who differ nothing from the *Gaules* in their manner of liuing and habite, but onely in their tongues: Of whom the tragicall Poets write many ſtrange fooleries. Moreouer, that which lies betwixt the *Appenin* Hill and the *Poe*, is at its entry inhabited by the *Ananes*, by the *Boloniens*, by the
D *Eganes*, and then by the *Senogallois*: Theſe are they who (borderers to all the reſt) haue inhabited neere vnto the *Adriatique* Sea. The *Venetiens* come from *Paphlagonia*.

Behold the principall Nations of all the *Gaules* which dwelt in *Italy*, liuing in Villages without any incloſure, hauing no furniture for their houſes, but lay vpon the bare. They liued of fleſh, and made no profeſſion but of Warre and Tillage, leading a ſimple life without Arts or Sciences. Their wealth was in Gold and Cattell, for that they were things eaſie to tranſport where they pleaſed, when neceſſity preſſed them. They did all ſtriue to purchaſe Friends, for they much The *Gaules* manner of liuing.

eſteemed a man that was honoured by many. In the beginning they not onely held this Countrey, but they alſo drew vnto them a great part of their Neighbours, being terrified with their fury.

Rome taken by the *Gaules*.

Soone after making Warre againſt the *Romanes*, they defeated them with their Allies, and put them ſhamefully to flight. Within three dayes after they tooke *Rome* except the Capitoll, and afterwards returned to their houſes, hauing concluded a Peace with them, and reſtored their Citty: For that they were forced to returne, by reaſon of the inuaſions which the *Venetiens* made into their Country. From thencefoorth they began to make Warre amongſt themſelues: For they which A dwelt at the Foote of the Mountaines, ſeeing the others to increaſe daily in power, made Warre often againſt them. In the meane time, the *Romanes* recouering their Forces, preuailed ouer the *Latins*.

The *Gaules* returne againſt the *Romans*.

Thirty yeares after the taking of *Rome*, the *Gaules* returned with a great Army to *Alba*: But for that the *Romanes* were ſurprized, and had no leiſure to Leuy an Army, nor to require ſuccours from their Allies, they made no reſiſtance againſt them. And when as they returned twelue yeares after, the *Romanes* being preſently aduertiſed of their comming, and drawing together the ſuccours of their Allies, marcht with great courage to incounter them with an Army, deſiring B nothing more than Battell, by the meanes whereof they ſhould ſoone decide who ſhould haue the Empire. The *Gaules* amazed at their Reſolution, and withall there falling a mutiny amongſt them, they made their Retreate little leſſe than a flight, and ſo continued thirteene yeares without making Warre.

But when they ſaw the *Romans* power increaſe daily, they beganne to treate of Peace, the which they obtayned, and continued thirty yeares without Warre. The *Tranſalpins* renewed the Warre againſt them. Wherefore fearing to be aſſailed on two ſides, they intreated them, that for aſmuch as they were of one Nation they would not be C their enemies. Moreouer they ſent them rich preſents, intreating them to turne the Warre againſt the *Romans*, and that they would aſſiſt them with all their meanes. Whereunto being eaſily perſwaded, they marcht all with one conſent againſt the *Romans* by *Tuſcany* (for a great number of the *Tuſcans* held for them) and hauing made a great ſpoile, they retired out of the *Romane* Prouinces to their owne Houſes without loſſe. Where as there fell out a great debate vpon the deuiſion of this great booty, ſo as they not onely loſt a great part of their booty, but alſo the beſt part of their Empire: the which doth vſually happen to the *Gaules*, by reaſon of their gormondize and drunkenneſſe. Foure D yeares after ioyning with the *Samnites* they aſſailed the *Romanes*, of whom they made a great ſlaughter, in the Region of the *Camertins*. Some few dayes after they aſſailed them againe, and had a Battell neere vnto the Country of the *Sentinates*, where they gaue them a great defeate, and forced the reſt to recouer their Houſes.

Pillage made by the *Gaules* vpon the *Romans*.

Diuers victories of the *Gaules* againſt the *Romans*.

Ten yeares after they made a great aſſembly of men of Warre, and deſcending into *Tuſcany* they beſieged *Arezo*. The *Romanes* comming to ſuccour the *Arezins*, fought neere vnto the Towne, and loſt the battell,

Battell with the Conſull *Lucius*: In whoſe place they did chooſe *Marcus Curio*, who preſently ſent an Embaſſie into *Gaule*, to retire the priſoners; who at his comming was ſlaine by them, contrary to the Law of Nations.

The *Romanes* incenſed at ſo wicked an Act, made a new Leuy of men, and reſolued to enter the *Gaules* Countrey. But they had not done any great matter, when as the *Senogallois* went to incounter them; whom the *Romanes* charged, and ſlew the greateſt part, and thoſe few which remained were chaſed out of the Country. They recouered the whole Country, and re-peopled the Towne againe, calling
A it *Senogallia*, as it had beene formerly, when it was firſt inhabited by the *Gaules*. This Towne (as we haue ſayd) is ſcituated vpon the *Adriaticke* ſhore, where as the points of *Italy* do end. When the *Bolonians* ſaw the *Senogallois* chaſed by the *Romanes* from their Countrey, they rayſed an Army to make Warre againſt them, calling all the *Tuſcans* to their ayde, fearing leaſt the *Romanes* ſhould doe the like vnto them.

A defeate and ruine of the *Senogallois* by the *Romans*.

The ſcituation of *Senogallia*.

Preſently after they fought, where moſt of the *Tuſcans* were ſlaine, and a few of the *Bolonians* ſaued themſelues by flight. Yet they fainted not for this defeate, but the yeare following drew together all the
B Forces they could make, and all the Youth that could beare Armes, and marcht againſt the *Romanes*, where they were defeated and ſlaine, ſo as they were in a manner vtterly ruined. Wherefore their pride abated, they made an agreement with them by Embaſſadours. Theſe things hapned, three yeares after the deſcent of *Pyrrhus* into *Italy*, and fiue yeares after the *Gaules* had beene defeated in *Delphos*. Behold how in that time Fortune (as a mortall plague among the *Gaules*) perſecuted them in all places. But the *Romanes* made a double profit by the battels which we haue formerly related: For being accuſtomed to fight with the *Gaules*, who had beene held very fierce and fearefull, they became
C good Souldiers againſt *Pyrrhus*. Thus by little and little they abated the pride of the *Gaules*, ſo as afterwards they were much more aſſured, firſt to fight with *Pyrrhus* for *Italy*, and afterwards againſt the *Carthaginians* for the Soueraignty of *Sicily*.

The *Bolonians* defeated by the *Romans*.

A defeat of the *Gaules* in *Delphos*.

The *Gaules* weakned by the meanes of the former Battels, liued in peace forty fiue yeares, without any breach of the accord made with the *Romanes*. But after that the old men, (who had vndergone the dangers, and felt ſo many loſſes) were dead, the Youth who were of
D a harſh and bad diſpoſition, and had not felt the miſeries of former times, grew inſolent. Theſe (as it is willingly the nature of men) began preſently to vndertake the Warre, and to bee enemies to the *Romanes*, whatſoeuer ſhould ſucceed, and moreouer to ſend to craue ſuccours from the *Tranſalpins*. It is true, that in the beginning the Princes did mannage the affaires without the conſent of the people: So as it hapned, that when as the *Tranſalpins* were come to *Rimeni*, the common people of *Bolonia*, being ignorant of this enterprize, and fearing this deſcent, mutined againſt their Commaunders, and put to death *Etas* and *Gallus* their Kings; then they fought with the *Tranſalpins*. The

King *Etas* and *Gallus* ſlaine.

Romanes

Romanes likewiſe amazed at this deſcent of the *Tranſalpins*, drew their Men to field: but when they were aduertiſed of the other defeate of the *Gaules*, they retyred to their Houſes.

Fiue yeares after, *Marcus Lepidus* being Conſull, *Caius Flaminius* made a Law for the people, by the which that Region of *Gaule*, which they call the *Marquiſate* of *Ancona*, vnto *Rimeni*, from whence the *Senogalloïs* had beene chaſed, ſhould be deuided amongſt the *Romane* Souldiers. For which cauſe there ſuddainly grew a new Warre: For moſt part of the *Gaules*, eſpecially the *Bolonians*, who were neighbours vnto the *Romanes*, were much incenſed therewith, thinking that A the *Romanes* did not fight for principallity or Glory, but for pillage and their ruine. Wherefore the *Millannois* and *Bolonians* conſenting together, ſent ſuddainly to the other *Gaules*, which dwell beyond the Mountaines along the Riuer of *Rhone*, whom they call *Geſſates*, for that they fight for pay, (for ſo the word imports) offering to their Kings *Congolitan* and *Aneroeſte* a great ſumme of preſent money. They acquaint them with the great felicity of the *Romanes*; and what a benefit it would be if they could vanquiſh them.

The occaſion to renew the Warre betwixt the *Romans* and *Gaules*,

By this meanes they mooue them to make War againſt the *Romans*; the which was eaſie to perſwade, conſidering the former Reaſon. They B promiſe them alſo to make them Companions in this Warre, reducing to their memory the proweſſe of their Predeceſſors, who had not only defeated the *Romanes* in battell, but after the Victory had taken the Citty of *Rome* with wonderfull celerity: Where they had taken great ſpoiles, and after they had beene maſters thereof ſeauen moneths, they reſtored them the Empire willingly, and returned into their Country ſafe with all their booty. In propounding theſe things brauely vnto them, they incouraged theſe Kings and the *Gaules*, ſo as there was neuer deſcent made out of that Country, of a greater Army, nor more valliant men, nor better furniſhed.

The *Gaules* were ſeauen moneths within *Rome*,

Amazement of the *Romans* for the deſcent of the *Gaules*.

When the newes thereof came to *Rome*, the Citty was ſo amazed, C as they preſently made a new Leuy of men, and began to make prouiſion of Victualls, leading their Army ſometimes vnto their Frontiers, as if the *Gaules* had beene there preſent; who notwithſtanding were not yet come out of their Country. Theſe things were very beneficiall to the *Carthaginians*, to augment their Empire in *Spaine*. But the *Romanes* conſidering that theſe affaires were more preſſing, for that theſe people were too neere enemies, they were forced to lay aſide the affaires of *Spaine*, vntill they had pacified *Italy*. And therefore in renewing the accord with *Aſdrubal*, Lieutenant Generall for the *Carthaginians*, they wholly attended the Warre againſt the *Gaules*, ſtudying D only how they might reſiſt their fury.

A deſcent of the *Tranſalpins* into *Italy*.

When as the *Geſſates* had drawne a great number of men together neere vnto the *Rhone*, they paſſed the Mountaines, and entred the plaine neere vnto the *Poe*: Where as the other *Gaules* eight yeares after the yeilding of that Region, and in like manner the *Millannois* and *Bolonians*, ioyned preſently with a great multitude. But the *Venetians* and *Cenomans* pacified by an Embaſſie from the *Romanes*, preferred their

their friendſhip before the Alliance of the *Gaules*. Wherefore the Kings for feare of them, left a part of their Army in *Millannois* to guard the Countrey, and marcht with the reſt into *Tuſcany*, being about fifty thouſand Foote, and twenty thouſand Cars and Horſe men. When as the *Romans* had newes that the *Gaules* had paſt the *Alpes*, they ſent *Lucius Emilius* the Conſull with an Army to *Rimeni*, that being there before the Enemy, hee ſhould ſtay their paſſage. They alſo cauſed one of the Pretors to march into *Tuſcany*, for the other Conſull *Caius Attilius*, had in the beginning of his Conſulſhip paſt in. The number of the *Gaules* Army.

A to *Sardinia* with an Army at Sea.

The City of *Rome* was heauy, and much troubled, and did not attend this great attempt of the *Gaules* without great feare. They then remembred their former defeates, and feared this Nation, as the ruine of the City of *Rome*. And therefore they had long before prepared a great Army: they dayly made new leuies of men, and they aduertiſed their Allies to bee ready and in Armes. Moreouer, they enioyned them to ſend vnto the Senate the Rolles of the Bands of their Youth, deſiring to know the number of Souldiers of all the *Italian* Army. They likewiſe made proviſion of Corne and B Armes, and of all other things neceſſary, in greater abundance than they had done in former times. The diligence of the *Romans*.

The other people of *Italy* were no leſſe diligent, they were ſo much amazed at the deſcent of the *Gaules*: ſo as they did not thinke to fight for the *Romans*, nor for their Empire, but euery man for his owne ſafety, for his City, and for his Countrey: Wherefore all the *Italians* did willingly obey the *Romans* in this Warre. I will here ſet downe the preparations the *Romans* made for Warre, and what number of men they had in thoſe times, to the end you may plainely ſee how great they were, and what forces they had when as *Hanni-* C *bal* preſumed to aſſaile them, and with what Troopes making Warre againſt the *Romane* power, hee brought the Citty into ſo great danger. First, the Conſuls went to field with foure *Romane* Legions, whereof eyther conſiſted of fiue thouſand two hundred Foote, and two thouſand Horſe. They had moreouer by reaſon of this arming of the *Gaules*, raiſed other Troopes. The *Tuſcans* and *Sabins* had drawne together three ſcore and ten thouſand Foote, and about foure thouſand Horſe. The preparations which the *Romans* made for Warre. The number of Souldiers which were raiſed in *Italy*.

As ſoone as the newes came that the *Gaules* paſt the *Alpes* of *Bolonia*, theſe were ſent into *Tuſcany*, vnder the command of the Prouoſt of the Citty. After theſe the *Vmbrians* and *Sarſenates* inhabiting D Mount *Appenin*, were aſſembled to the number of twenty thouſand men. The *Venetians* alſo, and *Cenomans* were about twenty thouſand, all which were appointed to keepe the *Appenin* Hils, and to fall vpon the *Bolonois* when occaſion ſhould bee offered. Behold the Troopes which at the firſt they ſent againſt the *Gaules*. There was moreouer another Army within *Rome* to guard the Citty, and to attend the pleaſure of the Senate vpon all occaſions: whereof there were twenty thouſand foot, *Romans*, and fifteene hundred Horſe, and of their Allies thirty thouſand

Foote, and two thouſand Horſe. Moreouer they had the Roll of the Army of the *Latins*, which conſiſted of foure ſcore thouſand Foote, and fiue thouſand Horſe: and of the *Samnites* of three ſcore and ten thouſand men, and ſeuen thouſand Horſe. Of the *Lapiges* and *Meſapiens* fifty thouſand Foote, and ſixeteene thouſand Horſe, of *Marſes*, *Marrucciens*, *Ferrentins* and *Veſtins*, twenty thouſand Foote, and foure thouſand Horſe. Of the *Lucains* thirty thouſand Foote, and three thouſand Horſe. There were moreouer at that time two Legions in *Sicily*, and about *Tarentum* for the guard of the Countrey: whereof either was of foure thouſand two hundred Foote, and two hundred Horſe. Moreouer, the A multitude of the *Romans* and *Campanois*, was about two hundred and fifty thouſand Foote, and three and twenty thouſand Horſe. By this meanes the number of the Troopes which were ſubiect to the Senate and people of *Rome*, exceeded an hundred and fifty thouſand Foote, and about ſixe thouſand Horſe. But the whole force of *Italy* was generally of ſeauen hundred thouſand Foote, and three ſcore and tenne thouſand Horſe. Againſt the which *Hannibal* hauing but twenty thouſand men, durſt enter into *Italy*. But this ſhall bee for another time.

Tuſcany ruined by the *Gaules*.

The *Gaules* finally paſſing the *Appenin* Hils, entred into *Tuſcany* B without any reſiſtance, putting all to fire and ſword: Finally, they marcht ſpeedily to *Rome*. Being come neere vnto a Towne which they call *Cluſe*, within three dayes iourney of *Rome*, they had newes that the *Roman* Army (which as wee haue ſayd, had beene ſent to guard *Tuſcany*) was drawne together and followed them. Wherefore they preſently turned head furiouſly vpon them. And when they were come neere vnto the other at the Sun-ſetting, then they campt, leauing ſome little ſpace betwixt them. Night being come, the *Gaules* made fires in their Campes after their vſuall manner, and left their Horſe-men

The pollicy of the *Gaules*.

there, giuing them charge to part at the breake of day, and when they C ſhould be diſcouered by the Enemies to goe on their courſe. In the meane time making ſhew of a fight, they part with all their Foote, and march directly to *Feſula*, of purpoſe to drawe on their Horſe-men, and to breake the Enemy which followed them.

A Victory of the *Gaules* againſt the *Romans*.

The *Romans* ſeeing the *Gaules* Horſe-men part at the breake of day with great noiſe, thinking it was for feare, haſted after them indiſcreetly, and drew neere vnto them. Who being ioyned, the combate in the beginning was furious, for that the *Gaules* did charge them on all ſides according to their reſolution. Finally, the *Romans* loſt ſixe thouſand men, for that the *Gaules* were more in number and of greater D courage. All the reſt of the Army fled, whereof a great part retired to a little Hill, ſtrong by ſcituation and nature. The *Gaules* began to beſiege them: But for that they were tired with watching the Night before, and with the toyle of the day, they returned to take their refection, leauing a ſtrength of Horſe-men to keepe the Hill, with a reſolution to giue an aſſault with all their forces, if they did not yeeld within three dayes. At that time *Lucius Emilius* the Conſull, who (as wee haue ſayd) was at *Rimini* with an Army, hauing aduertiſement

aduertiſment that the *Gaules* had paſt *Tuſcany*, and marcht to *Rome* with all their forces, he vſed all diligence to come and ſuccour his companions. When he had paſt the *Appenin* Hill, and was lodged neere vnto the Enemy, they which had retired to the Hill, knowing the Conſuls comming, which they eaſily diſcouered by the fires in the Night, they preſently tooke courage, and ſent ſome of their men vnarmed vnto him by the Forreſt, to let him vnderſtand how things had paſt.

The Conſull ſeeing that all delayes in ſo great a danger of his com-
A panions were preiudiciall, he gaue order to the Tribunes of the Souldiers, to march at the breake of day with all the foote: And in the meane time he takes his way towards the Hill with all the Horſe-men. The Commaunders of the *Gaules* doubting of the Conſuls comming by the fires in the Night, aſſembled to aduiſe what they had to doe. Then King *Anereoſte* was of opinion, that it was a folly to loſe time with the Enemy, and to bring their conqueſt in danger, before they had put ſo great a ſpoile in ſafety (they had in truth an infinite number of Priſoners, and abundance of all other things) and therefore they muſt firſt returne into their Countrey, and there leaue all the baggage, and then
B returne into *Italy* if they thinke it fit: to the end the Souldiers might fight with their Enemies without any incumbrance. The *Gaules* liked of this counſell, and the next day drew forth their Enſignes before the breake of day, returning into *Gaule* along the Sea-ſhore, laden with all ſorts of pillage.

The aduice of *Anereoſte*.

The retreate of the *Gaules*.

When as *Lucius Emilius* had retired thoſe which had fled to the Hill, he purſued the *Gaules* with his Army. Yet he did not hold it fit to preſent battell to ſo great a multitude, but rather reſolued to attend ſome opportunity, either of time or place, where hee might amaze the Enemy, or make them abandon the booty in ſome ſort. At the
C ſame time *Caius Attilius* the other Conſull, who was lately arriued at *Piſa* from *Sardinia*, landed with his whole Army, and marched directly to *Rome* by the Sea-ſhore before the *Gaules*. They were not farre from *Telamona* a Towne of *Tuſcany*, when as ſome of their ſcouts fell by ſurprize into the *Romans* hands, who diſcouered vnto the Conſull that the *Gaules* were not farre off, and that *Lucius Emilius* purſued them. Theſe things being vnderſtood, *Caius Attilius* wondering at this fortune, and hoping partly of the Victory, for that Fortune ſeemed to haue deliuered the Enemy betwixt their two Campes, he gaue the Legions to the Tribunes of the Souldiers, and gaue them
D charge to march againſt the Enemy, as much as the opportunity of place would giue them leaue.

The purſuite of *Emilius*.

Caius Attilius.

In the meane time ſeeing a little Hill vpon the way, very commodious for their Warre, to the which the *Gaules* ſeemed to tend, hee tooke the Horſe-men, and reſolued to get it before them, and to vndergoe the danger, hoping that if the *Romans* had the Victory by this meanes, they would attribute the honour vnto him. The *Gaules* ignorant in the beginning of the Conſuls comming, and doubting by the things which they ſaw, that *Lucius Emilius* had paſt before night with his horſ-

men, to gaine the Countrey which was aduantagious for the Warre, they preſently ſent all their Horſe, and ſome of their moſt actiue men to recouer this Hill. But when they were aduertiſed by the Priſoners that *Attilius* held it, they preſently cauſed their Foot-men to march, and order their battell in the Reare, as in the Front, for that they ſaw *Emilius* followed them in the taile, and that the other attended them in front, as they had learned by the Priſoners, and by the things which had happened. They which were with *Emilius*, were not yet confident, although it were a common bruite that the Army of *Sardinia* was arriued at *Piſa*. But they were aſſured when as they ſaw the combat at the Hill: for the Enemies were very neere, and therefore the *Emilian* Horſe reioyced much, and tooke away by the ſide of the neereſt Hill to goe and ſuccour thoſe which defended it. A

Emilius in the meane time marcht after the *Gaules* in the ſame order hee had beene accuſtomed. When the *Gaules* ſaw themſelues thus inuolued by the Enemies, they put vpon the Reare the *Geſſates* and *Milannois* againſt *Emilius* who followed them, and vpon the Front the *Piemontois*, and thoſe which inhabite along the *Poe*, appointing the *Bolonians* and the *Cars* with all the baggage apart without the two Battalions, and all the pillage vpon a little Hill, with ſome Horſe-men to guard it. When they had thus ordained their Battell with two fronts, it ſeemed not onely terrible to behold, but alſo of a wonderfull efficacy for the combat. The *Bolonians* and *Millannois*, made choice of ſuch as had Breeches, and were moſt at eaſe in their apparrell But the *Geſtates* for the great courage and wonderfull deſire of glory which they had, ſtript themſelues, and put themſelues before the Battalion naked, onely with their Armes, hauing a conceit that by this meanes they ſhould be more actiue and diſpoſed to fight: For the Buſhes (which were thicke there) would ſtay them by their Clothes, and hinder their fighting. B

The order of the *Gaules* battell.

First, the Combate which was at the Hill, was in the ſight of both Armies, whereas the Horſe men charged one another, and fought valiantly. There *Caius Attilius* was ſlaine, fighting too raſhly, whoſe Head was preſently carried to the Kings of the *Gaules*. Yet the *Romane* cauallery fainted not, but were the more incenſed to fight; ſo as in the end they not onely defended the Hill, but defeated all the *Gaules* Horſe-men. In the meane time the Foot men approach, and the combate began, the which was not onely horrible and wonderfull to behold for thoſe that were preſent, but likewiſe for thoſe which ſhall heare it ſpoken of. Firſt conſidering that the battell was of three Armies, euery man may imagine, that the fight was not onely new and fearefull to the aſſiſtants, but alſo their manner of fighting. Moreouer, who will doubt but the *Gaules* had the worſt, being chargd as well in the Reare as in the Front? Or it may be the better, for that they fought altogether againſt the two Armies, and that the two ſides repulſed their Enemies, ſo as at the ſame inſtant they defended one another: And that moreouer they could not paſſe on, nor hope for flight backeward? There is no doubt but a Battell with two Fronts hath the be- C D

Caius Attilius ſlaine.

The battell of the Foot-men.

nefit,

neſſit, that the Souldiers haue no meanes to flye. In regard of the *Romanes*, they had hope of Victory, for that they ſaw their Enemies incloſed, as it were deliuered into their hands: On the other ſide they feared the fury and order of their Army, the ſound of Trumpets and Clairons was terrible, with the which all the Troope made a great cry and ſhoute, ſo as there was an incredible noiſe. They could not heare the Trumpets and Souldiers, and moreouer, the neighbour places ſeemed to ecchoe forth their cries.

It was a terrible thing to ſee the forlorne hope march naked. Beſeeme, theſe great naked bodies, with their motions vnder their Bucklers were maruelous and fearefull. The beauty and riches of their Apparell gaue alſo a great luſter. For the whole Army ſhined with chaines of Gold, and Silkes wouen with purple. The which the *Romanes* obſeruing, they were partly amazed, and partly encouraged with the hope of ſpoile. Finally, the taile of the Army which was armed, was not gauld by the *Roman* Archers, who doe vſually march before the Battalion. But the forlorne hope which fought naked before their Troopes, were contrary to all hope much annoyed: For they could not couer their great naked bodies with their *French* Bucklers: And therefore the Arrowes fell eaſily vpon them. Finally, when they ſaw themſelues thus beaten, and could not bee reuenged of the Archers by reaſon of the diſtance, and for the multitude of Arrowes which flew from all parts, they caſt themſelues like deſperate mad-men, ſome vpon their Enemies, where they were ſlaine: others retired vpon their owne Troopes, who being all bloody, daunted the courage of the reſt, and put them in diſorder.

The defeate of the forlorne hope of the *Gaules*.

By this meanes the fierceneſſe of the *Geſſates*, which made the forlorne hope was abated. Then the *Milannois*, the *Bolonians*, and the *Turinois* maintained the burthen of the battell: where they did not fight a farre off with their Arrowes and Darts as formerly, but hand to hand with their Speeres and Swords: and the Combate was as furious as euer any was, for euery man performed his duty. It is true, that their Targets and Swords were not equall. For the *Gaules* Swords were heauy and blunt, and their Targets weake: The *Romanes* couered themſelues with ſtronger Targets, and carried ſhort Swords and ſharpe. And therefore the *Gaules* were ſtill defeated in what manner ſo euer they fought, whether in troope, or man to man: Yet they ſtood firme in battell, vntill that the *Romane* Gauellery came downe from the Hill in great fury: Then they were broken and ſlaine here and there. The Foot-men died in the place where they had their Stations appointed: But the Horſe-men fled. The *Gaules* loſt in this battell forty thouſand men; there were onely taken ten thouſand with King *Congollitane*. *Aneroeſte*, which was the other King of the *Gaules*, fled with ſome few which followed him to a neighbour-place, who ſome dayes after ſlew themſelues.

The Armes which the *Gaules* did vſe.

A defeate of the *Gaules* Army.

The taking of King *Congollitane*.

The death of King *Aneroeſte*.

After this defeate, *Lucius Emilius* the Conſull, ſent the Enemies ſpoyles to *Rome*, and reſtored the booty to thoſe to whom it did belong. From thence he went thorough the *Genouois* Countrey into that of *Bolonia*,

The *Bolonians* Country spoyled.

Ionie, making great spoyles: And hauing in a short time inrich't his Army with all sorts of booty, he brought it backe to *Rome*, with the Armes, chaines and bracelets of gold, wherewith hee did adorne the Capitoll: being a kind of ornament of gold, which the *Gaules* are accustomed to carry about their wrists and neckes: the rest of the spoyles and all the prisoners, went before him in triumph. Behold those great attempts of the *Gaules*, which the *Romans* not onely feared, but all *Italy* in like manner, came to nothing.

A The *Romans* hoping now to chase the *Gaules* out of *Italy*, sent *Quintus Fulvius* and *Titus Manlius* late made Consuls, with a great Army into *Gaule*. Who at their entry forced the *Bolonians* to submit themselues to their obedience. But they could not proceede in the warre, but were forced to retire by reason of the continuall Raine and the Plague.

The *Bolonians* yeild to the *Romans*.

Afterwards *Publius Furius*, and *Caius Flaminius* being created Consuls, came againe into *Gaule* with an Army: and after they had receiued the *Ananes* into friendship, which are not farre from *Marselles*, they marched directly into the Country of *Milan* with their Legions, where as the Riuer *Ada* ioynes vnto the *Poe*. The *Milannois* had made a great leuie to repulse their enemyes. By whom when the *Romans* had receiued great losse, not onely at the passage of the Riuer, but also in fortifying their Campe, they parted thence, and tooke their way to the Country of the *Cenomans*: where after they had ioyned their Army to theirs, for they were their Allies, they made a new descent into the *Milannois* by the higher Country, which lookes toward the Alpes, ruining all where they past.

B

The Princes of *Milan* hearing the resolution of the *Romans* to bee immutable, resolued to vndergoe the hazard and to fight with them. Wherefore after they had drawne an Army together, and taken the Ensignes of gold which they call vnmoueable out of *Minerva's* Temple, & made prouision of all other things necessary, they marcht against them with great assurance, planting their Campe right against them, to the number of fifty thousand Men. It is true, the *Romans* finding themselues not strong enough, were of aduice to call the *Gaules* to their aide, with whom they were in league. But for that they feared their reuolt, & they were to fight with men of the same Nation, they held it dangerous to trust in such men in so great a danger, and especially to put their safeties in their handsat such a time, and in such an action: Finally, being neere the Riuer, they call the *Cenomans*, and cause them to passe. When all were past they brake the Bridge, depriuing them at one instant of the meanes to ioyne with their Enemies, and leauing their Men no hope of safety but in the victory.

C

The Army of the *Milannois*.

D

When this was done they put their men in order, and offer battell to the *Milannois*. It seemes the *Romanes* had ordered this battell discreetly by the aduertisement of the Tribunes, for the meanes to fight in troope, or man to man; For when as their men were in battell they tooke the *Pikes* from the *Triarij*, and gaue them to such as were in the Front, giuing them charge to entertaine the fury of the *Gaules*, vntill their first heate

of

of fighting were ſpent: Which being done, leauing their Pikes, they ſhould flye to their Swords; ordayning it in this manner, for that they had ſeene by the former Warres, that the *Gaules* had a furious poynt, and afterwards their hearts were faint and effeminate, and that moreouer their Swords as we haue ſayd, were only fit to giue one blow; but afterwards their length grew crooked, and the edge turned by reaſon of the breadth: So as if they did not ſuffer them to ſet the poynt to the ground, and to make them ſtraight againe with their Feete, the ſecond blow wrought no effect.

The vnreadineſſe of the *Gaules* Swords.

A The *Romanes* following the Commaund of the *Tribunes*, charge their enemies with great blowes vpon the breſt with their Pikes. The *Gaules* on the other ſide imploy all their fury to cut them. Then the *Romanes* abandoning their Pikes, fought hand to hand, breaking by this meanes the fury of the *Gaules*: And taking from them all meanes to ſteppe backe, which theſe people are accuſtomed to vſe in their Charge, for that their Swords are blunt and vnprofitable, by reaſon of their length, but only to giue one blow a farre off. But the *Romans* by meanes of their ſhort Swords, wherewith they did not ſtrike like vnto them, but thruſt often through the bodies and throates of the B *Gaules*, ſo as they ſlew a great number.

Behold how the prouidence of the *Tribunes* preuailed much; without doubt the Conſull had not made choiſe of a place fit to fight: Conſidering that in ordering the battell vpon the Riuer ſide, hee had taken from the *Romanes* the meanes to march, which is vſuall vnto them. Wherefore if during the Combate they had beene forced to retyre, they had all fallen into the Riuer by the errour of the Conſull. Yet they had a goodly Victory by their owne forces, and retyred to *Rome* with a great multitude of Priſoners and ſpoyle.

A Victory of the *Romanes* againſt the *Millannois*.

The yeare following the *Gaules* weakned with ſo many battels loſt, ſent an Embaſſie to the *Romanes* for a Peace, making them goodly pro- C miſes. But *Marcus Claudius*, and *Caius Cornelius* choſen Conſuls, vſed all diligence to draw their Army into their Country, to the end the Senate ſhould not yeild vnto it. Wherefore the *Gaules* hauing no more hope of peace, being as it were in deſpaire, rayſed a new Army, and intertayned thirty thouſand *Geſſates*, who, as we haue ſayd, dwell on this ſide the *Rhine*, hauing them all ready and in Armes attending the deſcent of the *Romanes*. When as the Conſuls were entred the *Millannois* Country in the Spring, they beſieged the Towne of *Acerras*, which lyes betwixt the *Poe* and the *Alpes*. And although it D were not in the power of the *Millannois* to ſuccour the beſieged, for that the *Romanes* held the paſſages: Yet their full intent being to raiſe the ſiege, they cauſe a part of their Army to paſſe the *Poe*, to whom they giue charge to beſiege *Claſtidium*, a Towne belonging to the Allies of the *Romanes*, hoping by this meanes the Conſuls ſhould be forced to rayſe their ſiege. But preſently when they had the newes, *Marcus Claudius* makes haſt with the Horſe-men, and the moſt actiue of the foote, to ſuccour the beſieged. When the *Gaules* were aduertiſed of the Conſuls comming, they preſently rayſed the ſiege, and went

The *Geſſates* dwell on this ſide the *Rhine*.

Acerras beſieged.

Claſtidium beſieged.

went resolutely to encounter the *Romanes* offering them battell. At the first the *Gaules* had the better, for that the *Romane* Horse men were surprized by theirs. But being afterwards environed by the *Romane* Cauallery, they were broken and defeated. Many were drowned hauing cast themselues into the Riuer, flying the Enemy: The greatest part were slaine, and the rest taken Prisoners.

A defeate of the *Gaules* by the *Romans*.

But when they which were besieged in *Acerras*, had notice of the defeate of their men neere vnto *Clastidium*, they retired to *Millan*, the Capitall Citty of the Countrey. Then *Cornelius* hauing gotten the Towne of *Acerras* well furnished with Corne and all other Munition, hee pursued the *Gaules*, and planted his Campe neere vnto *Millan*. And for that the *Millannois* came not out to fight, he drew backe his Army, spoyling the Countrey. Then the *Millannois* pursuing them, began to charge them in the Reare, and make a great slaughter: whereof some fled, vntill that *Cornelius* turning head against the Enemy with the Legions, encouraged the whole Army to fight. Who willingly obeying the Consuls commaundment, fell with great fury vpon the *Gaules*, who hauing lately beene so often beaten, made no long resistance, but presently turned head, and recouered the *Alpes*. *Cornelius* pursued them, spoyling the whole Countrey, and from thence hee marcht to *Millan*, which he tooke by force, and brought it vnder the *Romans* obedience.

Acerras taken by *Cornelius*.

A

B

After all these defeats, the Princes of the *Gaules* seeing there was no more hope in their affaires, submitted themselues to the will of the *Romans*. Thus ended the Warre of the *Gaules*, hauing neuer vnto this day heard speake nor read of a greater, be it for the obstinacy of courage, or the resolution of Souldiers, or the cruelty of battels, or the great slaughter of men, or the greatnesse of Armies: Although the counsell, the enterprize, and the daily aduice were vnprofitable: For that the *Gaules* manage their affaires by rage and fury, not by reason. Of whom we might haue considered in how short a time they haue beene chased out of their naturall Countrey by the *Romans*, in leauing them a small portion within the *Alpes*, wee haue thought it good to relate summarily their first attempts, the successe of affaires, and finally their last ruines: For that I hold it fitting for a History, to make such accidents knowne to those of future times: to the end that our men for want of knowing them, may not easily feare the rash descents which Barbarians doe often make: and that they rather try their fortune, than to omit any thing that is necessary, nor to subiect themselues vnto them: Certainly such people are easily and without difficulty broken and defeated, if they resist their first fury. I imagine that they which haue written the Gests of the *Persians* against the *Grecians*, and of the *Gaules* against the *Delphiens*, haue done a great fauour to the *Grecians* to fight for the liberty of the Countrey. There is no doubt but a man will not be amazed for riches, forces, or the multitude of men, if he fights for the defence of his Countrey, if hee hath before his eyes the actions of those times, and consider how many thousands of men, what forces and what Armies, the vertue of Souldiers with valour

C

D

lour and reaſon hath vanquiſhed, broken and defeated. The *Grecians* haue not onely beene terrified by the *Gaules* in former times, but alſo many times in our age: which is the thing which hath mooued mee moſt to relate their actions ſummarily, beginning with the Originall. But to returne where we left, after that *Aſdruball* Generall of the *Carthaginians* had continued eight yeeres in *Spaine*, hee was in the end traiterouſly ſlaine in the Night in his lodging by a *Gaule*, by reaſon of ſome priuate hatred: Hee was not onely excellent and expert in the Art of Warre, but was ſo eloquent to moue the hearts of men, as hee much augmented the *Carthaginians* Empire. Then they gaue the charge of the Army which was in *Spaine* to *Hannibal*, being then a young Man, for that hee had a good beginning, and a wonderfull great courage for his age. Who at his comming made declaration that hee would bee an Enemy to the *Romans*, the which fell out ſoone after. From that time the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians* grew iealous of one another. To ſpeake the truth, the *Carthaginians* laboured ſecretly to ſurprize them for that they had chaſed them out of *Sicily*. On the other ſide the *Romans* knowing their intent, gaue no greate credit vnto them: ſo as it might eaſily bee conceiued the Warre would ſoone breake out. At the ſame time the *Achaiens* with *Phillip* King of *Macedon*, and their Allies, made Warre againſt the *Etoliens*, which they called the Warre of the Allies.

The *Grecians* terrified by the *Gaules*.

Aſdruball ſlaine

A

B

As wee haue related the Warre which the *Romans* made againſt the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily* and in *Affricke*, and the things which followed, and being now come according to the order of our preparation, to the beginning of the Warre betwixt the Allies, and to the ſecond of the *Carthaginians*, which they call the Warre of *Hannibal*, ſeeing wee haue reſolued to begin our courſe with thoſe times, it is reaſonable wee ſhould come to the Geſts and Exploits of the *Grecians*: to the end that making by this meanes a preparation of all parts, wee may begin the Hiſtory which wee haue reſolued on, when as wee ſhall come to the ſame end of all things.

C

As therefore wee haue not vndertaken to write the actions onely of one Nation or another, as other Hiſtoriographers haue done, as of the *Grecians* or *Perſians*, but of all the parts of the world together, which are come to our knowledge, (for that this preſent time hath beene of great vſe, whereof we will ſpeake more amply in another place) it ſhall be fitting to make a ſummary mention of the moſt knowne Nations and Countries of the whole World, before the beginning of our worke.

D

In regard of the actions of the *Aſians* and *Egyptians*, it ſhall bee ſufficient to deliuer thoſe of our time: conſidering that many haue written the deeds of times paſt, whereof no man is ignorant: Neither is there any thing innouated, which is not according to the Commentaries of Hiſtoriographers. In regard of the people of *Achaia*, and the houſe of *Macedon*, it is fitting to ſearch out the times paſt

ſummarily : As for that which concernes the *Macedonians*, the proofe will bee eaſie : And as for the *Achaiens*, there hath beene made (as wee haue formerly ſayd) an augmentation and wonderfull accord in our time. For when as many laboured formerly to reduce *Morea* to one accord, and could not effect it, conſidering that all men aime more at their priuate profit, than the liberty of the Countrey, there hath beene at this day made ſo great a change, as they haue not onely contracted friendſhip, and a ſtrict league, but moreouer they vſe the ſame Lawes, the ſame weight, the ſame meaſure, the ſame money, and more, the ſame Princes, the ſame Counſell, and the ſame Iudges: So as there is no defect in *Morea* for the making of a Burgeſſe, but that they dwelt not all in one Towne : All the reſt was alike and the ſame thing. A

All *Morea* reduced into a league.

It ſhall not bee therefore vnfitting to ſhew how the Name of the *Achaiens* hath firſt reigned in *Morea*. You muſt vnderſtand that they which were firſt ſo called, had no better Countrey, nor more Townes, nor more Wealth, nor more virtue. Without doubt the *Arcadians* and *Lacedemonians* doe farre exceed the other people of *Morea*, both in number of men and Townes : Neither is there any Nation in *Greece* which paſſeth them in proweſſe and virtue. What is the cauſe then that theſe men whom wee haue named, and the other people of *Morea*, haue willingly ſuffred not onely the Comminalty of the *Achaiens*, but alſo to take the Name? It were a folly to ſay that it was by chance. Wherefore it were better to ſeeke the cauſe without the which wee cannot finiſh thoſe things which are done with reaſon, nor thoſe which ſeeme to bee done without it. For my part I conceiue it was the equality, and the common liberty which was kept amongſt them all, as a certaine preſident of a true Common-wealth : For there is no Citty in all *Greece*, where there are found better Lawes. Behold the cauſe which hath cauſed the greateſt part of *Morea* willingly to follow this Common-wealth Some thorough reaſon and perſwaſion, others forced by little and little with the time, and yet they haue preſently pacified their diſcontents. And for that they did not from the beginning leaue more to one then to another, but would haue all things equall to all men, it preſently brought the *Acheins* to this great Authority, vſing two meanes of great efficacy, that is, Equality and Clemency : Behold the cauſe which wee muſt imagine, for the which all *Morea* being of one will and accord, attained to this proſperity and peace wherein wee ſee it at this day. B C

The Name of the *Acheins* well entertayned in *Morea*.

It is true, that this manner of liuing, and meanes of gouernment of a Common-wealth was long obſerued by the *Acheins* : the which is probable by the teſtimony of many witneſſes. Yet wee will produce but one or two at this time. You muſt vnderſtand that at what time a Company of the *Pythagorians* were burnt for a ſecret conſpiracy in the Region of *Italy*, which they then called great *Greece* : It happened that the Countrey and the Townes were much afflicted with murthers and ſedition, by a ſtrange alteration of Common-weales whoſe Princes D

The *Pythagorians* burnt in *Italy*.

Princes were wickedly ſlaine. And therefore Embaſſadours came from all parts to pacifie their debates. Who leauing all the reſt, they referr'd themſelues in all their quarrels to that which the *Acheins* ſhould decree. Soone after they reſolued to vſe their Lawes, and to frame their Common-wealth like vnto theirs. Without doubt the *Crotoniates*, *Sybarites*, and *Caulonites*, after they had ended their quarrels in a friendly manner, edified a Temple in publique, to *Iupiter Omarie*, where they might aſſemble the people, and giue them inſtructions. Moreouer hauing accepted the Inſtitutions and Lawes of the *Acheins*, A they would onely liue in them, and erect their Common-wealth. But the tyranny of *Denis* of *Syracuſa* and the *Gaules*, who at that time ſpoiled the Countrey, hindered them from bringing their enterprize to an end. Moreouer, after the defeate of the *Lacedemonians* beyond all hope, before *Luctres*, and that they of *Thebes* had already troubled the Empire of *Greece*, there was a great mutiny and a ſtrange combuſtion throughout all *Greece*, namely, betwixt the *Lacedemonians* and the *Thebains*: For that the *Lacedemonians* conceiued they had beene vanquiſhed, and the others did not thinke they had gotten the Victory. Notwithſtanding either of them by a common conſent made choice of B the *Acheins* among all the *Grecians*, to whoſe iudgement they ſubmitted themſelues touching their quarrels, not hauing ſo much regard to their forces or power (for in truth it was the leaſt of all the Prouinces of *Greece*) as to the faith and iuſtice of the people, which at that time was held great in the opinion of the World. It is true, they had then but bare virtue, hauing done nothing worthy of fame or eſtimation. Wherefore their commonalty did not increaſe much for that they had not any Lord which was worthy to gouerne them, for that they had beene alwaies kept vnder by the Empire of the *Lacedemonians* or *Macedonians*.

The *Lacedemonians* and *Thebains*.

C But after by ſucceſſion of time they had found Gouernours worthy of their eſtate, they preſently purchaſed honour and glory. They reconciled all *Morea*, which was an excellent worke: whereof no man doubts but *Arate* the *Sicyonien* had beene the Authour and contriuer: the which *Philopomene* the *Megalopolitein* finiſhed, and afterwards confirmed: and that *Licerta* was the third which amplified and augmented it, and ſubſequently all his Companions. Hereafter wee will endeauour as much as the Subiect ſhall require, to relate their deeds, the manner and the time: Yet wee will make a ſummary mention of the actions of *Arate* at this time, and hereafter, for that hee hath comprehended all things in his Commentaries according vnto truth plainely D and amply. But as for others our diſcourſe ſhall be ſomething more diligent and more copious.

Arate.

It is true, that in my opinion, the declaration would bee more eaſie, and the Hiſtory more plaine to thoſe that deſire to know it, if wee take it from the time, when as the *Acheins*, who had beene diſperſed into diuers Cities by the Princes of *Macedon*, drew themſelues againe together as it were in one body, and afterwards they augmented in ſuch ſort, as they came to this great amplitude whereof

wee haue hitherto ſpoken in particular, and which continues vnto this day.

A league betwixt the *Dymenſorins* and them of *Patræ*.

They of *Patræ* and the *Dymenſorins* made a league together, in the hundred and foure and twentieth *Olympiade*, at ſuch time as *Ptolomy* the Sonne of *Lagus*, *Lyſimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolomy Ceraunien* dyed, without doubt they all dyed during this *Olimpiade*. Behold in what eſtate the *Acheins* were in former times: They began to be gouerned by Kings, at ſuch time as *Tyſamenes* the Sonne of *Horeſtes* chaſed from *Lacedemonia*, after the deſcent of *Heraclites*, held the Countrey which is about *Acheia*. After whom Kings gouerned continually by ſucceſſion vntill the time of *Sygus*. After whom the Regall power began to be tedious, for that the Children of *Sygus* did not gouerne the Prouince legally, but by Tyranny. Wherefore they chaſed away their Kings, and gouerned in common: wherein they liued diuerſly according to the diuerſity of the times, vntill the dayes of *Alexander* and *Phillip*, yet ſtriuing with all their meanes to gouerne their Common-weales in a Comminalty, which contayned twelue Townes, who are yet in being, except *Olena* and *Elix* which an Earthquake ſwallowed vp before the Battell of *Leuctres*. Behold the Citties, *Patræ*, *Dymes*, *Pharе*, *Tritee*, *Leanty*, *Egire*, *Pellene*, *Bure*, *Ceraunie*, *Carynie*, *Olene* and *Elix*.

Tiſamenes.

Sygus.

A

The alliance of twelue Citties.

B

But in the time of *Alexander*, and before the *Olimpiade* which we haue mentioned, they grew into ſo great diſſention, namely for the Kings of *Macedon*, that the Townes thus deuided, held it would bee a great good vnto them to make Warre one againſt another. So as ſome drew vnto them the forces of *Demetrius* and *Caſſander*, and ſoone after thoſe of *Antigonus*: The others were imployed by the Kings, whereof there were many at that time in *Greece*. But in the hundred and foure and twentieth *Olimpiade*, as wee haue ſayd, they began againe to be reconciled, at ſuch time as *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus* paſt into *Italy*.

The beginning of the league.

C

Firſt, they of *Patræ*, *Dymes*, *Tritee*, and *Phare*, were reconciled, when as there was no title of common alliance betwixt them. Fiue yeeres after they of *Egire* chaſed away their Garriſon, and ioyned to the reſt: whom the *Buriens* followed killing their King: and ſoone after the *Ceraunians*.

Iſeas King.

When as *Iſeas* (who at that time was King of the *Ceraunians*) ſaw that they of *Egire* had chaſed away their Garriſon, and they of *Bure* had ſlaine their King; ſeeing himſelfe in a manner inuolued with Warre, hee relinquiſht the principallity, leauing the adminiſtration of the Common-weale to the *Acheins*, after the Couenants concluded with them to ſaue his life. But why haue wee brought theſe things from ſo farre? To the end firſt that the World may know by what meanes, and at what time, and who were the firſt among the *Acheins*, which rectified this comminalty againe, the which at this day wee ſee flouriſh: And that knowing their order, euery man may eaſily beleeue not onely our Hiſtory, but alſo our actions. Beleeue mee, they haue alwayes obſerued one courſe concerning the gouernment of their Common-wealth, and one reaſon by the which keeping continually an

D

equality

equallity among them, and defeating thoſe who of themſelues, or by their Kings laboured to take their Country, they haue in the end preuailed in all their interpriſes, as well by their owne forces as by the helpe of their Allies.

Finally thoſe things which haue beene ſince done in this Prouince, ought to be attributed to the *Acheins*, who being companions to the *Romanes* in many great affaires, haue not attributed any thing vnto themſelues of that which was done, hauing no other thought but of liberty, and the common accord of *Morea*. But we ſhall ſee it more plainly by their actions.

A All theſe Cittics which we haue named, did adminiſter the Common-wealth from the beginning fiue and twenty yeares with the *Acheins*, making choyſe of one *Queſtor* and two Captaines. Afterwards they reſolued to haue but one, who ſhould haue the charge of their principall affaires. But *Gerynee* was the firſt which had this honour. When his foure yeares were expired, *Arate* the *Sicyonien* was choſen at the age of twenty yeares. Who preſently by his ſingular Vertue, and great courage, freed the Country from Tyrants, and reſtored the Common-wealth of the *Acheins*, to the which from the be-

B ginning he bare a great affection. Some time after hauing gouerned eight yeares, he was choſen againe: And then he beganne to thinke of the meanes by the which he might take the Fort of *Corinthe*, which *Antigonus* then held. The which after he had effected, he freed all *Morea* from great feare: And when as the *Corinthians* were freed from Tyranny, he ioyned them to the *Acheins*. Some few dayes after he did the like to the *Megareins*.

Gerynee.

Arate.

The Fort of *Corinthe* taken by *Arate.*

Theſe things hapned the yeare before the battell of the *Carthaginians*, by the which they were forced to abandon *Sicily*, and to pay tribute vnto the *Romanes*. When as *Arate* had in a ſhort time finiſhed

C all his interpriſes, he ſpent the remainder of his life in the gouernment of the Common weale, ſtudying by all meanes how to chaſe the *Macedonians* out of *Morea*, to ruine the Kings, and to preſerue the common liberty of the Country. And therefore he reſiſted the attempts and practiſes of *Antigonus Gonate*, whileſt he liued, and the couetouſneſſe of the *Etoliens*, who with *Antigonus* grew ſo audacious and ouer-weening, as they were not aſhamed to diuide betwixt them by a common conſent the Townes of *Acheia*. But after the death of *Antigonus*, and that the *Acheins* and *Etoliens* had made a league, when as *Demetrius* made Warre againſt them, the diſſentions and diſcords were

D ſomewhat pacified, and they contracted a common and mutuall friendſhip betwixt them.

But after the Death of *Demetrius*, who Reigned onely ten yeares, and at ſuch time when as the *Romans* paſſed firſt into *Sclauonia*, the *Acheins* made themſelues wonderful great: For all the Kings which Reigned in *Morea* fell into deſpaire, aſwell for the death of *Demetrius* who was their Commaunder and Emperour, as for that they ſaw *Arate* ſ riue with all his power, to depriue them of their Crownes, propounding to ſuch as ſhall doe it willingly great honours and dignities, terrify-

ing and vſing threates to ſuch as ſhould be obſtinate and wilfull. Finally he did admoniſh them all to leaue their Crownes, and reſtoring the Country to liberty, they ſhould imbrace the League of the *Acheins*. Wherefore *Lyſidas* the *Megalopolitaine*, who during the life of *Demetrius*, had wiſely fore-ſeene future things, preſently layes downe his Crowne. *Ariſtomacus* King of the *Argiues*, *Xenon* of the *Hermionians*, and *Cleomines* of the *Phliaſiens*, renounced their Royall Principallities, and ioyned themſelues to the League of the *Acheins*. But for that their Forces were by this meanes growne wonderfull great, the *Etoliens* as men ambitious by nature, enuied them, and hoping to be able to breake the League of the Townes which were allied, as they had done in the beginning, they promiſed to *Alexander* to ſhare with him thoſe of the *Acarnaniens*, and to *Antigonus* thoſe of the *Acheins*. By this meanes they gayned vnder colour of the ſame hope *Antigonus* then Gouernour in *Macedony*, and left by *Philip* Tutor to his Sonne; they alſo made *Cleomines* King of the *Lacedemonians*. When as they ſaw that *Antigonus* had the gouernment of *Macedony*, who was a Souldier and an enemy to the *Acheins*, for the loſſe of the Fort of *Corinthe*, they were of opinion, that if the *Lacedemonians* were companions in this Warre, in aſſailing the *Acheins* on all ſide they ſhould eaſily defeate them. The which vndoubtedly had hapned, if *Arate* a man of great Virtue and Courage, (which they did not conſider) had not taken vpon him the defence of the others.

Lyſidas.

Ariſtomacus.
Xenon.
Cleomines.

The enuy of the *Etoliens* againſt the *Acheins.*

Antigonus Tutour to *Philips* Sonne.

A

B

They began a moſt wicked War with all their Forces; wherein they were not only fruſtrated in their expectance, but they made *Arate* more ſtout and Reſolute, being then Commaunder of the *Acheins* and the whole Nation, by his pollicy and diligent prouidence in all things, as we ſhall ſee by that which followes. For when like a man well aduiſed, he had conſidered that the *Etoliens* were aſhamed to declare Warre againſt the *Acheins*, for the benefits they had lately receiued from them during the Warre of *Demetrius*, and that for this cauſe they had ſolicited the *Lacedemonians* to attempt it: And that they were tranſported with enuy againſt the good Fortune of the *Acheins*, ſo as they were nothing incenſed againſt *Cleomines*, who had taken from them by ſtealth *Tegea*, *Mantinea*, and *Orthomene*, very ſtrong Townes of *Etolia*, but contrary wiſe they confirmed them willingly vnto him; and that moreouer they ſought all occaſions of Warre, onely for a deſire they had to Reigne, the *Acheins* hauing neuer offended them, ſuffring the King to violate his Faith vnto them, and that by fraud he had taken from them ſuch rich Townes, to the end that the forces of *Cleomenes* (increaſed by this meanes) might with more eaſe defeate the Comminalty of the *Acheins*.

C

D

Arate then (as I haue ſayd) and the other Captaines conſidering theſe things, reſolued not to declare any Warre, but onely to reſiſt the attempts of the *Lacedemonians* with all their power. Behold the firſt Reſolution of the Captaines. But ſoone after when as they ſaw that *Cleomenes* built a Citty without feare, which afterwards was called *Athenes*, in the Country of the *Megalopolitains*, and that he declared him-

Athenes.

himselfe an open enemy to the *Acheins*, they make an assembly, where it was resolued to make open War against the *Lacedemonians*, and not by Dissimulation.

This Warre called *Cleominique* beganne thus at that time. In the which the *Acheins* beganne first to resist the *Lacedemonians* with their owne Forces, without the helpe of any other, both for that they held it a greater honour to defend their Countrey and Townes themselues then with assistance of others: And they likewise indeauoured to entertayne their friendship by all meanes with *Ptolomy*, fearing least hee should be discontented, if they should require succours from any others then from him. But when the Warre was begunne, and that *Cleomenes* in ruining the Common-weale, had turned a iust Empire into a Tyranny, gouerning the Warre with Policy and Courage: *Arate* fore-seeing future things a farre off, as a man who vnderstood the Counsell and presumption of the *Etoliens*, was of opinion that they must breake their attempts. And considering that *Antigonus* was a man of great experience in the Arte of Warre, and more sound of his Faith then any other: Knowing that Kings by nature haue neither friend nor Foe, measuring Friendship and Hatred according to their profit, he resolued to addresse himselfe vnto him, and to let him visibly see the euent of the Warre, and finally to make a League with him. He had many reasons why he should not do it openly: For if *Cleomenes* and the *Etoliens* had beene aduertised, they would haue made greater preparations for the Warre, and most of the *Acheins* would haue left him, being amazed at such an alteration, for that they would haue thought, their Commaunder would haue fled to the enemy for refuge like a man in desparre. Wherefore to auoyde these inconueniences, he not onely kept these things secret, but he spake and did many things contrary to his thought, by the which he shewed the contrary of that which hee practised.

The *Cleomenique* Warre.

A good consideration of *Arate*.

The nature of Kings

Seeing then the *Megalopolitains* to bee more prest with Warre then any other, being neighbours to the *Lacedemonians*, and hauing no hope to obtayne succours from the *Acheins*, being subiect to the same Warre, and being moreouer in League and friendship with the *Macedonians*, for that they had done great pleasures to *Philip* the Sonne of *Amyntas*, there was no doubt but as soone as *Cleomenes* should begin the Warre against them, they would require succours from *Antigonus* and the *Macedonians*. Finally he declared his secret to *Nicophanes* and *Cercides Megalopolitains*. They had beene friends to his Father, and seemed fit men to mannage this businesse. By their meanes hee incites the *Megalopolitaines*, to send an Embassie to the *Acheins*, to intreate them to demaund succours from *Antigonus*. The *Megalopolitains* send *Nicophanes* and *Cercides* to the *Acheins*, with Commission after their consent to go to *Antigonus*, the which the *Acheins* did easily allow. This Embassie went to King *Antigonus*, and let him vnderstand their Charge: and in regard of the Affaires which concerne their Country, they deliuered only those things which were most necessary in few words: But they made a long Discourse of the whole in generall, as *Arate* had

Nicophanes, *Cercides*.

A good inuention of *Arate*.

had inſtructed them. They layd before him the attempts which the *Etoliens* and *Cleomenes* might make, confeſſing that this Warre for the preſent was of great conſequence for the *Acheins*. But if the others preuailed in their interprize, it would be much more dangerous for him. They make no doubt, but the *Acheins* being aſſailed at one inſtant by theſe two forces, they would bee eaſily ruined: So there is leſſe doubt, that if *Cleomenes* and the *Etoliens* haue the Victory, that they will not bee ſatisfied therewith: For you muſt vnderſtand that *Morea*, no nor all *Greece* cannot glut the couetouſneſſe of the *Etoliens*. In regard of the ambition of *Cleomenes*, although hee ſeemes for the preſent not to affect any thing but the principallity of *Morea*, yet if he preuaile, he will neuer ceaſe vntill he hath Conquered all *Greece*: Whereunto he can neuer attaine before he hath ruined the principallity of *Macedon*.

By theſe reaſons and ſuch like, they mooue the King to thinke carefully of things to come, and to conſider what may ſeeme fitteſt for his affaires, whether to Allie himſelfe to the *Acheins* and *Beocians*, and to make Warre againſt *Cleomenes* touching the Empire of *Greece*, or leauing the party of ſo many people, to haue it ſoone after againſt the *Etolians*, *Beocians*, *Acheins*, and *Lacedemonians* in *Theſſaly*, for the principallity of *Macedony*. But if the *Etoliens* be aſhamed, to ſeeme to breake the accord made with the *Acheins*, during the Warre of *Demetrius*, and ſhould ſtill make ſhew to perſiſt in friendſhip, as they did yet, the *Acheins* would be too ſtrong to defend themſelues againſt *Cleomenes*. And therefore if Fortune fauours them, they ſhall not need any mans ſuccour. But if contrarywiſe it ſhould bee rather for the *Etoliens*, they intreated the King that he would be pleaſed to giue them ſuccours, and that (not loſing the opportunity of the time,) hee would preſerue *Morea*, before it ſhould be vtterly ruined.

They ſayd moreouer that he had no reaſon to care at that time for Faith and Recompence, and that *Arate* would finde the meanes in the greateſt heate of affaires, to giue him ſatisfaction, and that hee would aduertiſe him of the time when he ſhould neede ſuccours. When as *Antigonus* had heard the Embaſſie, hee did wonderfully commend the prudence of *Arate*, and made anſwere that hee was ready to vndergoe the danger. Moreouer he wrote letters to the *Megalopolitains*, by the which he ſent them word that hee was ready to giue them ſuccours, ſo as it were with the conſent of the *Acheins*.

This done *Nicophanes* and *Cercides* returned to their Countrey: Where after they had deliuered their Letters, they made report of the Kings good affection. The *Megalopolitains* ioyfull of this newes, ſent an Embaſſie againe to the *Acheins*, intreating them to contract with *Antigonus*, and that they might relye in him for all his buſineſſe. *Arate* hearing all this by *Nicophanes*, and the good affection the King bare vnto the *Acheins*, and to himſelfe, was wonderfully ioyfull, both for that he was not fruſtrated of his hope, but for aſmuch as *Antigonus*, (contrary to the hope of the *Etoliens*,) did not ſeeme to flye his friendſhippe. Hee did not finde that reaſonable which the

Mega-

Megalopolitans aimed at, that the *Acheins* ſhould ſubmit themſelues vnder *Antigonus* in all this Warre: For he was not of aduice to require ſuccours of any man but in extreame neceſſity; and if that hapned, he would not haue it done at his requeſt alone, but by all the *Acheins*. In trueth he feared that if *Antigonus*, hauing the victory by the defeate of *Cleomenes* and the *Lacedemonians*, ſhould in the end make any enterprize againſt the Comminalty of the *Acheins*, they ſhould not lay the blame vpon him, as if he had indiſcreetly giuen the aduice for the drawing of the King into their Countrey, who was offended for the taking of the Fort of *Corinthe*. The fore-ſight of *Arate*.

When the Embaſſadours of the *Megalopolitains* came into the Councell, and had made relation of *Antigonus* his Letters, and of the Kings loue and affection, and had made a remonſtrance vnto the *Acheins* for a peace with *Antigonus*, and that it ſeemed the whole aſſembly found it good, *Arate* commended the Kings affection, and the good deſire of the whole aſſembly. Yet he let them vnderſtand by many reaſons that they ſhould indeauour to keepe their Townes and Countrey with their owne forces, but if they could not effect it, then they could not doe any thing more commendable and more profitable. But if Fortune were contrary vnto them, that they muſt firſt doe all that could be poſſible: And if there were no more hope, then they ſhould require ſuccours from their friends. The whole aſſembly allowed eaſily of his Councell; and it was reſolued, that for the preſent they ſhould ordaine no new thing, and that the *Acheins* ſhould mannage this war alone.

But when as (during theſe negotiations) *Ptolomy* had furniſhed *Cleomenes* with men, and other things neceſſary for the Warre, deſiring by this meanes to make him an enemy to *Antigonus*, for that hee had greater hope to bee able to Conquer the Realme of *Macedon* by the meanes of the *Lacedemonians*, then of the *Acheins*, and that the *Acheins* were firſt Defeated by *Cleomenes* by a ſurprize neere vnto *Lycea*, and that afterwards they made a great loſſe neere vnto the Town of *Megalopolis*, and that finally the third time, they were ſo beaten, Defeated, and ſlaine, neere vnto the Towne of *Dymæ* in a place which they call *Hecatombee*, as they were in a manner quite ruined: Then *Arate* ſeeing himſelfe inuironed with ſo many miſeries, knew it was no time to Dreame, and that hee was forced (as hee had formerly reſolued) to demaund ſuccour from King *Antigonus*. For the effecting whereof hee ſent his Sonne in Embaſſie to confirme the Articles of the agreement. Yet hee was in doubt and much troubled, for that hee did not hope *Antigonus* would ſuccour him, if they did not deliuer him for his ſecurity the Fort of *Corinthe*, which they called *Acrocorinthe* with the Towne: Neyther did hee ſee any meanes to deliuer it to the *Macedonians* without the conſent of the *Corinthians*. And therefore hee deferred the Councell to aduiſe of the meanes of ſafety. In the meane time *Cleomenes* glorious of his good Fortune, ouer-ran the whole Prouince, taking Townes aſwell by perſwaſion as by terrour. When by this meanes he had taken *Caphie*, *Pellene*, *Phenee*, *Argos*, *Phlie*, *Cleone*, *Epidaure*, *Hermion*, and *Trizene*, and in Diuers defeats of the *Acheins*.

the end *Corinthe*, hee ſeated his Campe neere vnto the Towne of the *Sicyoniens*, and by this meanes freed the *Acheins* of that care whereof wee haue ſpoken. For when as *Arate* had the newes, that the *Corinthians* had chaſed away the Garriſon of the *Acheins*, and ſent an Embaſſie to *Cleomenes* to deliuer him the City, hauing found a good occaſion, hee yeelds vnto *Antigonus* the Fort which the *Acheins* held. By this meanes hee repaired the wrong which hee had done vnto the King, and it ſerued him for a pledge, and as it were a Fort and retreate for the future Warre.

Acrocorinthe yeelded to *Antigonus.*

But when as *Cleomenes* vnderſtood the league which the *Acheins* had made with *Antigonus*, and that the Fort had beene freely deliuered vnto him, hee preſently raiſed his Siege, and ſeated his Campe neere vnto *Iſthmus*, and rampred diligently with Palliſadoes and Ditches, the place which lies betwixt the Fortreſſe and the Mountaines, which they of the Countrey call *Onies*, as if hee had a hope to make himſelfe Lord of all *Morea*. *Antigonus* who had his Army ready, expected onely the opportunity of the time. But when hee ſaw by thoſe things which had happened, according to the aduertiſement of *Arate*, that the time approached of *Cleomenes* voyage into *Theſſaly*, hee cauſeth his Army to march towards *Iſthmus* by *Beocia*, hauing aduertiſed the *Acheins* of his affaires: For the *Etoliens* being diſcontented at his deſcent, ſent him word, that hee ſhould not paſſe within the ſtreights of *Thermophiles*, and if hee vndertooke it, they would take Armes to hinder his paſſage. Thus *Antigonus* and *Cleomenes* lodged their Armies before one another. The one to enter into *Morea*, and the other to keepe his Frontier. And although the *Acheins* had receiued great loſſes, yet they fainted not. But being ſuddainly aduertiſed of the reuolte of *Ariſtote* of *Argos* againſt *Cleomenes*, they relieued him vnder the conduct of *Timoxene*, and tooke the Towne of *Argos*, which was of great conſequence vnto them: For by this meanes the fury of *Cleomenes* was much abated, and the Souldiers hearts broken, as appeared plainely: For although that *Cleomenes* Army was much ſtronger by reaſon of the opportunity of places, and abundance of victuals, hauing alſo good and reſolute Souldiers, yet there was ſo great and ſuddaine an alteration after the taking of *Argos*, that *Cleomenes* leauing all, made a retreate, ſauouring of a flight: So much hee feared that hee ſhould bee incloſed by his cruell Enemies.

Reuolte of *Ariſtote* of *Argos.*

Argos taken by the *Acheins.*

From thence hee marcht directly to *Argos*, where hee made great attempts to carry it by aſſault. But for that the *Acheins* reſiſted like braue men on the one ſide, and the *Argiues* on the other, for feare of the fault committed, hee was deceiued in his hope: And in paſſing by *Mantinia*, he led his Army to *Sparta*. When as *Antigonus* was entred into *Morea*, hee tooke *Acrocorinthe*. Then hee made haſte to goe to *Argos*, where he much commended the *Argiues*, and ſettled an order for the affaires of the City. From thence he returned againe into *Arcadia* with his Army, and chaſed away the Garriſons out of thoſe Forts which *Cleomenes* had built, the which he reſtored to the *Megalopolitains* paſſing

Acrocorinthe taken by *Antigonus.*

ſing by the Region *Egitane*. Then he went to *Egia*, where he called an aſſembly of the *Acheins*: and made a great diſcourſe of the preſent affaires, and ſhewed them in few words the times to come. Finally, being created chiefe of the whole league, he paſt the Winter in the Countries of the *Corinthians* and *Sicyoniens* with his Army. Then in the Spring he went to the field, to whom the *Acheins* ioyned; and being come within three dayes to the Towne of *Tegee*, hee beſieged it. The *Tegetains* ſeeing the *Macedonians* very buſie in making of Trenches, Mines, and all other preparations to take the Towne, they yeelded, being void of all hope: Whereas after he had ſetled a good order, *Antigonus* marcht ſuddainly to *Laconice*. By this meanes approaching neere vnto *Cleomenes*, who kept vpon the Frontiers, hee had ſome ſmall encounters with the Enemy. In the meane time they were aduertiſed by their Spies, that there were ſuccours come from *Orchomene* to *Cleomenes*. Wherefore *Antigonus* turned head to *Orchomene*, and takes it without reſiſtance. From thence he beſieged *Mantinea*, which was alſo preſently yeelded. Then hee led the Legions to *Herea* and *Telphuſa*, the which in like manner were yeelded in a ſhort time. After this in the beginning of Winter, hee ſent the *Macedonians* to their houſes, and retired with the mercenaries to *Egia*, there to conſult of the preſent affaires.

Tegee yeelded vnto *Antigonus*.

Orchomene taken with other Townes.

At that times *Cleomenes* aduertiſed that *Antigonus* had diſmiſt his Army, and that he ſtayed at *Egia*, which is aboue three dayes iourney from *Megalopolis*, a vaſt Towne, and ill peopled: eſpecially for that the greateſt part had beene ſlaine in former battels, as we haue ſaid, neere vnto *Licea*, and *Laodicea*: and that moreouer at that time it was not carefully kept, by reaſon of the preſence of *Antigonus*, he had a hope to ſurprize it. Wherefore hee marcht ſuddainly, being guided by ſome *Meſſeniens*, who being chaſed and baniſht from their Countrey, had retired to *Megalopolis*: and brought them by Night into the City. But day being come, he was in danger to be defeated with his whole Army, conſidering the great reſiſtance the *Megalopolitains* made: the which happened vnto him three Moneths before, when he aſſailed a Citty ſeated in *Colea*. It is true, that in the end he had the Victory, as well by reaſon of the multitude of his men, as for that he had formerly gotten the places of aduantage.

Megalopolis razed.

After he had taken and ſpoiled the Citty, and chaſed away the *Megalopolitains*, hee razed it vtterly, to the end they ſhould haue no more hope to re-edifie it. In my opinion hee did it tending to that which the *Lionenſes*, the *Megalopolitains*, and the *Stimphaliens* with other bordering people, conceiue, that Traytours, or thoſe which loue reuoltes, are neuer in ſafety. Without doubt the wickedneſſe of one man blemiſht all the virtue of the *Clitoriens*: This was *Thearce* whom with reaſon the *Clitoriens* denyed to bee borne in their Countrey, ſaying, hee was of *Orchomene*, and the Sonne of ſome ſtranger. Moreouer, for that there are ſome which preferre *Philarchus* before al others that haue written this Hiſtory, although that many times he ſpeakes and iudges of things contrary to *Arate*, I haue thought it

Thearce.

good, nay rather neceſſary, not to conceale this: To the end they may diſcerne truth from falſhood, and the rather for that we haue followed *Arate*. Hee hath ſpoken many things throughout the whole Hiſtory as Affection hath tranſported him, which are not needfull to debate at this preſent, holding thoſe things to be deliuered by vs, which hapned at ſuch time as we Write, that is to ſay during the *Cleomenique* Warre: For that they would be more then ſufficient to diſcouer the errours and faults of this Author.

First when he labours to ſet foorth the cruelty of *Antigonus*, and of the *Macedonians*, and moreouer that of *Arate* and the *Acheins*, he ſayd A that as ſoone as he had Conquered the *Mantuiens*, they cauſed them to ſuffer great outrages and cruelties, and that the Citty which was one of the nobleſt and moſt auncient of *Arcadia*, fell into ſo great miſery and ruine, as it mooued all *Greece* to weepe and lament. And when as afterwards he ſeekes to make the cruelty ſeeme greater, and to mooue the Readers hearts, he relates a burning of Women, their haire ſcattered vp and downe, their Paps naked, the teares and lamentations made by men and women, who dragg'd after them their little Children and their Parents broken with age. This hee doth often throughout his whole Hiſtory, to let euery man ſee the agrauating of B their miſeries. Leauing then this baſeneſſe and effeminacy of his heart, let vs ſeeke the things which are moſt proper and profitable for the Hiſtory.

The duty of a Hiſtoriographer.

A Hiſtoriographer ought not to mooue the affections of men, nor ſeeke occaſions fit for it, neyther let him purſue the miſeries of men (the which belongs to the makers of Tragedies) but let him deliuer truly the ſayings and doings of men, although they be not great. Without doubt a Hiſtory and a Tragedy, tend not to one and the ſame end, but rather are quite contrary. For they muſt labour in a Tragedy to draw by coniecture the hearts of the Auditors to Hope, Feare, Care, Pleaſure, and ſuch like affections. But in a Hiſtory hee muſt imploy his whole indeauour to relate truly the ſayings and doings of men. Wherefore things that are likely and coniecturall, are neceſſary in the one, to abuſe the Aſſiſtants, and thoſe which are true in this being Written for the profit of the Readers.

What is required in a Tragedy.

C

You muſt vnderſtand likewiſe that this Hiſtoriographer many times doth not yeild the cauſe in his Hiſtory, nor the reaſon of things, without the which they cannot eaſily mooue any to pitty, or indignation in humane affaires. But what is he that will not finde it ſtrange to ſee a Cittizen whipt: yet if any one be ſo by reaſon of his offence, wee D finde it reaſonable. And if any one ſtrikes a free man to puniſh and amend him, ſhall wee not hold him an honeſt man and praiſe worthy? Murther in a Cittizen is likewiſe forbidden, and ſeuerely puniſht: But if any one kils a Thiefe or an Adulterer, is hee not held for innocent? And if any one kils a Traytor to his Country, or a Tyrant, ſhall he not be commended by all the World, held deare and honoured? VVee muſt therefore looke to the end in all things, and to the intention of the man, not to that which is acted, but to the cauſes and Diſcourſes, with

with consideration of the differences. The *Mantiniens* leauing first the Common-weale of the *Acheins*, gaue themselues and their Countrey willingly to the *Etoliens*, and soone after to *Cleomenes*. In the meane time, whilest they liued vnder the *Lacedemonians*, the *Acheins* tooke them againe vnder the Conduct of *Arate*, foure yeeres before the Descent of *Antigonus*: where they were so far from being punished for the offence committed, as this easie and suddaine re vnion of two people into one Common-wealth, seemed incredible to the whole VVorld.

The reuolte of the *Mantiniens*.

A For as soone as *Arate* was entred, he forbad his men to touch their good: Calling the Burgesses afterwards together, wishing them not to care, and that they should inioy their goods, and be assured to liue in peace, as long as they were vnder the *Acheins* Common weale. The *Mantiniens* who seemed to be without hope, were wonderfully reioyced at the words of *Arate*: VVherefore they presently changed their opinion, receiuing those into their Houses, to whom formerly they had beene deadly enemies, with whom they did communicate their Goods and VVealth. Finally, they omitted nothing of that which seemed necessary for the setling of a firme friendshippe; and in B truth it was not without cause. I doe not know if euer any fell into the hands of more gracious enemies, or being falne into so great inconueniences, haue relieued and raised themselues with so little losse: the which proceeded from the humanity of *Arate* and the *Acheins*. Afterwards seeing a farre off the seditions which were renewed amongst them, and the practize of the *Etoliens* and *Lacedemonians*, they send an Embassie to the *Acheins*, to deliuer their Towne into their protection and to receiue a Garrison. VVho presently leuied three hundred men, and sent them to *Mantinea*, these three hundred men of the *Acheins* nation, leauing their Countrey and all their estates, they remained at *Mantinea* to preserue their liberty. They had moreouer two hundred C Souldiers that were strangers.

The courteous vsage of *Arate* to the *Mantiniens*.

Soone after there grew a sedition among the *Mantiniens*; wherfore they called the *Lacedemonians*, deliuering them the Towne; and to the end their wickednesse might be full and compleat, they murthered all the *Acheins*; a crime which was most execrable. For seeing they would leaue the party and friendship of the *Acheins*, they should at the least haue sent backe the Garrison safe into their Country. It is a Custome which enemies obserue daily by a Common Law. But to the end they might with more ease shewe their affection to *Cleomenes* and D the *Lacedemonians*, there proceeded to this great cruelty and basenesse, who in breaking the Law of Nations would not spare their Friends. Seeing then they haue practised such great cruelty towards those, who hauing lately taken their Towne, intreated them like men without offence, and now defended and kept their Towne, of what paines shall wee iudge them worthy? VVhat punishment may wee ordayne for so foule an outrage? Shall they be sold with their wiues and Children? But by the Law of Armes they may doe it to those, which haue not committed such crimes nor such cruelties. They were therefore wor-

The great villany committed by the *Mantiniens*.

thy of a greater puniſhment, and a more grieuous example. Wherefore if they haue ſuffered no more but that which *Philarchus* mentioned, we muſt beleeue that the *Grecians* were not mooued to pitty, but rather commended the iudgement of the *Acheins*; who had reſolued that ſo great a cruelty (the like whereof had neuer beene ſpoken of) ſhould be grieuouſly puniſhed.

The *Mantiniens* ſold.

Seeing then the *Mantiniens* at that time had no other harme, but the loſſe of their goods, and were ſold by their enemies, who will not hold this Hiſtoriographer to be a lyer, and moreouer to haue A Written incredible things: And to the end he might ſhew his ignorance, he hath not obſerued that the *Acheins* at the ſame time did not the like vnto the *Tegeates*, whom they tooke in battell: For if the cruelty of the *Acheins* had beene the cauſe thereof, there is no doubt but the *Tegeates* had ſuffered in like manner. But ſeeing that this Rigour fell onely vppon the *Mantiniens*, it is apparent that the cauſe of their choller was diuers. Moreouer, this ſame Hiſtoriographer tells vs, that

Ariſtomacus.

Ariſtomacus the *Argine*, of a noble Family, and of an auncient Tyrannicall Race, was Tyrant of *Argos*, who being taken by *Antigonus* and the *Acheins*, and brought to *Cenchrea*, hee ſuffered the moſt vniuſt Death that euer man indured. B

He makes him moreouer (as it is his cuſtome) to caſt out lamentable cries, the night that he was ſtrangled: And that the neighbours terrified partly with the cruelty, and partly deſirous to know what it was, ſome of them wonderfully incenſed ranne thither. He alſo ſets downe other effeminate things, which we will leaue for the preſent, beeing content with that which we haue here related. For my part I conceiue that if *Ariſtomacus* had done no other thing againſt the *Acheins*, but to turne the Common-weale into ruine, and the liberty of the Country into Tyranny, that he hath worthily deſerued very great puniſhment. Although that this gentle Hiſtoriographer deſirous to attribute great glory vnto him, and to begge pitty from the Auditors, by a commemoration of the paines which he indured, he doth not once ſay, that he was a Tyrant, but that hee was deſcended of a Tyrannicall Race. What could he ſay worſe, or more pernitious? For the very name is the field where all cruelty is ſowne, and which imbraceth all the outrages and villanies of men. And admit that *Ariſtomacus* had indured great torments, as *Philarchus* ſayth, yet he was not ſufficiently puniſhed for that which he committed in one day: for when as *Arate* entred into *Argos* with a Troupe of *Acheins*, without Diſcouery, labouring to reſtore the *Argiues* to their liberty, hee was in the end forced to D leaue the Towne, for that hee found not any man would take Armes, for the feare they had of this Tyrant. C

The cruelty of *Ariſtomacus.*

Wherefore *Ariſtomacus* taking his occaſion (for that they had conſented to the comming of the *Acheins*) put to Death foureſcore Cittizens in the preſence of his familiars. Beleeue me it will bee tedious to relate the cruelty which he committed in his life time: He held it of his Predeceſſors by right of inheritance. And therefore wee muſt not thinke they haue done him wrong, if they haue made him ſerue for an example

example with torments: For it would haue beene much more vnworthy, that ſo wicked a man after the murther of ſo many, and after ſo many theſts and ſpoyles, ſhould haue died vnpuniſhed like an Innocent. Neither can they charge *Antigonus* nor *Arate* of cruelty, to haue put a Tyrant to death in Priſon, whom they had taken in open Warre, and whom they might with reaſon and honour haue taken during a peace, and haue put him to a cruell death. But of what puniſhment will not you hold him worthy, who beſides all theſe things brake his accord with the *Acheins*. A little before hee had relinquiſht the
A tyranny, being deſtitute of all hope and ſuccours after the death of *Demetrius*. At what time the *Acheins* did not onely ſaue him, but entertaine him ſo courteouſly and graciouſly, as they remitted all the wrongs which hee had done during his Reigne, and gaue him great aduancements in their Common-wealth. Finally, they made him Chiefe of the *Acheins*. But this wicked man amongſt all others, forgetting that great humanity and clemency, began preſently to plot how hee might make a league with *Cleomenes*, retiring himſelfe in that greateſt neede ſoone after to the Enemy: whereby the *Acheins* were in great danger. Who ſome few dayes after was taken in Warre, was he not
B worthy to dye in the Night in the Priſon at *Cenchrea*, as *Philarchus* ſaith, but hee ſhould rather haue beene carried throughout all *Morea*, and after that hee had ſuffered infinite torments, to haue dyed cruelly. Yet hee was onely ſtrangled in Priſon, although hee had committed all ſorts of Villany. *Ariſtonacus* ſtrangled.

Moreouer, the ſame Hiſtoriographer holds a long diſcourſe of the miſeries of the *Mantiniens*, as if hee thought it were the duty of an Hiſtoriographer onely to relate cruell and vniuſt actions. In regard of the virtue and magnanimity of the *Megalopolitains*, which they ſhewed at that time, he makes no mention, as if the duty of an Hiſtory were rather to remember the wickedneſſe and vices of men, than
C things well and commendably done: Whereas the Readers of Hiſtories ſhall reape more profit by deeds which are worthy to bee imbraced and followed, than thoſe which are vniuſt, and to bee auoided. Moreouer hee purſues his Diſcourſe, how that *Cleomenes* tooke the Citty, and that hee ſent Letters to *Meſſena* to the *Megalopolitains*, aduiſing them to returne into their Countrey which was whole, and to be of his party: And how the *Megalopolitains* could not endure they ſhould finiſh the reading of the Letters, and could hardly forbeare from doing outrage to the meſſenger, with many other petty triuiall things,
D to ſhew the magnificence and modeſty of *Cleomenes* towards his Enemies. But he forbeares to tell that which followed, and which was very proper to the Hiſtory, which is the praiſe and memory of things well done. But who hindred him? If we hold them honeſt men who in words and will maintaine a Warre for their Allies, and if wee doe not onely praiſe with admiration, but alſo giue thankes with Preſents, to thoſe that endure the ſpoile of their Countrey with fire and ſieges, what commendations ſhall we giue then to the *Megalopolitains*? what affection ſhall wee beare vnto them? Shall it not be great and ample? The great fidelity of the *Megalopolitains*

First,

Firſt, they left the Prouince to *Cleomenes*, and abandoned their owne Countrey, rather than to breake their Faith with the *Acheins*. Finally, although that contrary to hope, and the opinion of all the world, they might haue returned into their Country with ſafety, yet they deſired rather to be baniſhed, forſaking their houſes, Sepulchers, Temples and goods, and finally, all their eſtates, than to be taxed to haue broken their Faith with their Allies. Was there euer any thing done that was more rare and excellent? Whereunto then ſhould an Hiſtoriographer make his Auditours more attentiue? With what examples could hee better exhort men to keepe their Faith, and to follow things well done. But *Philarchus* makes no mention hereof, and is in my opinion blind, when as braue exploits which are worthy of memory offer themſelues. A

The third part of the booty is due to the Generall.

Hee ſaith moreouer, that the *Lacedemonians* made a ſpoile within *Megalopolis* of three Millions, and ſixe hundred thouſand Crownes, whereof *Cleomenes* according to the cuſtome had twelue hundred thouſand. But who will not maruaile at the beaſtlineſſe and ignorance of this man, touching the Riches and power of *Greece*: the which are things which an Hiſtoriographer ought to know. Truely, I dare boldly affirme, that they could not gather together this Summe in all *Morea*, out of the money of all their moueables, excepting their perſons: I meane not in the time when it was impoueriſhed by the oppreſſions of the Kings of *Macedony*, and by the diuers Warres which they had amongſt themſelues, but at ſuch time when as all the Townes were firmely vnited together, and when as Fortune ſeemed to ſmile on them. But to ſhew that what wee ſay, proceeds not from ouer-weening or want of reaſon, it appeares thus. Who knowes not that when the *Acheins* ioyned to the *Thebeins*, made Warre againſt the *Lacedemonians*, and that they were to raiſe an Army of ten thouſand men, and another at Sea of an hundred Triremes, and that they had calculated the charge, it not onely emptied their publicke Cofers, but alſo their houſes and the whole Prouince: and that finally, they could hardly draw together three Millions, and ſixe hundred thouſand Crownes, whereof there wanted an hundred and fifty thouſand. B C

You muſt not hold that ſtrange which I now affirme of *Morea*. There is not any man that dare aſſure, that the ſpoile of *Megalopolis* at that time, did amount to aboue nineſcore thouſand Crownes: and that the people, as well Burgeſſes as Slaues retired to *Meſſina*. Whereof behold a great argument: For when the *Mantineans* were not leſſe ſtrong, nor of meaner eſtate than the *Arcadians*, as this Hiſtoriographer ſayth, were enuironed by a ſiege, ſo as when they yeelded, no man could ſteale away, nor carry away any thing: Yet the whole ſpoile, reckoning it at the vttermoſt, accompting the bodies, was eſteemed but nineſcore thouſand Crownes. Moreouer, who will not wonder at that which hee ſaith afterwards, that an Embaſſie from *Ptolomy* came ten dayes before this battell, to let *Cleomenes* vnderſtand that he was not reſolued to contribute any longer to the charges of this Warre, and that hee aduiſed him to agree with *Antigonus*? The which *Cleome-* D

The pillage of *Mantinia* came to nineſcore thouſand Crownes.

nes

nes hearing, he reſolued to hazard the battell, before his Souldiers ſhould heare the newes, leſt they ſhould mutine, when they ſhould be out of hope of their pay. But if it were true, that he had lately gotten three Millions, and ſixe hundred thouſand Crownes in *Megalopolis*, what neede hath he of *Ptolomyes* contribution, ſeeing that nineſcore thouſand Crownes were more then ſufficient to defeate *Antigonus* forces? Is it not a great weakeneſſe in him to ſay, that *Cleomenes* did expect pay for his Souldiers from *Ptolomy*, and withall, that he had taken ſo great a booty of money in *Megalopolis*? My Diſcourſe
A ſhould be long if I ſhould purſue the vices wherewith this good Hiſtoriographer doth generally abound: but this ſhall ſuffice for this preſent.

After the taking of *Megalopolis*, at ſuch time as *Antigonus* wintred in the Citty of *Argos*, *Cleomenes* drew his Army together, as ſoone as the opportunity of the time would giue him leaue. And hauing preached vnto his men, he entred into the Countrey of *Argos*. Many blamed him for this attempt, as being too bold and raſh, in regard of the ſcituation of the Countrey, which is difficult and ſtrong by Nature. Others which were of a better Iudgement,
B held it wiſely done. For when as he ſaw that *Antigonus* had left the greateſt part of his Army in the Countrey, and had with him but a ſmall handfull of Mercenary Souldiers, he had a conceit, that hee might eaſily enter the Prouince without danger: And if he put all vnto fire and Sword, euen vnto the Walles of the Citty, the *Argiues* through neceſſity would charge *Antigonus*, who thorough his baſeneſſe muſt endure ſuch outrages. Finally, if hee be forced to come to fight, moued with the cries of the people, who ſhall hinder him to haue the Victory, ſeeing he hath a greater Troupe of men? If he doth not abandon the Citty as it is fitting, hee can
C carry backe his men without danger into his Countrey, after that he hath ouer-runne the Champion: Leauing a great amazement and terrour to his Enemies, and aſſuring the hearts of his owne Souldiers. The which ſucceeded according to his proiect. For when the people ſaw the whole Prouince thus ſpoyled, they began to blame *Antigonus*: who notwithſtanding diſcharging the Duty of a wiſe and diſcreet Captaine, would not goe to field *Cleomenes* in the meane time ouer-ran their whole Countrey without feare. By this meanes he returned ſafely into his Countrey, after that hee had at pleaſure ruined the Prouince, and left a great amaze-
D ment amongſt the *Argiues*, and made his owne men more hardy for the future VVarre.

An Army leuied by *Cleomenes*.

Antigonus blamed.

But when the Spring came, the *Macedonians* and the *Acheins* returning from wintering, went to field: *Antigonus* marcht to *Laconice* with his Army, conſiſting of ten thouſand *Macedonians*, three thouſand Archers, three hundred Horſe, a thouſand Bowmen, and likewiſe as many of the *Gaules*: Moreouer, three thouſand Foote which were Mercinaries, with three hundred Horſe, and about a thouſand *Megalopolitains* armed after the manner of

The number of Nations which were in *Antigonus* Army.

the *Macedonians*, whereof *Cercides* had the leading. As for the Allies, hee had two thouſand Foote of *Bauiere*, and two hundred Horſe: a thouſand Foote of the *Epirotes*, and fifty Horſe: and as many of the *Acarnanians*: and beſides all theſe, a thouſand and ſixe hundred *Sclauonians*, whereof *Demetrius* of *Phare* was Captaine. Thus the whole Army conſiſted of twenty eight thouſand Foote, and twelue hundred Horſe. *Cleomenes* being aduertiſed by his Spies of the Enemies deſcent, hee placed forces vpon the paſſages, by the which they might enter into his Countrey, fortifying them with Trenches and Trees cut downe: And hee himſelfe went with his Army to a paſſage which they call *Sellaſia*, thinking as it happened, that the Enemy would take that way. His Army was about twenty thouſand men. There were two Mountaines in this paſſage, whereof the one is called *Eua* by the people of the Countrey, and the other *Olympus*. There is a way betwixt both which runs along a Riuer vnto *Sparta*. When as *Cleomenes* had lodged himſelfe in theſe two Mountaines, and had carefully fortified them with Trenches and Palliſadoes, hee put the Souldiers which were drawne together with the Allies into *Eua*, whereof his Cozen *Euclide* had the Commaund, and ſtayed himſelfe in that of *Olympus* with the *Lacedemonians* and Mercenaries. Moreouer, hee placed his Horſe-men in the Plaine, with ſome of the Mercenaries, vpon the two Bankes of the Riuer.

Sellaſia. *Eua.* *Olympus.* *Euclide.* A B

When as *Antigonus* was come into thoſe places, and finding the ſcituation of them, and the wonderfull induſtry of *Cleomenes* to diſpoſe of his Army, hee was not reſolued to fight at that time. And therefore hee camped neere vnto him, vpon the banke of the Riuer of *Gorgile*: whereas ſtaying ſome dayes, hee turned about the Countrey and the Enemies Campe and ſought to draw them to battell by skirmiſhes. But when hee found nothing without defence, for that the Prouidence of *Cleomenes* had carefully rampired all places, hee gaue ouer his enterprize: But in the end they reſolued by a common conſent, to make an end of their Warre by a battell. Behold how Fortune had drawne together two great Captaines, equall in virtue, Counſell and Wiſedome. Thus *Antigonus* oppoſed in Front to thoſe which held the Mountaine of *Eua*, the *Macedonians* with their Targets, and the *Sclauonians*: and hee put the Leginaries in diuers bands to ſuccour the one and the other: to whom hee gaue for Commaunder, *Alexander*, the Sonne of *Ameta*, and *Demetrius* of *Phare*.

Antigonus Campe ſeated vpon the Bankes of *Gorgile*. C

The order of *Antigonus* Battell. D

After theſe marcht the *Acarnanians* and they of *Candy*: Finally, hee placed two thouſand *Acheins* for a ſupply, to ſuccour them at need. Then he ſet his Horſe-men neere vnto the Riuer-ſide in Front of the Enemies Horſe, whereof *Alexander* had the charge with two thouſand Foote-men. As for *Antigonus*, hee lodged neere vnto Mount *Olympus* with the bands of Aduenturers, and the *Macedonians*: where hee reſolued to fight with *Cleomenes*. VVhen hee had put the Mercenaries into battell, hee cauſed the Battalion of the

Macedonians

Macedonians to march. The place which was ſtraight, would not ſuffer them to doe otherwiſe. They had giuen charge to the *Sclauonians* to begin the battell, as ſoone as they ſhould ſee a white cloth, which ſhould be aduanced neere vnto Mount *Olimpus*, at the foote whereof they lodged at Night, vnder the Riuer of *Gergile*. The *Megalopolitains* alſo with the Horſe-men were to enter the combate, as ſoone as they ſhould ſee a purple Robe, aduanced in the Aire from the Kings Quarter.

The houre of the battell was now come, the *Sclauonians* had alrea-
A dy diſcouered *Antigonus* ſigne. They encourage their Companions according to the opportunity of the time, making no doubt but they had the victory in their hands. Then they endeauoured with wonderfull reſolution to gaine the Mountaine. But the Foote-men which were lightly armed, whom *Cleomenes* as wee haue ſayd, left in the Plaine with the Horſe-men, ſeeing that the Bands of the *Acheins* had not the courage to ſecond them, charg'd them vpon the Reare, ſo as they were in great danger: For on the right hand, and in Front *Euclide* had the better with his men: and the Mercenaries on the left hand, fighting obſtinately, made a great ſpoile vpon the Reare. By
B this meanes they were ſuddainly enuironed with two Troopes of Enemies. When *Philopomene* the *Megalopolitaine* ſaw this diſorder, hee ſuddainly gaue good aduice to the Captaines. But for that hee was a young man, and had neuer had charge they gaue no eare vnto him. Wherefore addreſſing himſelfe to thoſe of his Nation, Companions ſayth hee, the Victory is ours if you will follow mee. And in charging the Enemies Horſe, they aſſailed them with great courage. Wherefore the Aduenturers ſtrangers, who fought in the Reare of thoſe which aſſail'd the Mountaine, hearing a great noiſe, and ſeeing the Combate of the Horſe-men, retired to aide and ſuccour
C them, whereunto they had beene at the firſt ordained.

The order of the Enemies being by this meanes broken, the *Sclauonians* and *Macedonians* with others whom *Antigonus* had appointed, fell vpon them with great violence and fury. So as afterwards all the World was of opinion, that the induſtry and courage of *Philopomene* had defeated *Euclide* at that time. And therefore they ſay, that when as *Antigonus* demaunded of *Alexander* why hee had ſent the Horſe-men againſt the Enemy, before hee had ſeene the ſigne, and that hee had anſwered, it was not hee, but a young *Megalopolitaine* which had done it without his priuity, hee then re-
D plied, that this young man had performed the duty of a good Captaine, and *Alexander* that of a young foole.

The courage of *Philopomene* is the cauſe of the Victory.

But they which kept the toppe of the Mountaine with *Euclide*, ſhewed their baſeneſſe, ſeeing the Enemies aſcend: for they ſhou'd not haue attended vntill they had gain'd the top with ſafety: But relying vpon the aduantage of the place, they ſhould haue encountred them, and charged them from aboue: and if neceſſity had required, they might haue retired ſafely on the right hand, to charge the Enemy againe. In doing this they had eaſily broken, defeated

and put the *Macedonians* to flight. But they did the contrary, as if they had the Victory certaine in their hands; for without mooving from the place which the *Cleomenes* had appointed them, they ſtaied expecting the enemy, with hope of a greater defeate: For that they ſhould be repulſed and beaten from the higheſt place of the Mountaine. But they ſoone ſuffered the pennance of their baſeneſſe. For after that the *Macedonians* had recouered the Mountaine, without any reſiſtance, and were come into the Plaine, they fell vpon their enemies, fighting hand to hand with ſo great fury, as they preſently draue them backe into the hollow Caues and inacceſſible places.

In the meane time the Combate was cruell among the Horſe-men, where it was worth the ſight, to behold with what heate, force, and courage the *Acheins* fought, conſidering they all fought for the liberty of the Countrey. But among all others they made great eſteeme of *Philopomene*; for when his Horſe was ouer-thrown with a *Pertuiſane* he fainted not, fighting long on foote with great courage. Finally in the end hee died valliantly, being ſhot thorough the ſhinne-bones with an Arrow. On the other ſide the Kings had begunne the ſight at Mount *Olympus* with the mercenaries and ſuch as were lightly armed. They were about fiue thouſand men, who fought ſometimes man to man, and ſometimes they tried the Fortune of the whole Troupe. There the Victory was long in ſuſpence; finally they parted equally from the battell.

philopomene.

But when as *Cleomees* was aduertiſed that *Emlide* had abandoned the Mountaine, and that the Allies had turned head, and that the Horſemen were in great deſpaire, and that all trembled for feare, hee reſolued to goe out of his Fort, and to put his whole Army in Front vpon one ſide of the Campe; and therefore hee cauſed them to ſound a Retreate. By this meanes when thoſe that were lightly armed were drawne together, the two Armies charged with their Pikes and Iauelings. The Combate was cruell, and the charge performed with ſo great courage on either ſide, as the Victory was long doubtfull, and the iudgement difficult who deſerued the greateſt honour: For that ſometimes the *Lacedemonians* retired, and againe they made the *Macedonians* giue backe.

The victory of Antigonus againſt Cleomenes.

Finally, when as the *Lacedemonians* were vanquiſhed and put to flight, they were ſlaine heere and there like ſheepe. *Cleomenes* ſaued himſelfe in *Sparta* without any wound, beeing accompanied by ſome of the Horſe-men. From thence hee retired the night following to *Sythia*, where he imbarqued in certaine ſhippes which lay long ready for the neceſſities of the Countrey, and ſailed with his friends to *Alexandria*.

Lacedemon taken by Antigonus.

When as *Antigonus* was entred into *Lacedemon* finding no reſiſtance, hee intreated the *Lacedemonians* graciouſly and courteouſly in all things; but eſpecially in ſuffering them to liue and gouerne their Common-weale after the Lawes of the Country. When he had ſtaied certaine daies there, he returned into *Macedony* with his Army, hauing newes of the deſcent of the *Sclauonians*, and of the ſpoile they made. Behold how Fortune diſpoſeth of great affaires as ſhe pleaſeth.

There

There is no doubt but if *Cleomenes* had deferred the battell a little, or ſtaied in *Sparta* after his defeate, keeping them in hope, in the end he had preuailed in his affaires after the retreate of *Antigonus*. *Antigonus* came from thence to *Tegee*; to whom hee left their Common-weale intire. Three dayes after he arriued at *Argos*, at ſuch time as the people were gathered together to celebrate the *Nemean* games; who preſently went foorth to meete him. All the City had their eyes fixt vpon him and beheld him, all the World commended him; all the aſſembly of *Greece*, and euery City in perticular did him Honour, not onely Humane but Diuine. *Sparta* or *Lacedemon.*

From thence he made haſt to go into *Macedon*, where as he found
A the *Sclauonians* ſpoiling the Country; to whom hee gaue battell, and got the Victory after a long combate. But hee cried ſo much during the fight, as within few dayes after hee died of a fluxe of blood; ſo as the *Grecians* loſt the great hope they had conceiued, not ſo much for his skill in Warre, as for his vertue and royall perfections. He left the Realme of *Macedony* to *Philip* the ſonne of *Demetrius*. But if you demaund of me why I haue helde ſo long a Diſcourſe of this preſent Warre, you muſt know I haue done it of purpoſe. For as this time concurres with that whereof wee meane to ſpeake, I haue held it fit
B and neceſſary, to let the World vnderſtand, according to my firſt reſolution, what the eſtate of the *Macedonians* and *Grecians* were at that time. At that time *Ptolomy* died of ſickneſſe; to whom ſucceeded *Ptolomy Philopater*. The like did *Seleucus* the ſonne of *Seleucus*, who was ſurnamed *Callinice*; and in like manner *Pogon*; to whom his brother *Antiochus* ſucceeded in the Realme of *Syria*. The Victory of *Antigonus* againſt the *Sclauonians.* The Death of many great Princes.

The like in a manner hapned to thoſe which helde the Kingdomes of *Alexander* after his death, as *Seleucus*, *Ptolomy*, and *Lyſimacus*; for thoſe died in the hundreth foure and twenteth *Olympiade*, as wee haue formerly related; and theſe in the hundreth thirty nine. Seeing wee haue expoſed the preparation of all our Hiſtory, and ſufficiently declaC red at what time and how, and for what cauſes the *Romanes* after the conqueſt of all *Italy* aſſailed forraigne Realmes, and what the eſtate then was of *Greece*, *Macedony*, and the *Carthaginians*. I haue thought it fit to make an end of this Booke, with a Commemoration of theſe actions, and this alteration of Kingdomes: Seeing that according to our intention we are come vnto the times when as the *Grecians* made the VVarre of the Allies, the *Romanes* againſt *Hannibal*; and to that when as the Kings of the lower *Aſia*, fought for the Empire of *Syria*.

D

The end of the Second Booke of Polybius.

THE THIRD BOOKE of the Hiſtory of POLYBIVS.

WEe haue ſhewed ſufficiently in the Firſt Booke, how that wee haue taken for the beginning and foundation of the *Romane* actions, the VVarre betwixt the Allies, that of *Hannibal*, and that of *Syria*: Wee haue in like manner ſet downe A the cauſes, for the which wee haue beene forced (in reducing the beginnings farther off,) to write the Hiſtory of the Second Booke. Now we will indeauour to make you vnderſtand the Warres themſelues, and the cauſes why they were vndertaken, and diſperſed in ſo many places, hauing let you vnderſtand, in as few words as poſſible we may, the attempts of the people of *Rome*. Seeing that which wee haue vndertaken to write is but a Worke, and as it were a ſpectacle; (that is to ſay,) how, when, and wherefore all the Countries of the VVorld haue beene reduced vnder the obedience of the *Romans*, B and that this hath a notorious beginning, a prefixed time, and the end certaine. VVee haue thought it good to deliuer ſummarily the accidents which hapned from the beginning vnto the end of theſe VVarres: Immagining that they which deſire to ſee our Worke, will more eaſily come to the knowledge of the whole Hiſtory. Beleeue me that our vnderſtanding conceiues many things neceſſary for a perticular Hiſtory, by the knowledge of the generall; for the vnderſtanding whereof, the experience of perticular actions is of no ſmall importance; and if they be

be both ioyned together, ſo as it may bee but one deſcription, they will be wonderfull profitable to the Reader. But as for the contents of our Worke, wee haue ſufficiently ſpoken thereof in the two firſt *Bookes*. And as for the perticular actions which haue hapned, they haue taken their beginning in the Warres which we haue Related; and there end at the death of the Kings of *Macedon*. So as from the beginning vnto the end there were fifty yeares; during the which there were as great and admirable things performed, as euer were in ſo ſhort a ſpace.

To ſpeake whereof, wee will beginne to write from the hundreth and fortieth *Olympiade*, and will obſerue this order. Firſt wee will
A ſhew the cauſes for the which this VVarre, which they call of *Hannibal*, beganne betwixt the *Romanes* and *Carthaginians*: So as entring into *Italy*, they reduced the *Romans* to ſo great an extreamity, as they ſuddainly grew in hope to be Lords, not only of the reſt of *Italy*, but alſo of the Citty of *Rome*. And afterwards we will continue our narration, vpon what occaſion *Philip* King of *Macedon*, after that he had made VVarre with the *Etoliens* and pacified *Greece*, entred into hope with the *Carthaginians*. And as for *Antiochus*, *Ptolomy*, and *Philopater*, they in the end had Warre together for the lower *Syria*, after a long diſſention. Moreouer the *Rhodiens* and *Pruſiens* making VVarre
B againſt them of *Conſtantinople*, forced them to abandon *Pontus*. And there ending our Diſcourſe, we will beginne to ſpeake of the manner of liuing of the *Romanes*, of their Lawes and of their Common-weale: By the which as proper to them, they haue attained vnto ſuch great power, as they haue not only made ſubiect to their obedience, *Italy*, *Sycile*, and the *Gaules*, and likewiſe *Spaine* in a ſhort time; but in the end they haue vndertaken the Empire of the whole World, after they had vanquiſhed the *Carthaginians* by Armes. Then paſſing on we will ſhew, how the Kingdome of *Hieron* of *Saragoſſe* was defeated and ruined. The like we will do of diuers troubles which were in *Ægypt*.
C Moreouer how after the death of King *Ptolomy*, *Antiochus*, and *Philip*, being agreed touching the diuiſion of the Realme left vnto the Sonne, began the Warre. *Philip* againſt *Ægypt* and *Samos*, and *Antiochus* againſt *Syria* and *Phenicea*.

The Countries conquered by the *Romanes*.

Hieron.

The Warres which *Antiochus* and *Philip* made.

And when as we haue ſummarily ſet downe the affaires of *Spaine*, *Lybia*, and *Sycile*, we will preſently turne our Diſcourſe to *Greece*, as the affaires ſhall change. For after that we haue related the VVars at Sea, which *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens* made againſt *Philip*: and hauing ſet downe the *Romanes* VVarre againſt him, how and by whom it had
D beene mannaged, and what ſucceſſe it had, obſeruing the order of things, we will come to the indignation of the *Etoliens*, who proclaimed VVarre againſt the *Romanes*, and drew *Antiochus* out of *Aſia*. And when we haue deliuered the cauſes, and related *Antiochus* nauigation into *Europe*, we will firſt ſhew how he fled out of *Greece*; and being vanquiſhed by Armes, how he abandoned vnto the *Romanes*, all the Countries which lie on this ſide Mount *Taurus*. Thirdly, we will ſhew with what power the *Romans* conquered the Empire of *Aſia*, after they

Attalus.

Mount *Taurus*

they had wholy defeated the *Gaules*, who wandred vp and downe; and how they freed the whole Countrey on this ſide Mount *Taurus*, from the feare of the *Barbarians*, and the inſolency of the *Gaules*. And when we haue related the miſ-fortune of the *Etoliens* and *Cephalins* in their Warres, we will make mention of thoſe of *Eumenides*, of *Pruſia*, and of the *Gaules*; the like we will do of that of *Ariarate* againſt *Pharnace*. From thence diſpatching the accords of them of *Morea*, and the increaſe of the *Rhodien* Common-wealth, we will make an end of our worke, ſetting downe in the end the Voyages which *Antiochus* ſirnamed *Epiphanes*, made into *Ægypt*. And in like manner the Warres of *Perſia* with the ruine of the Kingdome of the *Macedonians*. Theſe are things whereby we may eaſily vnderſtand how the *Romanes* in a ſhort ſubmitted the whole Earth vnder their obedience, aſſailing them in perticular. And if it were lawfull to diſcerne vertue from vice, by the good or bad ſucceſſe of affaires, or from the praiſe or diſhonour of men, we muſt of neceſſity make an end here, and turne our Relation to things which in the beginning we propounded to ſet down; for this hath continued fifty three yeares: during the which the *Roman* Empire hath gotten ſo great an increaſe, as the whole World might well know, that they muſt do what their people commaunded. But for that ſuch things, cannot be rightly iudged by the good Fortune of affaires, conſidering that many times thoſe that ſeeme to be well done, are the cauſe of great inconueniencies, if they be not done in time: And contrary-wiſe they which are fallen into ſome diſaſter, many times turne their miſ-fortunes to good, if they know how to haue patience. We haue thought it fitting to adde to that which we haue Written, what the nature of the Victors were, what meanes they held in the gouernment of their Empire, and how the reſt of the Townes, Regions, and Countries yeilded willingly vnto them? And moreouer what courſe of life, and what Lawes they held with all the World, aſwell in particular as generally with all their Common-wealths.

Eumenides. Ariarate. Morea.

The Conqueſt of the *Romanes* in 53. yeares.

A B C

By this meanes they which liue at this day, ſhall plainy ſee, whither it be good to flie, or voluntarily to ſubmit to the Empire of *Rome*; and they which ſhall come after may iudge whither the actions of the *Romanes* be commendable and worthy of memory, or altogether blameable. Behold, wherein the profit of our Hiſtory will conſiſt, aſwell for the preſent as the future time. They which mannage a Warre, and they which vndertake to iudge of it, do not propound the Victory for the laſt end, nor wholy to ſubiect himſelfe. Beleeue me, a wiſe man doth not make Warre with his neighbours, to ſee the defeat and ruine: Neither doth any man ſaile in diuers Seas, onely to make Voyages; nor purſues many Sciences and Diſciplines, in regard onely of them. Without doubt we purſue theſe things, for that which followes, ſeemes pleaſant, profitable, or decent, and therefore wee may with reaſon ſay, that the end of our Worke hath beene to know the condition of all things, after the Conqueſt of the World made by the *Romanes*, vntill they fell againe into new combuſtions.

D

Of which troubles I haue reſolued to write, making as it were, a new beginning:

beginning : For that there hath beene great and memorable things, hauing not onely beene present at the greatest part, but also a comfort and assistant.

Polybius hath beene present at a great part of the things which he hath written.

This trouble grew, when as the *Romans* made Warre against the *Celtiberians*, and the *Carthaginians* against *Massinissa*, King of *Lybia* : and what time *Attalus* and *Prusias* were at Warre in *Asia*. And then *Ariarate* King of *Capadocia* expell'd his Realme by *Roserne*, by the meanes of *Demetrius*, was soone after restored by him. But *Demetrius* the Sonne of *Seleucus*, lost his Realme and life by the con
A spiracy of other Kings, after hee had held *Syria* twelue yeeres. And the *Romans* restored the *Grecians* to their Cities, whom they had charged to bee the Authours of the *Persian* Warre, after they had accepted the excuse of their innocency. Soone after they made Warre against the *Carthaginians*, for the causes which wee will specifie, so as they resolued first to transport them, and afterwards wholly to ruine them.

Demetrius lost his Realme and life by conspiracy.

And for that the *Macedonians* abandoned the part of the *Romans*, and the *Lacedemonians* the Common weale of the *Achens*, there followed the vtter ruine and destruction of all *Greece*. This
B shall serue for the Preamble of our Worke. I haue neede of the fauour of Fortune, to the end that by the meanes of life I may finish this my resolution, although I hold it for certaine, that if a long life should faile mee, yet there would bee alwayes some one found among so great a multitude of wise and learned men, that would finish our Worke, and endeuour to bring vnto perfection that, which suddaine Death might hinder and preuent in vs.

The desire and affection of the Author vpon the end of his Booke.

As wee haue related at large the deeds which seeme most memorable, desiring that our whole worke might bee knowne to the
C Reader, as well in generall as perticular, it is now time vnto the declaration of our designe. The greatest part of those which haue written the deeds of *Hannibal*, desiring to shew the cause of the Warre which kindled betwixt the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians*, say, that the siege of *Sagonte* was the first : and the second, that contrary to the accord made with the *Romans*, they had past the Riuer of *Ebro*.

For my part, I am of opinion that these were the beginnings, but not the causes ; for there is a great difference betwixt the causes and beginning of things : vnlesse some will say, that the Voyage of *Al-*
D *exander* the great into *Asia*, hath beene the cause of the Warre which he made against the *Persians* : Or that the descent which *Antiochus* made at *Demetriade*, hath beene the cause of that which was begun against the *Romans* : the which is neither true nor likely.

The beginning of a worke and the causes differ.

But what man is so much blinded with ignorance, that will affirme and maintaine, that the preparations which were made partly by *Alexander*, and partly by *Phillip* in his life time, for the Warre of *Persia* : Or by the *Etoliens*, to make Warre against the *Romans*, before the comming of *Antiochus* hath beene the causes of the

Warre? Theſe are the opinions of men, who doe not obſerue how much the beginnings and the cauſe differ: and that the cauſes in all things are the firſt, and the beginning are the end of cauſes. I am of opinion that the beginnings are called the firſt workes of things which are reſolued and concluded, and that the cauſes are thoſe which preceed the decree and reſolution, and makes vs ſo to iudge: as are the thoughts, the aduices, the diſcourſes of reaſon and ſuch other things.

This will be apparent for that which followes: For it will be eaſie for any man to ſee for what cauſe the Warre of *Perſia* was made, and whence the beginning came. The firſt was the returne of the *Grecians* with *Xenophon* into their Countrey, by infinite fierce and barbarous Nations: where not any one durſt make head againſt him in ſo long a Voyage. A

The cauſes of Alexanders Warre in Perſia.

The ſecond hath beene the Voyage of *Ageſilaus* King of *Lacedemonia* into *Aſia* by Sea. Where hauing found nothing anſwerable to his forces, nor that preſented it ſelfe, hee was forced to returne into *Greece*, for the troubles which were kindled there: as if he had triumphed ouer the *Barbarians*. For which cauſes *Phillip* King of *Macedon*, hauing experience of the baſeneſſe and ſloth of the *Perſians* and relying vpon the readineſſe of the *Macedonians* in matters of War: being likewiſe drawne with the hope of great gaine, he prepared Warre againſt them with all his forces, as ſoone as he found himſelfe aſſured of the amity and friendſhip of the *Grecians*: taking his occaſion, that the *Perſians* had vſed great cruelty againſt them. B

Ageſilaus.

Phillip.

And therefore wee muſt ſay, that the cauſes of this Warre are thoſe which wee haue firſt related, and the occaſions are thoſe whereof we now ſpeake: and the beginning was *Alexanders* Voiage by Sea into *Aſia*: And in that which was made againſt the *Romans* vnder the conduct of *Antiochus*, the wrath and indignation of the *Etoliens* was the cauſe. You muſt vnderſtand that for the opinion which they had conceiued, that the *Romans* made no accompt of them as long as the Warre of *Phillip* continued, they not onely called *Antiochus* vnto their Succours, but alſo reſolued to put all in hazard, ſo great their ſpleene and fury was for that which was paſt. C

The cauſe of the Etoliens Warre againſt the Romans.

It is true, the liberty of *Greece* was the occaſion, vnder hope whereof they laboured by all meanes to draw the neighbour Cities to their Enterprize: But the beginning of the Warre was the Voyage to Sea of *Antiochus* to *Demetriade*. Wee haue beene tedious in this Diſcourſe, not to blame any one of the auncient Hiſtoriographers, but for the profit of thoſe which haue a deſire to learne. For as Phiſitians cannot cure their Patients, if they haue not knowledge of the cauſes of the Diſeaſes wherewith they are troubled: So they which treate of Hiſtories, are altogether vnprofitable, if the reaſon of the place, of the time, with the cauſes and occaſions bee not knowne. D

A good compariſon.

There

There is therefore nothing more neceſſary, nor more to be deſired, than to know the cauſes of all things that happen : For opportunity doth many times rectifie great affaires, and it is eaſie to preuent their beginnings.

It is true that *Fabius* a *Roman* Hiſtoriographer ſaith, that the cruelty and inhumanity of *Hannibal* towards the *Sagontins*, and the ambition and inſatiable deſire of Rule in *Aſdrubal*, haue beene the cauſes of the Warre betwixt the *Romans* and *Hannibal*, Generall of the *Carthaginians*. Then hee ſayth that he had much augmented the *Carthaginians* Empire in *Spaine*, and that being returned to *Carthage*, hee ſought to tirannize the Common-wealth, and to ouerthrow their Lawes. The which the chiefe men diſcouering, they oppoſed themſelues againſt *Aſdrubal*. Wherefore leauing *Affricke* in a rage, hee returned preſently into *Spaine*, and afterwards mannaged the affaires according to his owne fancy, and without the authority of the Senate of *Carthage*. Moreouer, he ſaith, that *Hannibal* who from his youth had beene at the Warre vnder him, was of the ſame enterprize : and therefore after he was Lord of *Spaine*, hee followed the courſes of *Aſdrubal*. So as this Warre which was made againſt the *Romans*, was begun by him in ſpight of the *Carthaginians*, and that there was not any man in *Carthage* which loued the Common-wealth, but did much blame the deeds of *Hannibal* againſt the *Sagontins*. Moreouer, hee ſayth, that after the taking of *Sagont*, there was an Embaſſie ſent from *Rome* to *Carthage*, demaunding *Hannibal* to bee puniſhed for the breach of the accord, and if they would not yeeld vnto it, they ſhould declare Warre againſt the *Carthaginians*. *Fabius.*

But if a man ſhould demaund of *Fabius* what could ſucceed better, nor more reaſonable, and expedient for the *Carthaginians*, than to deliuer vpon the *Romans* requeſt the authour of the offence, and him that had committed the fault, to puniſh him : Seeing that as hee ſayth, they had diſlik't the actions of *Hannibal* : and by this meanes might reuenge by another the common Enemy of the Countrey, and maintaine the eſtate of their Citty in peace, chaſing away the authour of the warre, conſidering that this might bee well effected by a bare reſolution? What can he anſwere? Nothing without doubt. Contrariwiſe they were ſo farre from doing it, as they maintained the Warre ſeuenteene yeeres continuall againſt the *Romans* : Neither did they ceaſe vntill deſtitute of all hope, they not onely hazarded their Countrey, but alſo their liues. The Warre of *Hannibal* continued 17. yeeres.

Finally, to what end doe wee vſe this diſcourſe of *Fabius* or of his writings? It is not to cry him downe : For his lying writings are apparent to thoſe which reade them. It is onely to aduertiſe thoſe which giue the credit, not ſomuch to regard the title of the Authour, as the truth of things : For there are men which doe not beare ſo much reſpect to the writings, as to him that made them, and which thinke that for as much as *Fabius* liued in thoſe times, and had beene of the Senate, that hee could not but ſpeake truth. It is true, and I am of opinion, that we muſt giue beleefe and credit vnto him in

many things, but yet wee may not beleeue all: for wee muſt conſider things as they are, and how they agree.

The firſt cauſe of the Warre betwixt the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians.*

Finally, to returne to our Diſcourſe, we muſt not thinke that the firſt cauſe of the Warre, which the *Romans* had with the *Carthaginians*, was the indignation of *Amilcar*, ſirnamed *Barca*, Father to *Hannibal.* And we muſt vnderſtand that he was not vanquiſhed by the *Romans*, during the Warre of *Sicily*; (for he preſerued the Army which was about *Erix* with great Iudgement) but when he ſaw the *Carthaginians* had loſt the battell at Sea, hee thought good to yeeld vnto the time, and made a peace with the *Romans*, yet hee left not his indignation, A ſo as he expected continually an opportunity to be reuenged of them. And if the *Carthaginians* had not found themſelues troubled with the mutiny of their Souldiers, hee would preſently haue renewed the VVarre with all his power: and therefore being hindred by an inteſtine miſchiefe, he deferr'd it to another time.

The fore ſight of *Amilcar*, Father to *Hannibal.*

The *Romans* conſidering the danger wherein the *Carthaginians* were by the mutiny of their Souldiers, threatned them with VVarre. To preuent the which, the *Carthaginians* made an accord as we haue ſpecified in the former Booke, without which no man can vnderſtand that which wee haue now ſayd, nor that which followes. Finally, they B quit them *Sardinia*, as vnfurniſhed both of counſell and aide: For that the *Romans* would not otherwiſe deſiſt from their Enterprize, and they payed them beſide the Summe already accorded, ſeuen hundred thouſand Crownes: which was the ſecond and the greateſt cauſe of the VVarre which afterwards began.

Sardinia abandoned by the *Carthaginians.*

The ſecond Cauſe.

VVhen as all the people of *Carthage* were entred into the like indignation with *Hannibal*, and that *Amilcar* ſaw the mutiny of the Souldiers ſuppreſt, and the affaires of the Countrey pacified, he began to make VVarre in *Spaine*, ſeeking to make vſe of it, as a preparatiue to leade them againſt the *Romans.* Behold that which we muſt imagine for the third cauſe, that is to ſay, the good fortune which the *Car-* C *thaginians* had: For that their hearts grew great, and therefore they vndertooke this VVarre more boldly. There is proofe ſufficient, that *Amilcar* was the principall cauſe of the ſecond *Punique* VVarre, although he were dead ten yeeres before: but it ſhall ſuffice for the preſent to relate that which followeth: At what time that *Hannibal* was vanquiſhed by the *Romans*, he retired to *Antiochus* leauing *Affricke*, the *Romans* aduertiſed of the *Etoliens* attempt, ſent an Embaſſie to *Antiochus* to know his will, and to diſcouer by this meanes his preparation for Warre. But hauing vnderſtood that he held the party of the D *Etoliens*, and that he was reſolued to make Warre againſt the *Romans*, they frequented daily with *Hannibal*, ſeeking by their continuall familiarity, to draw him into ſuſpition and diſlike; wherein they were not deceiued: For *Antiochus* thinking he had beene gain'd by the *Romans*, ſuſpected him long. But it happened on a time when as the King called him to his Councell, whereas he had good liberty to ſpeake. And then after many diſcourſes, in the end as it were by indignation, hee began to vſe theſe termes. VVhen as my Father

The third Cauſe.

Antiochus an Enemy to the *Romans.*

Amilcar

Amilcar was to paſſe into *Spaine* with an Army I was about the Age of nine yeares: and when as he ſacrificed to *Iupiter*, I was neere vnto the Altars.

But when as the Sacrifices were ended, my father cauſed the reſt to retire backe; and hauing called me alone, he demaunded kindly of me, and as it were with imbracings, if I would go the Voyage. The which when I had not onely accepted, but moreouer intreated him like a childe; then taking my right hand, and laying it vpon the Altar, hee would that touching the things ſacrificed, I ſhould ſweare that preſent-
A ly when I came to age, I ſhould be an enemy to the *Romanes*. And therefore Sir, as long as you ſhall be their enemy, you may relie confidently in me, and haue no ſuſpicion of *Hannibal*: but when you ſhall be reconciled, or that you ſhall contract friendſhippe with them, then expect no other accuſer, and haue a care to keepe your ſelfe from me, as from an enemy to the people of *Rome*; for I ſhall be alwayes oppoſite vnto them with all my power.

Hannibal his ſpeech to *Antiochus*.

Hanibal ſweares that when hee came to age, he would be an enemy to the *Romanes*.

Antiochus hearing this kind of Speech, and that *Hannibal* ſpake truly and with affection, in regard of his griefe, he preſently abandoned all ſuſpition. Behold then a manifeſt teſtimony of the hatred and bad
B affection of *Amilcar* towards the *Romanes*; for hee left *Aſdrubal* his ſonne in Law, and his ſonne *Hannibal* for their enemies, ſuch as there could be none greater. It is true, that Death tooke an order that *Aſdrubal* could not ſhewe the hatred he bare them. But *Hannibal* had time at will, ſo as preuailing in his interprize, he hath ſufficiently made knowne the hatred which he held from his Father. And therefore they which haue the Gouernment of a Common-weale muſt carefully conſider this, and ruminate in their vnderſtanding to know the humours of thoſe, with whom they make any accord or friendſhip; whither it be for the neceſſity of the time, or to giue ouer the Warres; to the ende
C they may alwaies defend themſelues from thoſe which ſeeke an opportunity to do euill, and to make vſe of thoſe whom they know to bee their Subiects or true friends, when neceſſity ſhall require. Theſe cauſes which we haue ſpecified, are thoſe of the ſecond Punique Warre, and the beginning of that which we will now relate.

Aſdrubal ſonne in Law to *Hannibal*.

A good conſideration, and neceſſary for all Gouernours.

The *Carthaginians* hardly induring the loſſe of *Sycile*, which the *Romanes* had taken from them. It is true that as we haue ſaid, *Sardinia* which they had ſurprized by Treaſon during the mutiny of *Affricke*, and this ſumme of money which they had cauſed them to pay, did much increaſe their hatred. And therfore it was likely that as ſoone
D as they ſhould grow great in *Spaine*, they would tranſport the VVarre into *Italy*. But after the death of *Aſdrubal*, who after the death of *Amilcar* was Generall of the *Carthaginians*, they deſired to know the will of the Souldiers, before they would place a new Commaunder. And when as the newes came from the Campe, that *Hannibal* had bin choſen Captaine by a generall conſent, they preſently aſſembled, and confirmed with one accord by the election of the men of VVar. *Hannibal* hauing receiued all power, and conſidering that to linger was of no worth, he marcht with his army to the skirts of the *Olcades* to ruine

The cauſes of the *Carthaginians* hatred.

Neuer Commaunder did any thing worthily which was not pleaſing to the Souldiers.

them. And therefore he beſieged *Carteia*, the chiefe Towne of that Countrey, and tooke it by aſſault after ſome dayes reſiſtance. So as the other Townes being terrified yeelded of themſelues to the *Carthaginians*.

Carteia taken by aſſault.

After this Victory the Army retired to winter at *Carthagena* with great booty: whereas *Hannibal* vſing great bounty, deuided it amongſt the Souldiers: So as hee gained their hearts wonderfully, leauing them in great hope for the future. In the Spring hee led his Army againſt the *Vacceens*, and preſently conquered *Ermandique*: Afterwards hee tooke *Arbacale* by force, not without great danger, hauing held it long beſieged: For that it had beene well defended by the greatneſſe of the Citty, and the multitude and courage of the Inhabitants.

Countries conquered by *Hannibal*.

A

After this, hee ſuddainly fell by chance into a maruellous danger, by a charge which the *Toletains* haue him, at his returne from the *Vacceens* with a great booty: For it is a people which exceeds all the reſt of this Prouince in courage and multitudes of men, with the which alſo there ioyned the Fugitiues of *Ermandique*. Whereunto the baniſhed men of the *Olcades* had perſwaded them. Without doubt the *Carthaginians* had beene vanquiſhed and defeated, if they had offered Battell; but *Hannibal* gaue order to the contrary, and ſtriking Saile to enemy, he planted himſelfe vppon the Banke of the Riuer of *Tagus*: giuing charge vnto his Horſe men, that when they ſhould ſee the Enemies enter into the Water, they ſhould charge the Battalion of foote. He lodg'd forty Elephants along the Bankes.

The *Toletains*.

The riuer of *Tagus*.

B

By this meanes all things ſucceeded happily, for that he had the riuer and the Elephants as it were, for Combattants: For the *Barbarians* thinking that the *Carthaginians* were retired for feare, they caſt themſelues confuſedly into the Riuer with great cries. Wherefore a great number of them were defeated vpon the Bankes of the Riuer by the Elephants which ſtood there, and ſlew them at their landing. Some were alſo ſlaine in the Riuer by the Horſe men, for that the Horſemen being at eaſe and without Armour, could better helpe themſelues, and annoy the enemies, who durſt not relye vpon the Ford. They which were in the Reare, and might eaſily recouer the Banke, retired, vntill in the end the *Carthaginians* caſt themſelues into the riuer with all their bands and companies, and put them to flight. The *Toletains* army, with the *Olcades* and *Vacceens*, conſiſted of a hundred thouſand men. After which defeate, there were not any found beyond the riuer of *Ebro*, that durſt reſiſt the *Carthaginians*, except the *Sagontins*. It is true that *Hannibal* would not fall vpon them, leaſt hee ſhould offer an occaſion of Warre to the *Romanes*, before hee had ſeized vppon that which his Father *Amilcar* had aduiſed him to do.

Hanibals victory vppon the Barbarians.

C

An Army of a hundred thouſand men.

D

In the meane time the *Sagontins* ſent often to *Rome*, aſwell for the care of their owne priuate affaires, as alſo fore-ſeeing future things, and likewiſe to aduertiſe them of the good Fortune of the *Carthaginians* in *Spaine*. Finally the *Romanes* hauing thereupon many and diuers aduertiſements, they ſent an Embaſſie into *Spaine*, to diſcouer the courſe of *Hannibals* actions: But he was retired to Winter at *Carthagena*, hauing

An Embaſſie from the *Romanes* to *Hannibal*.

hauing mannaged his affaires to his owne liking. Being ſuddainly arriued there, he cals them and giues them audience, and power to deliuer their charge. The Embaſſadours at the firſt ſignifies vnto him, that he ſhould demaund nothing from the *Sagontins*, being allied vnto the *Romanes*: And moreouer that he ſhould not paſſe the riuer of *Ebro*, for that it had beene ſo concluded by the Treaty made with *Aſdruball*. The which being heard by *Hannibal*, like a young man and greedy of War, and who eaſily did what he would with the Senate of *Carthage*, by the meanes of the heads of his faction, together with the hatred he bare againſt the *Romanes*, he anſwered the Embaſſadours as a friend to the *Sagontins*, blaming the people of *Rome*, who when they had lately receiued Letters from the *Sagontins*, for a mutiny which was growne amongſt them, to the end they might ſend ſome Embaſſie to pacifie it, they had wickedly put to death ſome of the principall of the Citty: Whereof he threatens them to take reuenge, ſaying that the *Carthaginians* had a Cuſtome not to diſdaine outrages: On the other ſide, he ſent vnto *Carthage*, to aduertiſe them of that which they were to do, conſidering that the *Sagontins* relying vppon the Alliance with the *Romanes*, had done great outrages to many Townes ſubiect to the *Carthaginians*.

Hannibal anſwer to the Roman Embaſſadours.

Finally as one full of inconſtancy and rage, and inflamed with a deſire to make Warre, he propounded no other valuable reaſon, purſuing only certaine friuolous and impertinent cauſes. The which is incident to thoſe, who tranſported by their paſſion forget their duty. But had it not beene much better to ſay thus? That the *Carthaginians* do rightfully demaund of the *Romanes*, that they reſtore vnto them *Sardinia*, and the ſiluer, which for ſo many yeares they had vniuſtly drawne from them, during their great affaires, and if they did it not, they will proclaime Warre againſt them. Where as contrariwiſe it ſeemes now, in leauing the true cauſe, and ſuppoſing a falſe one of the *Sagontins*, they would make it not only without occaſion, but alſo with great outrage. And although the Embaſſadours vnderſtood well, that vppon neceſſity they muſt enter into Warre; yet they went vnto *Carthage*, where they vſed the like ſpeech.

It is true the *Romanes* meant to Tranſport it into *Spaine* and not into *Italy*, and to haue *Sagont* for a Fort. Wherefore in the interim, they laboured firſt to pacifie the Wars of *Sclauonia*, as if they intended to make a Warre that was long and tedious and farre from *Italy*. It happned at that time, that when as *Demetrius* King of the *Sclauonians* forgat the many fauours which the *Romanes* had done him, for that hee ſaw them preſt on the one ſide with the feare of the *Gaules*, and on the ther by the *Carthaginians*, and that all his hope was in the King of *Macedon*: for that hee had bin a pertaker of that Warre, which *Antigonus* made againſt *Cleomenes*, ruining the Townes of the *Sclauonians* which were ſubiect to the *Romanes*, forcing the Citty, and exceeding the bounds limitted in the Treaty. The like hee did to moſt parts of the Iland of *Cyclades*: So as he ruined all like a Tempeſt, beeing accompanied with fifty ſtrong Veſſels. Whereof the *Romanes* being

Demetrius King of Sclauonia.

being aduertiſed, ſeeing at that time the Principallity of *Macedon* to Triumph, they laboured with all their preſent meanes to pacifie the affaires of *Sclauonia*, hoping it would prooue eaſie: And that ſoone after, they ſhould puniſh the baſenesſe of the *Sclauonians*, and the ingratitude of *Demetrius*. But matters paſt otherwiſe then they expected. For whileſt they imploy their time therein, *Hannibal* takes *Sagont* much ſooner then they conceiued. So as the Warre grew hot, not in *Spaine*, but againſt the Citty of *Rome*, and thoroughout all *Italy*. Yet the *Romanes* purſuing their enterprize, ſent *Lucius Emilius* into *Sclauonia*, the firſt yeare of the hundred and fifteth *Olympiade*, with A a very great Army to keep that Prouince in peace, and from future danger.

Hannibal parting from *Carthagena* with his whole Army, goes to *Sagont*, a Towne ſcituated beyond the Riuer of *Ebro*, at the foote of the Mountaine, which deuides *Spaine* from the *Celtiberians*, about a mile diſtant from the Sea. The people of this Countrey exceede all the reſt of *Spaine* in abundance of fruites, and in multitudes of men, and they are the moſt Warlike. *Hannibal* entring into theſe limits with his Army, and hauing ruined all the Countrey, he beſiedged it with all manner of Engines, conceiuing that the taking thereof B would prooue wonderfull commodious for his preſent Affaires. First he conſidered that he ſhould depriue the *Romanes* of all hope to make Warre in *Spaine*; and that moreouer he ſhould ſtrike a great terrour into the reſt; and that by this meanes the Townes of *Spaine* reduced already vnder his obedience, would keepe their faith the better: Beſides it was likely, that they which deſired to liue ſtill in their liberty, would ſoone yeild: And that thirdly he immagined, that he might then confidently purſue the Remainder, leauing no enemy behind him.

The ſcituation of *Sagont*.

The diſcretion of the head of an interprize.

He hoped more-ouer, to gather much Treaſure for the intertainement of his War; and that he ſhould gaine the hearts of the Souldiers for the booty that euery one ſhould get at the ſacke of the Towne; and that finally he ſhould purchaſe the loue of the Cittizens remayning in *Carthage*, with preſents that he will ſend them of the ſpoiles. Beeing mooued with theſe reaſons, he wholy attends the ſiege of this Towne, and inflames the hearts of the Souldiers, ſpurring them on ſometimes with rage againſt the Enemy, ſometimes with hope of Recompence; and ſometimes he ſerues them for an example, aſwell in making the Engines, and approaching them to the Wals, as in going ſometimes to thoſe places which were moſt dangerous. Finally, hee performed D all things ſo extraordinary well, as if hee had beene but a ſimple Souldier.

And when he had toyl'd his Body and minde herein for the ſpace of eight moneths, in the end he forced *Sagont*. Whereas after he had made a great booty of gold and ſiluer, and taken many men, he kept the money for the charges of the War, as he had formerly reſolued, deuiding the Priſoners among the Souldiers, according vnto their ſeuerall dignities, and ſet the reſt of the ſpoile vnto *Carthage*.

Sagont forced by *Hannibal*.

After

After theſe things, hee was not deceiued in his hope, ſo as things ſucceeded according to his deſire: for his Souldiers were much more ready to vndergoe all dangers: and the *Carthaginians* much more ready to pleaſe him. Moreouer, this booty of money was a great meanes for the enterprize he had in hand.

Demetrius fortified *Dimale.*

During theſe actions, *Demetrius* King of the *Sclauonians*, diſcouering the enterprize and preparation of the *Romans*, hee preſently cauſed the Towne of *Dimale* to bee carefully furniſhed with men and victuals: and as for the other Townes of *Sclauonia*, hee chaſed away thoſe that were of a contrary faction, ſuffering none but ſuch as held his party. Then hee made choice of ſixe thouſand old Souldiers out of his Army, and put himſelfe into *Phare.* In the meane time the Conſull *Emilius* arriues ſafely in *Sclauonia* with his Army: where being aduertiſed that the Enemies were confident and reſolute, for that they were in hope, that the deſcent of the *Romans* ſhould not preuaile againſt them, relying much in the ſcituation and munition of *Dimale*, hee thought good before all things, to doe his vttermoſt endeauour to take it: thinking (as it afterwards happened) that this being taken, all the reſt amazed with feare, would eaſily yeeld vnto the *Romans.* And after that hee had made ſome ſpeeches vnto the Souldiers, hee planted his Engines of Battery againſt the Towne, and beſieged it: which being forced on the ſeauenth day, did ſo much amaze the Enemies, as preſently Embaſſies came from all the reſt of *Sclauonia*, yeelding vnto the *Romans.*

The arriuall of *Emilius* into *Sclauonia.*

The Townes of *Sclauonia* reduced to the *Romane* obedience.

The which being receiued into Friendſhip, and hauing treated with euery one according to their condition, hee cauſeth his Army to march directly to *Phare*, whereas the King of the *Sclauonians* made his abode. But for that hee found this Towne ſtrong by ſcituation, and mann'd with the choiſe of the Army, and moreouer, well furniſhed with Victuals, and all kinds of munition, hee feared the ſiege would bee long and difficult. Finally, being long in ſuſpence, he takes this counſell. Hee vſeth all diligence and labour to gaine the Iland in the Night, and doth lodge a great part of his Army in the thickeſt of the Forreſt: as for himſelfe, at the breake of day, hee gaines the neereſt Port vnto the Towne with twenty ſhipps. The *Sclauonians* ſeeing the Enemies ſhipps, and making no accompt of their number, they goe forth with a great Fleete to hinder the landing of the *Romans*, where they charg'd them, and for a time the Combate was very furious, there comming ſtill Succours vnto them from the Towne by files, ſo as in the end all the Citty was drawne thither.

The warlike policy of *Emilius.*

Then the *Romans* who had layne all night in Ambuſh in the Forreſt, hearing the noiſe, ranne with all ſpeed by couered places, and gaining a little Hill which was ſtrong by nature, within the Towne and Port, they tooke from their Enemies all meanes of returne. The which the *Sclauonians* well perceiuing, they leaue their firſt enterprize to repulſe the Enemy, and drawing together in one troupe,

they encourage one another, as men reſolued to go and fight againſt thoſe which held the Hill. On the other ſide the *Romans* ſeeing the *Sclauonians* approach, put themſelues in battell, and charg'd them, fighting with great reſolution and courage: The other part of the Army at Sea, landed, march't, and preſt the enemy in the Reare. Wherefore for as much as the *Romans* charg'd them on all ſides, and that the *Sclauonians* were preſt before and behind, the Combate was long and cruell. Finally, the *Romans* had the Victory. The greateſt part of the *Sclauonians* were moſt miſerably ſlaine, ſome ſaued themſelues within the Towne, and the reſt fled into the Deſarts of the Iland.

The victory of the *Romans* vpon the *Sclauonians*.

Demetrius the Night following ſaued himſelfe contrary to the opinion of all the World, by meanes of certaine Veſſels which hee had appointed in three places for his ſafety, the caſe ſo happening: and retired to *Phillip* King of *Macedon*, with whom hee ſpent the Remainder of his dayes. Hee was a man of great courage and ouerweening, but of little iudgement in Martiall affaires. And therefore hee ended according to the life which hee had formerly led: For when as at *Phillips* d. fire hee had begunne to beſiege the Towne of the *Meſſenians*, hee was moſt ſhamefully ſlaine by the Enemy, for his great and ouerweening boldneſſe. But wee will ſpeake of theſe things more particularly, when wee ſhall come vnto that time. When as *Emilius* had ſo ſuddainly gotten *Phare*, hee razed the Towne to the ground. And hauing within few dayes reduced the reſt of the Townes of *Sclauonia* to the *Romane* obedience, and decided all the affaires of the Prouince as hee had reſolued, hee returnes to *Rome* in the beginning of Autumne: where hee was receiued with wonderfull great glory, triumph, and good eſteeme of all men, to haue done not onely like a wiſe and diſcreete man, but like a reſolute.

Demetrius a man of great courage and little iudgement.

The Towne of *Phare* razed.

But when in the meane time newes came to *Rome* of the razing of *Sagont*, ſome haue written, that the Lords of the *Romane* Councell were not of opinion to make Warre, and they alledge cauſes and reaſons which held them in ſuſpence. But what can bee ſpoken more vnreaſonably? How is it likely, that they which the yeere before had ſignified Warre vnto the *Carthaginians*, if they entred the *Sagontins* Countrey, ſhould now growe doubtfull, whether after the taking of *Sagont*, they ſhould make Warre, or not? But is there any thing leſſe worthy of credit, to ſay, that the Senate on the one ſide was wonderfully heauy and afflicted, as if all had beene vtterly loſt: On the other ſide that the Fathers brought all their Children to the Senate, ſo as they were aboue twelue yeeres of age, and that being partakers of the Councell, they neuer reuealed, or made knowne the ſecrets to any? Without doubt theſe things are neither true nor likely, vnleſſe the *Romans* haue that gift of nature, to bee wiſe from their Cradles.

We haue diſcourſed ſufficiently of theſe writings which are of *Cherea* and *Soſilus*: neither haue they ſo much ſhew of a Hiſtory, as of old wiues Tales:

Tales: and are like vnto those which they vsually tell in Barbers shops. The *Romans* then after the newes of the taking of *Sagent*, and the murther of their Allies, sent presently an Embassie to *Carthage*, to let them vnderstand two things, whereof the one seemed to bee of consequence, for ignomy and losse of the *Carthaginians*, and the other had a shew to draw their Empire in hazard. For they demaunded, that they should either deliuer *Hannibal* to bee punished for the breach of the publique Faith, or else they should hold themselues assured of Warre. When as the Embassadours were come to *Carthage*, and that the Senate had giuen them audience, they deliuered their Commission: which was not without the indignation of of the *Carthaginians*: who made choice of *Hanno* to debate their Right, who at the first made no accompt of *Asdrubals* treatie, as hauing neuer beene made with the *Romans*: and if it were so, the *Carthaginians* were not bound vnto it, for that *Asdrubal* had exceeded his Commission, and had done it without the authority of the Senate or people of *Carthage*. Whereunto hee alleadged in the like case, that the *Romans* had beene of opinion, that the accord made in *Sicily* by the Consull *Luctatius* should bee broken, for that it had beene made without the authority of the people of *Rome*.

Roman Embassadours sent to *Carthage*.

Hanno's answer to the *Romane* Embassadours.

Finally, hee insisted still vpon this accord whilest his Speech continued, and reade it often, saying, that there was no mention made of *Ebro*, and that the Allies of the one and of the other were onely reserued: and that moreouer, it did nothing concerne the *Sagontins*, for that at the time of the accord they were not allied vnto the *Romans*. The Embassadours repuls'd with great words this contention concerning the right of the accorde, as a thing which concernes the honour of the people of *Rome*: saying that the quarrels might bee decided, if the *Sagontins* were in there entire. But now that *Sagont* is razed, and that the faith and accords are wickedly broken, they should either deliuer the Authour of the Crime to the *Romans*, to the end that all the World might know, that *Sagont* hath not beene ouerthrowne and ruined with the consent of the *Carthaginians*: Or if they will not, but confesse that the Towne hath beene destroyed with their consent, that they should prepare to Warre. Thus ended their discourse, which they held more amply and in generall.

I haue held it most necessary not to passe ouer this particular insilence, to the end the truth may not bee hidden to those which deale in publique affaires, or which haue cause to consider exactly of these things: Or else haue a desire to know whether they erre, being deceiued by the ignorance and sottishnesse of Historiographers, for want of knowledge of the treaties which from the first *Punique* Warre, vnto our times haue beene made betwixt the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians*. The first then was made betwixt these two Nations, immediately after that the name of King was chased out of *Rome*, *Lucius*, *Iunius*, *Brutus*, and *Marcus*

Valerius being Conſuls, vnder whom alſo a Temple was dedicated to *Iupiter Capitolinus*, eight and twenty yeeres before the firſt voyage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*: the which wee haue interpreted with the greateſt diligence wee could poſſibly. Beleeue me, the *Romane* tongue hath beene ſo changed ſince that time vnto our dayes, as they which are the beſt inſtructed in Antiquities, vnderſtand not much of it, but with great difficulty.

The Temple of *Iupiter Capitolinus*.

The *Romane* tongue changed.

The firſt accord betwixt the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians*.

This accord containes in a manner thus much: The people of *Rome*, and the *Carthaginians* ſhall liue in Amity and Friendſhip: The like ſhall their Allies doe. The *Romans* and their Allies ſhall not ſaile beyond A the Promontory of *Beauty*, vnleſſe they be forced by ſtorme, or the violence of their Enemies. If any one takes Port for theſe cauſes, hee ſhall not buy, nor take any thing, but what neceſſity ſhall require for Sacrifices and for Ships. And that within the fift day they ſhall ſet ſaile for their retreate. They which ſhall arriue there for the trade of Merchandize, ſhall be free, except the duties which belong vnto the Regiſter, and to the Citty, who ſhall giue a Certificate of all that which ſhalbe ſold in their preſence, in *Affricke* or *Sardinia*. If any *Romane* arriues in *Sicily*, where the *Carthaginians* are Lords, they ſhall doe him no wrong. The *Carthaginians* ſhall doe no outrage to the *Ardeates*, *Anciates*, *Arrentins*, *Circins*, *Tarraconnois*, not the other *Latins* B which are ſubiect to the *Romans*. And if there bee any other Citty which is not ſubiect, it is not comprehended. If the *Carthaginians* take any one, they ſhall reſtore it entire to the *Romans*, neither ſhall they build any Fort in *Italy*. And if they be entred into the Prouince as Enemies, they ſhall not ſtay a whole night. Behold in a manner what the firſt Treatie contayned. You muſt vnderſtand that the Promontory of *Beauty*, is right againſt *Carthage*, hauing its aſpect to the North. Beyond the which towards the South, the *Carthaginians* would not ſuffer the *Romans* to ſaile with any ſhips of Warre. C

I conceiue that this Promontory is that which they call the Promontory of *Mercure*, in *Affricke*, where as now the Citty *Clipea* ſtands.

The Promontory of *Beauty*.

The reaſon was as it ſeemes, for feare they ſhould come and diſcouer the places which are about the Banks of *Barbary*, which the *Carthaginians* call the Merchants Countrey, by reaſon of the fertility thereof. And therefore if any one driuen by a ſtorme, or preſt by the enemy, caſt himſelfe vpon that Quarter, it was not lawfull for him to take any thing but what was neceſſary to repaire his ſhips, or to ſacrifice: Being likewiſe forced to weigh Anchor, and ſet ſaile the fift day. As for *Carthage* and the other Countries of *Affricke*, which are on this ſide the Promontory, and as for *Sardinia* and *Sicily*, whereas the *Carthaginians* were Lords, it was lawfull to ſayle thither for trafficke: For D the effecting whereof the *Carthaginians* had ſworne to obſerue and keepe it.

But it ſeemes that in this treaty, that the *Carthaginians* make mention of *Affricke* and *Sardinia*, as of their owne Prouinces, holding other termes of *Sicily*, which adde the Countrey wherein they are obeyed. The *Romans* alſo doe the like for the Countrey of the *Latins*: and as for the reſt of *Italy*, they make not any mention, for that it was not yet ſubiect vnto them. Afterwards there was another treaty made, where-

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in the *Carthaginians* comprehended the *Tyrriens* and *Biſarthins*: There was alſo added to the Cape of Beauty, *Maſtia*, and *Tarſeion*: Without the which it was not lawfull for the *Romanes* to pretend any Countrey, nor to purchaſe or build any new Citty. Behold the Contents: The *Romanes* and their Allies, the *Carthaginians*, *Tyrriens*, and *Biſarthins*, and their Allies, ſhall liue in friendſhip. The *Romanes* nor their Allies ſhall not ſaile beyond the Promontory of Beauty, nor of *Maſtia*, or *Tarſeion*, to rob and ſpoile, nor to Trafficke, nor to build any Towne. If the *Carthaginians* take any Towne in *Italy*, which is not A ſubiect to the *Romanes*, they ſhall haue ſpoile, and reſtore the Towne vnto the *Romanes*. If they haue taken any of the free people, which were Allied to the *Romanes*, they ſhall not bring them vnto any Port which belongs vnto the *Romanes*. And if they bring any one thither, and he be knowne to the *Romanes*, they ſhall be ſet at liberty. The like ſhall be done vnto the *Romanes* in thoſe Townes which are ſubiect to the *Carthaginians*. The ſecond Accord.

If a *Roman* refreſhes himſelfe with Water and Victuals, the *Carthaginians* ſhall do him no wrong, with whom they haue concluded a peace and friendſhip, and if they do it, the outrage ſhall be held pub- B licke. And as for *Sardinia* and *Affricke*, the *Romanes* nor their Allies may not Trafficke nor haue any Towne, or buy any thing but what is neceſſary, for Sacrifice or the repairing of their ſhippes. And if any ſhip be caſt vpon that Coaſt by Tempeſt, they ſhall ſet Saile within the fifth day. In regard of *Sicily*, the *Romanes* may Trafficke where the *Carthaginians* are obeyed: The like they may do at *Carthage*, and vſe the ſame rights which the *Carthaginians* obſerue. The which in the like caſe the *Carthaginians* may doe at *Rome*. In this Treaty it ſeemes that the *Carthaginians* ſhew that *Sardinia* and *Affricke* were wholy theirs, and that they would depriue the *Romanes* of the right of *Por-* C *tage*. But as for *Sicily* of that part onely which they hold.

It was alſo Articulated, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould not make Warre againſt the *Ardiatins*, the *Antiates*, the *Circins*, *Tarraconnois*, nor againſt the other *Latine* Citties which lie vpon the Sea, and comprehends the *Latine* Region. As for the reſt of *Italy*, there was no mention made. Since there was a third Accord made, at ſuch time as *Pyrrhus* King of the *Epirotes* paſt into *Italy*, before the beginning of the Punique Warre. Wherein were comprehended the ſame Articles, adding moreouer, that if they agreed with *Pyrrhus*, they ſhould giue ſuccour one vnto another in the Country that was aſſailed: And if ey- D ther of them had need of aſſiſtance, the *Carthaginians* ſhould furniſh Ships alwell for the paſſage, as for the Combate, either of them paying their Souldiers. The *Carthaginians* ſhould ſuccour the *Romans* by Sea, and no man ſhould be forced to Land his men. But as I haue vnderſtood, the oath of the firſt Treaties was made in this manner. Other Articles paſt betwixt the *Romanes* & the *Carthaginians*. The third Accord.

The *Carthaginians* ſware by the gods of their Countrey: And the *Romanes* by the Stone, according to their auncient Cuſtome, calling thereunto the powers of *Mars* the Warlike. Behold the manner which they obſerued to ſweare by the Stone. The Herald of Armes, after The manner of Swearing of the *Romanes* & *Carthaginians* in their treaties

the Treaty of Peace was concluded betwixt the two Nations, hauing the Stone in his hands, vſed theſe Words. I pray vnto the gods that all things may come ſucceſſefully vnto me, if this Accord and Oath which I take, be done iuſtly and without fraud. But if I do or thinke otherwiſe that I may die alone, as this Stone ſhall fall out of my hand, all the reſt being ſound and ſafe in their owne Country, their Lawes, Houſes, Temples, and Sepulchers, and without ſpeaking any Word more, he let the Stone fall out of his hand.

As theſe things are true, and are at this day to be ſeene, grauen in Tables of Braſſe, in the Temple of *Iupiter Capitolinus*, where they are carefully kept by the *Ediles*. Who will not wonder at the Hiſtoriographer *Philinus*, not for that he knew it not (for without doubt many auncient *Romanes* and *Carthaginians*, I ſay of our time, and which haue beene very curious of ſuch things, do not know it:) But for that he hath dared to write things quite contrary; ſaying that in theſe Accords was contained that the *Romanes* ſhould quit all *Sycily*, and the *Carthaginians* all *Italy*? Wherefore the *Romans* had broken their faith and promiſe, at their firſt Voiage into *Sycily*. And yet this is not found Written.

Philinus a Hiſtoriographer.

Philinus hath written this Diſcourſe in the ſecond of his Books, the which relating lightly in the firſt Booke, we haue reſerued to this place, to the end we may debate it in particular: holding it neceſſary, leaſt ſome one might ſtray from the Truth, following the errour of *Philinus*. It will not be happily without reaſon, if ſome one will hold the Voyage of the *Romans* into *Sycily* worthy of blame, for that they had receiued the *Mamertins* into friendſhip, and preſently ſent forces after in their extreame neceſſity, conſidering that a little before they had ſpoiled *Meſſina* and *Rhegium* with great cruelty, beeing two of the richeſt Townes in *Sycily*. But this were to iudge like an ignorant man, that in paſſing into *Sycily* they had broken their faith and promiſe. After that the Warre of *Sycily* was ended, there was another Accord made, whereof this is the Tenor. That the *Carthaginians* ſhould not onely voide out of *Sycily*, but out of all the Iſlands which are betwixt it and *Italy*. And the Allies of the one and the other ſhould haue no Rule in neither of their Countries; nor ſhould make any Forts, nor draw foorth any Souldiers, nor make Alliance with either of their Allies; and that the *Carthaginians* ſhould pay thirteene hundred and twenty thouſand Crownes within ten yeares: Whereof ſixe hundred thouſand ſhould be preſently paied, and that moreouer they ſhould deliuer all the *Romane* Priſoners without ranſome.

Another accord made betwixt the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians*.

Beſides all this the *Romanes* declaring Warre vnto them, when they were much troubled and afflicted in *Affricke*, they forced them to make a new Treaty: Where it was ſayd, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould leaue *Sardinia*, and pay (beſides the ſumme agreed vpon,) ſeauen hundred thouſand Crownes. After all theſe Treaties, the laſt was made in *Spaine* with *Aſdrubal*, where the *Carthaginians* were forbidden to paſſe the Riuer of *Ebro* or *Iberus* in Armes. Behold all the Treaties which the people of *Rome* and *Carthage* made, from the firſt Punique Warre vnto

Another accord.

Another accord made with *Aſdrubal*.

vnto the ſecond, which the *Carthaginians* mannaged vnder the Conduct of *Hannibal*. But it is doubtleſſe, that as wee haue ſhewed that the *Romanes* did not breake their faith when they paſt into *Sycily*, as doth plainly appeare: So afterwards they declared Warre againſt the *Carthaginians* without reaſon: when as they made the Treaty for *Sardinia*: for truely there can be no reaſon found therein. Contrariwiſe we ſee plainely that beſides all the agreements, the *Carthaginians* left *Sardinia*, and payed a greater ſumme of mony, being forced by the malice of the time. And as for that, wherewith the *Romanes* ſhelter
A themſelues, that they were forced thereunto, for that they had outraged their Merchants at Sea: This had beene formerly decided, when as the *Carthaginians* deliuered the Priſoners without Ranſome. Theſe are things whereof we haue ſpoken, when in the precedent Booke we haue related that which was to be ſaid in perticular. Let vs now come to the cauſes of the ſecond Punique War, and let vs ſee which of the two Nations is to be blamed.

The *Carthaginians* obiected thoſe cauſes which we haue related. In regard of the *Romanes* they brought none for the preſent, for the indignation they had for the razing of *Sagont*. Yet behold thoſe which
B they and others do vſually obiect. Firſt there is no compariſon betwixt the Treaty which *Aſdrubal* made and that of *Luctatius*, although the *Carthaginians* will haue it ſo. For it was ſayd in that of *Luctatius*, that it ſhould hold good if the people of *Rome* conſent vnto it. And as for that of *Aſdrubal*, there was no ſuch condition: Where it was expreſly ſayd, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould not paſſe beyond *Ebro*. And it was ſayd in the other, that the Allies of either part ſhould liue in peace: Vnder which termes were not only comprehended thoſe which then were not Allied: For it would haue beene Articulated, that the one nor the other ſhould make any new Alliance; or that they which
C ſhould newly enter, ſhould not be comprehended, whereof there is nothing Written. For with that whereof formerly they had giuen order that none of thoſe which ſhould enter newly into Alliance, ſhould be wronged: Who will beleeue that eyther of theſe powerful Nations would reſtraine himſelfe from receiuing thoſe he ſhould think good into Alliance, or to defend thoſe that were receiued? In trueth I conceiue that in making their Treaty, their chiefe intent was, that their Allies ſhould liue in ſafety, and that it ſhould not be lawful for them, to receiue the Allies of the one and the other into alliance: and it was prouided that the new alliances might not draw Souldiers out of the others
D Prouinces, nor beare any rule there; and that they ſhould all Liue in peace.

The cauſes propounded by the *Romans* for the Warre.

Matters ſtanding in theſe Termes, it is manifeſt that the *Sagontins* were allied vnto the *Romanes* long before *Hannibal*: The which is ſo probable as the *Carthaginians* cannot deny it: For the *Sagontins* for a mutiny which grew in their Towne, ſent not vnto the *Carthaginians* although they were their Neighbours, and held the greateſt part of *Spaine*; but retired to the *Romanes*, by whoſe meanes the ſedition was pacified and ſuppreſt. If they ſay that the razing of *Sagunt* hath beene the

The *Sagontins* Allied a long time with the *Romanes*.

the cauſe of this Warre, they muſt likewiſe confeſſe that the *Carthaginians* had no reaſon to make Warre againſt the *Romanes*, aſwell by the Treaty made with *Lutatius*, wherein it was contained that they ſhould do no outrage vnto the Allies, as by that which was made by *Aſdrubal*, by the which the *Carthaginians* were reſtrained from paſſing the Riuer of *Ebro* in Armes. Likewiſe if they will ſay, that the *Carthaginians* had taken this Warre to heart, for *Sardinia* which had beene taken from them, and for the ſumme of money which they had payed: I make no doubt that they were not to bee blamed, if attending the opportunity of the time they ſought to reuenge: Yet I conceiue there wilbe ſome, who not duly conſidering heereof, will imagine it idle and to no purpoſe, that I examine theſe reaſons ſo dilligently. A

The opinion of *Polybius* in the diligence of a Hiſtory.

For my part I am of opinion, that if a man be ſo well furniſhed with all things neceſſary, as he needes not any aſſiſtance, yet the knowledge of things paſt wilbe pleaſing vnto him, and it may be neceſſary. If likewiſe any one dare not relie vpon this, aſwell in priuate affaires as publicke, conſidering he is a man: and that he knowes well that this preſent felicity may be loſt, conſidering that the Fortune of men is fraile and without continuance: Then I ſay that the knowledge of things paſt is not onely pleaſant but neceſſary. But how may a man finde aide and ſuccours to defend himſelfe, being wronged in his owne Countrey? Or draw all the VVorld vnto his owne opinion, making a new enterprize? Or aſſure the hearts of his men when Fortune fauours him, if hee haue not a true particular knowledge of the deedes of his Anceſtors? Beleeue me by this meanes he ſhalbe ready and inſtructed in preſent affaires to be able to ſay, and doe things, whereby all enterprizes ſhalbe diſcouered, and the Truth vnderſtood. For things that are done and paſt, are good inſtructions for thoſe that ſhal ſucceed and come after, ſhewing vs the meanes, aduiſe, and policies, whereby wee may purchaſe grace, helpe, and comfort: Or contrariwiſe, procure hatred, malice, or indignation, and ſo mooue to Iuſtice and reaſon. All which are of great Conſequence vnto a man, aſwell for his priuate affaires, as for the publicke. B C

And therefore I am of aduice, that Hiſtoriographers and they which giue themſelues to read Hiſtories, ſhould not ſo much reſpect the Actions, as their Conſequence and that which goes before. For if you take from a Hiſtory which mentions but the deeds, how, nor wherefore it hapned, and what the end was, that which ſhall remaine will haue no inſtructions, and will be but a kinde of Contention: Although happily it may ſeeme at the firſt ſight ſomething pleaſant, but for the future they ſhall reape no profite. It is true, ſome will ſay that it is no eaſie thing to recouer ſuch a Hiſtory, and that they cannot well finde it for the greatneſſe and number of Bookes. Beleeue me, they doe not vnderſtand how much more eaſie it is to haue, and to read forty Bookes made with good order, whereas the deedes and actions of *Italy*, *Sycily*, and *Affricke*, from the voiage D

Polybius hath made forty Bookes.

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of *Pyrrhus* into *Italy*, vnto the taking of *Carthage* are comprized: And as for thoſe of the other parts of the World, from the flight of *Cleomenes* vnto the Warre which the *Romans* had againſt the *Achæins*, neere vnto the *Iſthmus*: Then to make prouiſion, or to reade ſo many Bookes of ſo many particular Hiſtories: For as they exceede ours in greatneſſe and number, ſo it is a difficult thing to comprehend any thing certaine. Firſt, that all write not of the ſame things, and omit thoſe which haue beene done at the ſame time: the which if they were conferr'd together, would the better diſcouer the truth.

A Finally, they cannot attaine to that which is neceſſary to the Hiſtory, which are the things which precede the actions, and concerne the cauſes. For our part, wee will conſider the Warre of *Antiochus*, as hauing taken its occaſion from that of *Philip*, and that of *Philip* from the *Punique* Warre, and the *Punique* from that of *Sicily*: Whereas all the accidents which haue happened in the meane time, and may bee referred to one beginning, are diligently obſerued. All which things may be eaſily vnderſtood by him that hath written a generall Hiſtory: the which is impoſſible by them which ſpeake of particular Warres, as of the *Perſique* or *Philippique*: vnleſſe perchance
B ſome one holds opinion to be able to vnderſtand a whole Warre by the knowledge of one Battell: which is impoſſible. And therefore our Hiſtory ought to be more eſteemed, than that of particular Warres, for that it is more excellent to haue learned ſome thing perfectly, than to haue onely heard of it.

But to returne from whence wee ſtrayed, when the *Roman* Embaſſadours ſaw that the *Carthaginians* diſguiſed matters, they ſpake no more. But the moſt ancient among them taking vp the skirt of his Roabe, and ſhewing it to the Senate, behold ſaith hee, wherein I bring you Warre or Peace: take which you pleaſe. Whereunto the
C Chiefe of the *Carthaginians* anſwered, deliuer which you will. And when he had ſpoken, he deliuered them Warre, many of the Senate cryed out, that they accepted it. Vpon this diſcourſe the Embaſſadours and Senate retired. *Hannibal* wintering at *Carthage*, had giuen leaue to his Souldiers to returne into their Countrey, if happily there were any that deſired to ſee their Kinſfolkes and Friends: To the end that hauing endured ſo much toile, they might fortifie their bodies and mindes, to endure new labour. Moreouer, he inſtructs his brother *Aſdrubal* by what meanes (if hee were forced to part out of the Prouince) he ſhould defend and gouerne *Spaine* againſt all
D the attempts of the *Romans*. Then hee ſends a great Garriſon into *Affricke* of men which he drew out of *Spaine*: for hee had cauſed Souldiers to come out of *Affricke* into *Spaine*, making cunningly this diuiſion of his men: to the end that the *Affricans* being there, and the *Spaniards* in *Affricke*, they ſhould grow better by mutuall obligations.

The Roman Embaſſadours ſignifie Warre vnto the *Carthaginians*.

The order which *Hannibal* gaue for the defence of *Spaine*.

They which paſt into *Affricke*, were *Theſites*, *Maſſianes*, *Orites*, *Spaniards* and *Olcades*: hauing appointed the number of them to be twelue hundred Horſe, and thirteene thouſand eight hundred & fifty Foot: and

beſides theſe eight hundred and fifty Slingers, of *Maiorque* and *Minorque*, called *Baleares*, with their Hand, by reaſon of the vſe of the Sling. He commaunds they ſhould lodge the greateſt part in *Affricke*, and that the reſt ſhould remaine at *Carthage* for its ſtrength. He doth alſo leauy foure thouſand Foote, the choice of the youth within the heart of *Spaine*: the which hee cauſeth to march to *Carthage*, not ſo much to fortifie it, as to ſerue for Hoſtages. Hee alſo left in *Spaine* to his Brother *Aſdrubal* fifty Quinqueremes, two Quadriremes, fiue Triremes, and among the Quinqueremes thirty two armed and furniſhed, with the fiue Triremes. Hee alſo left him about A foure hundred and fifty *Libyphenices*, which is a mixt Nation of *Phenicians* and *Affricans*: and three hundred *Ilergetes*: Eighteene hundred *Numidians* and *Moores*, bordering vpon the great Sea: Eleauen thouſand eight hundred and fifty Foote, *Affricans*: Three hundred *Gerenon*: Fiue hundred men of *Maiorque* and *Minorque*: and one and twenty Elephants. No man ought to wonder at our diligence in this deſcription, If I ſo obſerue it in the affaires of *Hannibal* in *Spaine*, that euen they which practiſed it, could hardly obſerue: Nor blame vs for that after the manner of lyars, we relate I know not what petty triuiall things, the more eaſily to giue credit vnto our writing. For B when I had ſeene at *Lanynium* a Table of Copper, which *Hannibal* had left there, when as he ouer ran *Italy*, wherein this number was contained, I thought fit to giue credit vnto it; and therefore wee haue followed it heere.

The equipage of Warre as well for Sea as Land, left in *Spaine* by *Hannibal*, to *Aſdubal* his Brother.

The number of *Hannibals* Army in a Table of Copper ſeene by *Polybius*.

When as *Hannibal* had prouided for *Affricke* and *Spaine*, hee reſpected the returne of ſuch as hee had ſent to moue the *Gaules*, by whoſe Country he was to paſſe his Army. You muſt vnderſtand that he had ſent men to winne them by Preſents, and to view the paſſages of the Mountaine, for that he was aduertiſed that this Region was very fertile, and very well peopled with reſolute men, and good Souldiers, C and mortall Enemies to the *Romans*, for the Warre which they made againſt the *Gaules*, expecting that his Warre ſhould be onely in *Italy*, if hee might paſſe his Army ſafely by the ſtreights of the *Alpes* with their helpe. After the returne of his men, and that he was aduertiſed of the expectance and deſire of the *Gaules*, and that the paſſages of the Hills were rough and painefull, not altogether inacceſſible, he drew his Army together in the Spring. It is true, that the newes which at the ſame time hee receiued, of that which happened at *Carthage*, inflamed his choller the more againſt the *Romans*, hauing thereby a confident hope of the fidelity and affection of his Na- D tion. When as all the Army was drawne together, *Hannibal* made an Oration, not to any one part, but publickely to all the Souldiers, by diuers meanes perſwading them to imbrace the Warre againſt the *Romans*: and how that hee and the other Captaines of *Carthage* had bene demanded of them for to be put to death, for the taking of *Sagont*. Hee acquaints them likewiſe of the fertility of the Prouince whither they made their voyage, making great eſteeme and reſpect of the Friendſhippe and alliance of the *Gaules*. After which ſpeech, ſeeing them

The Oration which *Hannibal* made to his Souldiers.

them all reſolute, and that they demaunded nothing but to parte, he commended their good will and proweſſe. And after he had told them the day when they ſhould truſſe vp their baggage, he diſmiſt them. In the meane time, when he had made all neceſſary preparations for his Voyage, hee diſlodg'd ſuddainly, when the day of parting was come, with fourefcore and ten thouſand Foote, and twelue thouſand Horſe, and paſt the Riuer of *Ebro*.

The number of Horſe and Foote which were in *Hannibals* Army at his parting from *Spaine*.

Then within few dayes, hee brought vnder his obedience the *Ilergetins*, the *Barguſins*, the *Ermoſins*, and *Andoliſians*: the like they
A did to all other Townes vnto the *Pyrenee* Mountaines, razing ſome. And as hee performed this ſooner than any man could conceiue, ſo he did it not without many cruell battels, and great loſſe of men. He ſetled *Hanno* Gouernour of this Countrey, and made him likewiſe Lord of the *Barguſins*: for that hee did not greatly truſt thoſe people, for the Alliance they had with the *Romans*: and hee gaue him ten thouſand Foote, and a thouſand Horſe for the guard of their Countrey, leauing with him all their baggage which march't with him. Hee ſent backe the like number of *Spaniards* to their houſes, partly for that hee vnderſtood they were grieued with the length of the Iourney, and the diffi-
B cult paſſages of the Mountaines: and partly to giue hope vnto others, to returne ſometimes into their Countrey: and that they which he left in their houſes, ſhould march more willingly into *Italy*, if he needed ſuccours. He march't then with the reſt of his Army, which amounted vnto the number of fifty thouſand Foote, and nine thouſand Horſe.

The number of men which *Hannibal* left to *Hanno* for the guard of *Spaine*.

Hannibals Army of 50. thouſand Foote and nine thouſand Horſe.

And paſſing the *Pyrenee* Mountaines, he drew neere vnto the mouth of the Riuer of *Rhone*, not ſo well accompanied with great numbers as good men, who had beene alwayes victorious. But to the end this may not ſeeme too obſcure by the ignorance of places, wee haue
C thought it fit to ſhew in few words, from whence *Hannibal* parted, and what great Countries hee paſt, and into what parts of *Italy* he entred. It is true, wee haue not ſet downe the names of the places, as many Hiſtoriographers doe, thinking that all will the better bee vnderſtood, if they haue the knowledge thereof: For my part, I am of opinion, that the relation of the names of places, whereof we haue knowledge, are of great profit, for the more eaſie vnderſtanding, and more certaine memory of things. But where the places are vnknowne, their names are like vnto that manner of voice, which beſides the hearing, ſignifies nothing. By this meanes it happens, that ſeeing our vnder-
D ſtanding doth not comprehend any thing by the name, and the which knowne, cannot breed any great profit, that the relation is altogether fruitleſſe. And therefore wee muſt finde meanes, by the which ſpeaking of places that are vnknowne, we may make the truth to be vnderſtood by the Readers with all our power.

The firſt and principall knowledge, common to all men, is the Diuiſion of this World wherein wee are contained, by the which wee know (euen Ideots) the Eaſt, Weſt, South and North. The ſecond is by the which attributing to euery one of theſe parts the parties of the

World, wee come in ſome ſort to the knowledge of places which we haue neuer ſeene. But as the round Circle of the Earth conſiſts of many parts, whereof ſome are inhabitable, and others in ſcituation oppoſite to ours, inhabited by the *Antipodes*: Wee muſt for the preſent ſpeake onely of the ſcituation of the Countrey which wee inhabite. And for that it is diuided into three parts, and hath three names, whereof they call the one *Aſia*, the other *Affricke*, and the third *Europe*. It is a diuiſion which the Riuers of *Tanais* and *Nile* make, ioyning to the ſtreights of *Hercules* Pillars. *Aſia* is ſeated betwixt *Nile* and *Tanais*, taking its extent towards the East and South. In regard of *Affricke*, it is ſeated betwixt the *Nile* and the Pillars of *Hercules*, taking its extent vnder the South, and towards the *Hiuernall* weſt vnto the Equinoxiall, and to the ſtreights of *Gibeltar*. Finally, theſe two parts ſeeme to hold more the Countrey vnder the South, from the East following our Sea then towards the Weſt.

The diuiſion of the World in three parts.

A

And as for *Europe*, it is limited drawing towards the North, and continuing from the East vnto the Weſt: whoſe greateſt extent lies towards the North, betwixt the Riuer of *Tanais* and *Narbonna*, which is not farre from the Countrey of *Marcelles* towards the Weſt, and the mouthes of the Riuer of *Rhone*, which loſe themſelues in the *Sardinian* Sea. The *Gaules* hold all that Countrey, from *Narbonna* vnto the *Perinee* Mountaines, the which extend themſelues from our Sea vnto the Ocean, and as for the reſt of *Europe* from the *Perinee* Mountaines vnto the Weſt, I meane vnto the Pillars of *Hercules*, it is enuironed on the one ſide by our Sea, and on the other by the maine Ocean. The Countrey about which our Sea doth flowe, vnto the Pillars of *Hercules*, is called *Spaine*. And as for that which hath its aſpect to the Ocean, it hath not yet any knowne name that hath come to our knowledge: although it bee fully inhabited by Barbarous people, of whom we will ſpeake particularly when we come to their Ranke. For as the Region which is neere vnto *Ethiopia*, whereas *Aſia* and *Affricke* ioynes, is at this day vnknowne, whether it be firme land continued towards the South, or incloſed by the Sea: So likewiſe the Countrey is at this day vnknowne, which betwixt *Tanais* and *Narbonna* drawes towards the North: ſo as they dreame which ſpeake or write any thing.

B

C

It was neceſſary to make this digreſſion, to the end that the deeds which we are to relate, might not be altogether obſcure to thoſe which know not the places, and that they might come the knowledge of the truth as much as is poſſible, by the Regions of Heauen and Earth. For we haue beene alwaies accuſtomed to turne our face continually to that which they teach vs by reaſon and example: The vnderſtanding muſt alwayes haue regard to thoſe Countries which are interpoſed in the relation. Leauing then our diſcourſe, let vs returne to the continuance of our ſpeech. The *Carthaginians* at that time held all the *Affricaine* ſhore, whereas our Sea flowes, from the *Philenien* Altars, neere vnto the Bankes of *Barbary*, vnto the Pillars of *Hercules* (this containes about ſixteene thouſand Furlongs) and in paſſing that little Sea which is betwixt

D

What the Carthaginians held in Affrick.

betwixt *Affricke* and *Europe* they had Conquered all *Spaine*, vnto the *Perinee* mountaines, which diuide that Prouince from *Gaule*. From the which vnto ſtreights of *Gebeltar*, where ſtand the Pillars of *Hercules*, there is about eight thouſand Furlongs: And from the ſtreight vnto the new Towne, which ſome call *Carthage*, from whence *Hannibal* parted to go into *Italy*, three thouſand furlongs: And from *Carthage* to *Ebro*, two thouſand ſixe hundred furlongs: From thence to the *Empories*, ſixteene hundred: And from thence to the mouth of the Riuer of *Rhone* ſixeteene hundred furlongs. Behold the meaſure of
A thoſe places which the *Romanes* haue made with great diligence. From the paſſage of the *Rhone*, following the Bankes towards the Spring, vnto the paſſage of the *Alpes* into *Italy*, thirteene hundred furlongs; and the paſſage of the Mountayne is held to be twelue hundred. After which they come into the Champion Countrey which is about *Poe*. And therefore *Hannibal* was to march nine thouſand furlongs, from *Carthage* vnto the entry of *Italy*. And if we will obſerue the way, he had already paſt the one halfe: But if we will conſider the difficulty of the Country, he had the moſt troubleſome taske to performe. *Hannibal* endeauoured by all meanes to paſſe the *Perinee* Mountaines, not
B without ſome feare of the *Gaules*; leaſt knowing the paſſages, they ſhould interrupt his voyage into *Italy*.

In the meane time newes came to *Rome* of that which had beene ſpoken and done at *Carthage*, by the Embaſſadours, and that *Hannibal* had paſt the Riuer of *Ebro* with his Army, much ſooner then they expected, making haſt to go into *Italy*; for the which the great men of *Rome* were not a little amazed: Conceiuing that hee would mooue the Nation of the *Gaules* againſt them, being alwayes deſirous of Warre. Wherefore after the Election of the Conſuls, the diuided the Prouinces: Whereof *Spaine* was for *Publius Cornelius*, and *Affricke* with
C *Sycily* for *Tytus Sempronius:* To whom they appointed ſixe Legions for that yeare, and as many Allies as they ſhould thinke good; and as great an Army at Sea as they could make.

A diuiſion of the Prouinces to the Conſull.

Whileſt they Leuied men at *Rome*, and that the Army at Sea and Munitions were preparing, and all the neceſſary Equipage for the Sea, they laboured to people their *Colonies*, which they had lately in *Gaule* neere vnto the *Poe*. There were Cities newly built, and Citizens enioyned to be there within thirty dayes, to either Citty ſixe thouſand men: whereof the one which was on this ſide the *Poe*, was called *Plaiſance*, and the other on the further ſide *Cremona*. The *Boloniens*
D diſcontented herewith, and remembring the auncient quarrels, abandoned the *Roman* party, being aduertiſed of the Deſcent of the *Carthaginians*, leauing the Hoſtages which they had giuen in the former Warre, whereof we haue made mention in the laſt Booke. And taking Armes ſuddainly, they ſolicited the *Milanois* to do the like, making a tumultuous burly-burly in the Countrey aſſigned to the *Colonies*, ſo as all the people terrified fled to *Modena*, with the three Deputies which were come to diuide the Land: Whom the *Boloniens* purſued, and beſieged the Towne. The ſiege continuing ſome time,

The building of *Plaiſance* and *Cremona*.

The reuolt of the *Boloniens*.

Modena beſieged by the *Gaules*.

they made a shew to parley of Peace: And when as the Princes of the *Gaules* had caused some Embassadours to come vnto them, they staied them contrary to the Law of Nations, refusing to send them backe, if their Hostages were not deliuered.

When the newes of this accident was come vnto them, *Lucius Manlius* the Pretor, who was then present with an Army, inflamed with Rage, makes hast to succour the Besieged, whereof the *Boloniens* being aduertised, they layd an Ambush in the Forrest neere the way, and surprizing their enemies at their comming, they slew a great number of the *Romans*: The rest with great difficulty recouering the fields, saued themselues: Where although the Souldiers assured themselues for a time, yet finding that the *Boloniens* pursued them in the Reare, they fled to recouer the Towne of *Cannet*. When the newes came vnto *Rome*, the *Romans* fearing that their Army would be indangered by a long siege, they appointed *Attilius* the Pretor to succour the Besieged with the Troupes prepared for the new Leuy of the Consull, enioyning him moreouer to make a Leuy of others: Behold the estate wherein the affaires of the *Gaules* stood vntill the comming of *Hannibal*. In the meane time the Consulls hauing made ready all their necessary Equipage, parted from Rome: whereof *Publius Cornelius* bent his course to *Spaine*, with threescore vessels of warre, and *Sempronius* into *Affricke* with a hundred and three score *Quinqueremes*, taking the Warre so to heart, as he made so great a preparation at *Lylibeum*, that it seemed he should presently besiege *Carthage*.

A Surprize made by the *Boloniens* vpon the *Romans*.

The parting of the *Romain* Armies.

As for *Cornelius*, he tooke his way by the Country of *Tuscany* and the *Genemois*; and arriued on the fifth day at *Marcelles*, and entred with his Army at the first mouth of *Rhone*; for it passeth into the Sea by many mouthes. And although he were aduertised that *Hannibal* past the *Pyrenee* mountaines, yet he made his accompt that hee had a long way to go, aswell for the difficulty of the Country, as for the multitude of the *Gaules*, those parts being very well peopled. But *Hannibal* made hast daily to passe the *Rhone* with his Army, neere vnto the shore of the *Sardinian* Sea, with incredible diligence, after that he had pacified the *Gaules* partly with gifts, and partly by feare. The which the Consull hearing, and beleeuing but in part this suddaine arriuall; desiring likewise to know the truth, he Lands, to refresh his Men wearied with a torment at Sea. Then he acquaints the Tribunes with the places, by the which they must go to encounter the Enemy, and sends three hundred choise Horse before, vnder the Conduct of *Prouencials*, and some succours of the *Gaules*, to discouer the Enemies enterprize.

Hannibal being now neere the *Rhone* with his Army, and within foure daies iourney of the Sea, makes hast to passe it with all possible speed. And therefore he cals all the inhabitants thereabouts, and wins them by Presents, from whom he buies Skifs and small Boates which they ordinarily vse, and whereof there were at that time a great number, by reason of the Faires for the Trade of the Sea: And he causeth others to be made in making hollow the bodies of Trees.

The

The which the Souldiers likewiſe did, being mooued with the abundance of ſtuffe and the facility of the Worke: So as in leſſe then two daies, there were ſo many Boates and Skifs, as they were ſufficient to paſſe: Euery man ſtriuing not to be at the mercy of his Companion or Comrade, but to paſſe himſelfe and his baggage into his owne Skiffe or Boate.

In the meane time there were an infinite number of men drawne together vpon the further Banke of the *Rhone*, to hinder the *Carthaginians* paſſage. The which *Hannibal* perceiuing, and knowing well that he could not paſſe the Riuer by force, for that the Enemy held the other Banke, nor ſtay there long, but he ſhould be inuironed by the people of the Country, at the ſetting of the third Watch of the night he ſends *Hanno* ſonne to King *Bomilcar* with a part of his Army, to whom he gaue ſome guides of the Country, who mounted vp the Riuer two hundred furlongs, ſtaying aboue an Iland, about the which the *Rhone* did runne: Where by reaſon of the Ford it ſeemed good, for that the Riuer diuided it ſelfe in two. They ſoddainly cut downe wood, and made floates ſufficient to paſſe the men, and other things neceſſary. By this meanes they paſt the *Rhone* without danger or impeachment. Afterwards they recouered a place ſtrong by nature, where they refreſht themſelues a day, for the toile which they had taken, aſwell for their march by night, as for the paines they had indured, being all attentiue to affect their enterprize in time.

The *Gaules* endeuour to ſtop *Hannibals* paſſage ouer the *Rhone*.

Hannibal likewiſe made haſt to do the like, with the reſt of the Army. But he was troubled to paſſe the Elephants, being thirty ſeauen in number. The night following, they which had paſt the *Rhone*, marching along the Riuer ſide, at the breake of day approached neere vnto the *Barbarians*, who as we haue ſayd were there aſſembled. *Hannibal* on the other ſide, hauing his men ready, commaunds them all to be reſolute to paſſe, and that they ſhould put the Horſe men prepared for the Combat in Boates, to the end that being paſt they might ſerue if neceſſity required: And that the moſt actiue and nimbleſt foot-men ſhould enter into the Skifs. And to the end they might paſſe with more eaſe and ſafety, and might the better breake the vehemency of the Waues, he placed Boates aboue the Riuer to breake the Violent and ſwift courſe. He alſo cauſed three or foure Horſes to be tyed to the Poope to ſwim it ouer, and there were two men ſet of either ſide of the Poope. By this meanes the greateſt part of the Horſes had bin paſt in the firſt Voyage.

Hannibal cauſeth his Army to paſſe the *Rhone*.

The which the *Barbarians* ſeeing, they came out of their Fort, and runne vnto the ſhore in a great throng and without order, as if they ſhould eaſily defeat the Enemies. But after that *Hannibal* had ſtayd a little, and ſeeing his men approach by the ſmoake that they caſt, according to his appointment, he gaue a ſigne to his whole Army to paſſe, the which the *Carthaginians* ſeeing, they laboured with all their power to paſſe the Riuer with great cries, and to breake the Violence of the ſtreame, ſo as euery one laboured to paſſe firſt. When as the *Carthaginians* held the two Bankes, and paſt the riuer with great noiſe, the

the *Gaules* endeauouring with great fury to reſſiſt them, crying, and ſinging after their manner. The Charge was terrible for the time, and the Combat horrible to ſee. All the *Gaules* were run downe vnto the Riuer, and had left their Tents. *Hanno* arriues preſently with his Troupe, whereof one part fals vpon their Campe, and the other Charges them in the reare. The *Gaules* being amazed at this ſuddaine accident, recouer a part of their Campe, to keepe it from the Enemies; the others were no leſſe attentiue in the Combate. When *Hannibal* ſaw his enterprize ſucceed ſo happily, he incourageth his Souldiers, putting them in mind of their auncient proweſſe, and perſwading them to repulſe the Enemies couragiouſly. Whereupon they fall vpon them with great fury. Finally, the *Gaules* retired into their Villages with a ſhamefull flight, for that they had begun the battell without order, and had bin terrified by the ſurprize which *Hanno* made with his Legion.

Hanno chargeth the *Gaules*

Hannibals Victo y ouer the *Gaules*.

When as *Hannibal* had at one inſtant, vanquiſhed the Riuer and his Enemies, he cauſeth the reſt of his Army to paſſe at leaſure. And being all paſt in a ſhort time, he planted his Campe without feare of the *Gaules*, and ſpent the night in peace vpon the Riuer ſide. Three dayes after he was aduertiſed of the entry of the *Roman* Conſull, with his Army at Sea into the mouthes of *Rhone*. Wherefore he ſent fiue hundred *Numidians*, to diſcouer the Enemies, to view their numbers, and to learne what they reſolued. In the meane time he giues order vnto the maiſters of the Elephants to be carefull to paſſe the *Rhone*. And hauing drawne his men together, he cauſeth the Kings to be called, who were come vnto him from *Gaule* which lyes beyond the *Poe*. Who ſpeaking vnto the whole Campe by an Interpreter, aduiſed them to paſſe the Mountaines, promiſing that both themſelues, and the reſt of the inhabitants of *Gaule* ſhould giue them both aide and aſſiſtance: That the waies were ſafe, and well furniſhed with all things neceſſary: And that moreouer the mountaines were not very difficult to paſſe, and they ſhould finde the places where they were to goe, abounding in all things. Beſides, they ſhould finde ſuch Allies, whoſe Courage in times paſt was not a little feared by the *Romans*. After theſe or the like words, the Kings preſently retired.

Remonſtrances of the Gauliſh Kings vnto the *Carthaginian* Campe.

Then *Hannibal* entring into the Aſſembly, he ſhewes them firſt their Actions paſt, wherein following his Councell and opinion, they had bin alwaies Victorious: And that Fortune had neuer bin auerſe vnto them. Moreouer he intreates them to be of good courage, being aſſured that they had ended the greateſt of their Labours, hauing paſt ſo dangerous a Riuer, conſidering the good affection of their Allies, who were ready and prepared. Finally, that they ſhould lay the burthen of affaires vpon him, ſhewing only their Obedience, where it ſhould be needfull, with a remembrance of his Vertue and Proweſſe, which he had performed with ſo great reſolution. His ſpeech being ended, ſeeing the ioyfull Countenance of his men, carrying the ſhew of reſolution, he commended them all. Then hauing made his prayers vnto

Hanibal's ſpeech vnto his Souldiers.

vnto the gods according to their manner, he retired, and ſent them away to feed, giuing them charge to be ready to part the next day.

The Company was ſcarce diſmiſt when as the *Numidians*, who as wee haue ſayd, had beene ſent to diſcouer, returned, defeated and broken by the Enemy: for as they encountred neere vnto their Campe, the *Roman* Cauallery, whom *Scipio* had ſent for the ſame cauſe, they charged one another with ſuch fury, as there were ſlaine ſeauen ſcore Horſe as well *Romans* as *Gables*, and aboue two hundred *Numidians*. The *Romans* purſuing the *Carthaginians* vnto their Campe, where hauing diligently obſerued all, they returned to the Conſull, and reported certaine newes of the Enemy, and of the Combat they had with the *Numidians*. Which things being heard, *Publius Cornelius* ſeeing that his ſtay there, would bee of no great moment, imbarkes his Baggage: and parting with all his Troupes along the Bankes of *Rhone*, and makes haſte as if hee would giue battell to the Enemy.

A defeate of the *Numidians* by the *Roman* Cauallery.

Three dayes after that *Hannibal* had made his Oration to the Souldiers, at the breake of day hee ſets all his Horſemen vpon the Seaſhore, as it were for a guard: and cauſeth the Foote-men to march a ſlow pace, being parted from their Campe: vſing the greateſt diligence he could poſſible to paſſe the Elephants: For the effecting whereof hee tooke this aduice. Hee made prouiſion of many floats, and tied two together from the Land vnto the Riuer, being fifty foote broade: to the which they added two others on the ſide of the Bankes: The which they tied faſt vnto Trees which were vpon the Bankes, to the end they might ſwimme ſafely: their lengrh being of two hundred foote.

The meanes to paſſe the Elephants.

Finally, they tied vnto theſe laſt two other long floats gently, to the end they might bee eaſily vntied: to the which were faſtned certaine Cords, wherewith they might drawe the Boats to the other Banke, after they ſhould bee vntied from the other floats. Finally, they couered them all with Earth, to the end that the Elephants might march vpon them without feare as vpon the Land. This Equipage being prepared, they brought the Elehhants, who had beene accuſtomed to obey the *Indians* in all places, but vpon the water, by the meanes of two Females which marcht before vpon the floats as vpon the firme land, which after they had paſt vnto the laſt, which preſently were vntied, and were drawne by the Boats without any feare whileſt they were all together: But when as the laſt floate was ſeparated from the reſt, and that they ſaw themſelues carried vpon the water, they made ſome ſhew of affrightment, for the feare which they had of all parts, for that the laſt fled from the water: yet this feare made them quiet, for that they ſaw nothing but water about them. When the firſt were paſt, they went to fetch the reſt, and paſt them. Some of them tormenting themſelues with feare, fell into the Riuer, and were retired ſafe, although their Maſters were ſlaine: For in marching ſlowly, and finding alwaies footing, they recouered the other ſide of the Banke: for that their waight kept them firme, and by reaſon

The feare of the Elephants vpon the *Rhone*.

ſon of their greatneſſe they had their Tronks alwaies aboue the Riuer, wherewith they might caſt out the water if they had drunke any: and ſo recouer their breath.

The Spring of the Riuer of *Rhone*.

The Elephants being paſt, *Hannibal* marcheth with them, and all his Cauallery along the *Rhone* towards the firme land, drawing all his prouiſions in the meane time from the Sea. The *Rhone* comes from three heads of Fountaines aboue the Sea of *Venice*, taking their courſe towards the Weſt, and bending at the foote of the Mountaine ſomething towards the North. Then it enters into the Lake of *Geneua*, where it is not ſo violent: and paſſing through the middeſt of it, it tends to the Hyuernall Weſt, diuiding the *Gaules* in ſome ſort: and then taking its courſe towards the South, it enters into the *Sardinian* Sea. The *Valeſien Gaules* inhabite that part which tends towards the North: and on the South ſide is enuironed with the Mountaines which bend towards the North. And as for the Plaines which are about *Poe*, whereof wee haue formerly ſpoken, the *Alpes* ſeparate them from the *Rhone*, which beginning at *Marſeilles*, extend vnto the Gulfe of *Venice*. The which *Hannibal* then paſt about that Countrey which lies neere vnto the *Rhone*, and came into *Italy*.

Hannibal paſſeth the *Alpes* along the *Rhone*

A B

Some Hiſtoriographers ſeeking in this paſſage to terrifie the iudgement of Readers, doe not obſerue that they fall into two ſtrange errours, contrary to the reaſon of the Hiſtory: For they are forced to write lies, and actions quite contrary: ſhewing *Hannibal* (whom they will haue inimitable, as well for his knowledge in Martiall affaires, as for his great courage) to be wholly voide of ſenſe and reaſon. And in the end when they cannot free themſelues from their lies, they haue recourſe vnto the gods, for their Hiſtory made at pleaſure. For in making the paſſage of the *Alpes* ſo great and difficult, ſo as not onely the Horſe-men, Baggage, nor Elephants could not paſſe, neither yet the Foot-men lightly armed, and that moreouer, there is ſo great a Deſart, that if God, or ſome Angell had not guided the Army, without doubt it had periſhed in the Caues and hollow places: they fall directly into two errours. Firſt, where ſhould you finde a Commaunder more ſenceleſſe then *Hannibal*, who hauing the charge of ſo many troupes, and of ſo great an Army, wherein conſiſted all his hope to preuaile in his enterprize, knew neither the paſſages, nor the places, as they ſay, nor which way hee ſhould paſſe, nor againſt whom? For their meaning is, that with ſo great a hope, and with ſuch a triumphant Army, he ſhould doe that which others after many Combats doe not attempt, but through extreame deſpaire. But what can be ſpoken more vnreaſonable? And whereas they ſay the places are deſart and rough, they ſhew themſelues apparent liars. They doe not ſay how the *Gaules* inhabiting the banks of *Rhone*, before that time haue paſt into *Italy*, not once nor twice: Nor how in times paſt, they haue paſt the Mountaines with a great Army againſt the *Romans*, to ſuccour and helpe the *Ciſalphin Gaules*: nor how that thoſe Mountaines are very well peopled: But as men ignorant hereof, they ſay, that

C C D D

Polybius his remonſtrance againſt Hiſtoriographers.

The *Gaules* inhabiting along the *Rhone* haue often paſt into *Italy*.

that I know not what God appeared to *Hannibal*, and ſhewed him the way. By this meanes they ſeeme rather *Tragedians* than Hiſtoriographers. For euen as they which write Tragedies, doe many time their Playes with the gods, or ſome other inuention, for that they haue taken a falſe and ſtrange beginning: Euen ſo theſe kinde of Hiſtoriographers are in the like paine: For that taking falſe beginnings, they are forced to fly to ſome gods, or Heroes.

But how can it bee that from a falſe beginning the end ſhould bee true? Without doubt *Hannibal* hath not carried himſelfe as they
A imagine, but contrariwiſe like a wiſe and politique Captaine, for hee duely conſidered the fertility of the Countrey whither hee went, and the hatred of the Inhabitants againſt the *Romans*: And he had to paſſe the Mountaines (which is a hard and difficult thing) the people of the Countrey for his guides, whom he had already wonne againſt the *Romans*. This we haue learned from thoſe which were at that time imployed in affaires, and wee our ſelues haue beene purpoſely to ſee the *Alpes*, and therefore we haue written it the more boldly.

Hannibal conducted by guides at the paſſage of the Mountaines.

Polybius viſited the *Alpes*.

Three dayes after the *Romans* departed from the Bankes of *Rhone*,
B *Publius Scipio* the *Roman* Conſull being come to the Enemies Campe with a reſolution to fight, hee ſtood for a time amazed, ſeeing the place voide: For he made his accompt that the Enemy ſhould neuer take that Countrey to paſſe into *Italy*, as well for the difficulty of the way, as for the multitude of *Barbarians* which held it. But after he had well waighed the great courage of the *Carthaginians*, he preſently recouers his ſhip, and drawes his Army together: Then he ſends his Brother into *Spaine* with part of his men, to the end it ſhould not be vnfurniſhed of Forces, and himſelfe takes his courſe towards *Italy*, to encounter *Hannibal* at the deſcent of the Mount-
C taines with more eaſe and ſafety. Foure dayes after *Hannibal* arriued at *Liſle*, a rich and fertile Countrey: The which was ſo called, for that the Riuers of *Saone* and *Rhone* falling from the Mountaines, embracing a little quantity of Land, runne together and make an Iland like in figure and forme to another that is in *Egypt*, called *Delta*. It is true, that that in *Egypt* hath on the one ſide the Sea, with the which two Riuers ioyne: But this hath rough and ſtony Mountaines, which in a manner are inacceſſible. Where *Hannibal* being arriued, hee found two Brothers in quarrell for the Kingdome, and their Armies fronting one another. But being called by the eldeſt, and intreated to
D reſtore him to his Fathers inheritance, he obeyed him, thinking it would aſſiſt him much in his Enterprize. And when hee had chaſed away the younger, and put him in poſſeſſion of his Realme, hee had not onely ſtore of victuals, and abundance of all things for a recompence: But moreouer they were furniſhed with all ſorts of Armes and other furniture, whereof the roughneſſe of the cold Mountaines forced him to make prouiſion. His Army, and himſelfe were likewiſe conducted ſafely by the King and his forces, through the *Sauoyards* Countrey vnto the Mountaines, which was a great benefit to him.

Liſle made by the Riuers of *Saone* and *Rhone*.

Delta an Iland in *Egypt*.

When he in ten daies after his departure from the *Rhone*, had march't labout an hundred miles, he began to aſcend the Mountaines, where he was in great danger. It is true, that whileſt the *Carthaginians* paſt the Plaine, the Lords of *Sauoy* ſuffered them to goe on quietly, partly fearing their Horſe-men, and partly the *Gaules* forces, which did accompany them.

But when as they were retired to their houſes, and that the *Carthaginians* began to aſcend the rough and ſteepe Mountaines: then they drew together in great multitudes, and ſeiz'd vpon the paſſages, by the which *Hannibal* muſt of neceſſity goe. And if they had layed ſcatte- A
The *Sauoyards* hinder *Hannibal* and his Army. ring ambuſhes in the Valleyes, and had charg'd them ſuddainly, without doubt they had made a great ſlaughter of the *Carthaginians*. But being diſcouered by *Hannibal*, they did not ſo much annoy the Enemy as themſelues: For when he found that they held all the paſſages, he cauſeth his Army to ſtay, and lodging among the Rocks and hollow places, he ſent ſome of the *Gaules* that were with him, to viſite the places, and to diſcouer the Enemies intention and and preparations. Being aduertiſed by them, that the Enemy ſtayed there onely in the day, and that by night euery man retired to his houſe, to a Towne which was neere by, he vſed this inuention. At the breake of day hee B
Hannibals policy. recouers the Hills with his whole Army, as if he had an intent to force through the Enemy. But when he was neere vnto them, he ſetled his Campe, and fortified himſelfe.

And when hee found the Villains of the Mountaines had retired themſelues from their Hills, he makes many fires in his Campe, leauing the greateſt part of his Army there, and ſteales through the ſtreights with the beſt and ableſt men of his Army, ſtaying vpon thoſe Hills which the Enemy formerly held. This done when the Villaines of the Mountaines ſaw it at the breake of day, they made a ſtand for a time: But finding that the baggage and the multitude of Horſe-men C
diſordered the Army in the ſtreights: thinking likewiſe that the leaſt amazement were ſufficient to defeate them, they charge them in diuers places by the inacceſſible Rocks. Then the *Carthaginians* were not ſo much annoyed by the Enemy, as by the difficulty of the place: for that
They of the Mountaines charge the *Carthaginians*. the Horſes and baggage made a great ſpoile of men and goods: For as the ſtreights were of either ſide ſteepe and like a Gulfe, many Horſes fell with their burthens a wonderfull height. The Horſes being ſtrucke or hurt, were wonderfully troubled, the way being narrow, falling partly for feare, and partly for the griefe of their hurts. The which *Hannibal* ſeeing, and that there was no hope in flight, after the D
loſſe of his baggage, he deſcends with great fury from the place where he had remained all night. And although he gaue a great defeate to the Enemy, yet he ſlew many of his owne: For the motion
Hannibals victory againſt the *Sauoyards*. increaſing on either ſide, many fell.

Finally, after that the *Sauoyards* had beene ſlaine, ſome in fighting, and ſome in the route: *Hannibal* paſt the reſt of his Horſe and baggage with great paine and trouble. And hauing drawne together the reſt of his Army, hee marcht to the Citty from whence the *Sauoyards* had

ſallied,

ſallied, the which he tooke without reſiſtance, finding no man in it. It was a great reliefe vnto him for all things neceſſary, not onely for the preſent but for the future: for he carried away a great number of Horſes and Priſoners; and victualled his Army for three daies with Corne and Cattell: Amazing the other Inhabitants of the mountaines, who durſt not make the like attempt: Which was a thing more to be eſteemed.

He ſtaied there one day, and parting with his Army, he march't but little the two daies following, and on the fourth he was againe in
A great danger. He was come vnto a place among the Mountaines very well peopled with Inhabitants, who altogether had Conſpired to deceiue the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore they go to meet *Hannibal*, carrying Garlands of Flowers: which is a ſigne of friendſhip and peace among the *Barbarians*, like vnto the *Caduceï* among the *Grecians*. *Hannibal* did not thinke it fit to giue credit eaſily vnto them, and inquires what their will and intent was: Who anſwered, that they did like well of the taking of the Towne and the defeate of the *Gaules*, who were Enemies vnto them: And as for themſelues they would obey his will, and would not do, nor ſuffer any outrage; promiſing to giue him Hoſta-
B ges for the aſſurance of their promiſes. And although that *Hannibal* was long in ſuſpence what to do, yet he conſidered that he might happily pacifie the *Barbarians*, if he accepted theſe Conditions, and if he refuſed them, they would declare themſelues his Enemies. Wherefore in giuing them a gracious anſwer, he makes ſhew to receiue their Alliance.

Conſpiracy of them of the Mountaines, vnder colour of friendſhip.

And when they had not only giuen him Hoſtages, but furniſhed him with abundance of Victuals, and put themſelues into his hands: *Hannibal* had ſo great Confidence in them, as he made no doubt but to make vſe of them for Guides in difficult places. When they had
C marcht two daies, and were come vnto a ſtreight Valley, hauing the Mountaine on one ſide, the *Carthaginians* were in danger to be wholy defeated: For that the *Barbarians* ſallied from all ſides out of their Ambuſhes. If *Hannibal* (who had not yet ſo great confidence in the *Gaules*, and who fore-ſaw future things,) had not put the Elephants and Horſe-men in the foreward, and had followed in the Reare with the force of his foot-men, hauing an Eie ouer all. By this ſupply the loſſe proou'd the leſſe; yet it was great both of Men, Horſes, and Baggage: for the danger was ſo great, as *Hannibal* was inforced to continue a whole night there with halfe his Army, without his Cauallery
D or Baggage: For that the Enemy held the top of the Mountaine, which was very neere vnto them, rolling downe pieces of the Rocke into the Army, and ſometimes caſting ſtones.

The Treaſon of the Barbarians againſt *Hannibal*.

The day following, when the *Gaules* began to grow cold, he recouered the Mountaine, ioyning with his Horſe and Baggage: Then the *Gaules* preſented themſelues no more to Battell, charging like Theeues, ſometimes in the foreward, ſometimes in the Reare, as time and place gaue them opportunity. The Elephants were very vſefull to the *Carthaginians*; for whereſoeuer they marcht, the place was

aſſured from Enemies, for that they durſt not approach neere them, hauing not bin accuſtomed vnto them. On the ninth day they came vnto the top of the *Alpes*, and there they planted their Campe two daies, partly to refreſh the Souldiers which were weary with toile, and partly to retire thoſe that were ſtraied. During which time, many Horſes freed from their burthens, and following the Rout of the Army recouered the Campe. Thoſe places were then full of Snow, for it was in *Nouember*: Whereby the Souldiers grew in a manner into deſpaire, being tired and vext with ſo many Croſſes. The which *Hannibal* perceiuing, he draws them together, reſoluing to make a A Speech vnto them.

Hanibal makes a Speech vnto his ſouldiers.

For the effecting whereof he had but one occaſion, which was to ſhew them *Italy* ſo neere, and the fertillity thereof. In truth it is ſo neere the foot of the Mountaines, as if it be well obſerued, the Hils ſeeme to ſerue as Rampiers to *Italy*. And therefore he ſhewed it them from a high Hill, from whence they might ſee the whole Extent. The like he did of the plaines about *Poe*, lying at the foot of the Mountains, relating vnto them the friendſhip of the *Gaules* inhabiting thoſe Countries, and the Territory of *Rome*: wherewith he reuiued their ſpirits. Three dayes after he began to diſlodge, the Enemy making no attempt B againſt them, but after a Theeuing manner: Yet he had no leſſe loſſe at the deſcent of the Mountaines by reaſon of the bad Country, and the coldneſſe of the Snow, then he had at the aſcent by the attempt of his Enemies; For they which did ſtumble in any ſort, fell preſently into a Gulfe, conſidering that the place was narrow and rough by nature: And all the Country newly couered with Snow, ſo as there was no ſhew of any path, neither could they hold their footing. It is true the men accuſtomed vnto ſo many miſeries, did eaſily indure this Trouble.

In the meane time they came to another Rocke, where as neither C the Elephants nor Horſe could paſſe: for a late fall of the ground, had ſtreightned the Way two hundred paces, which had formerly bin at large. Here againe the Army began to be troubled and tormented. *Hannibal* in the beginning laboured to lead his Army by vncough and vnknowne places, whereas neuer ſoule had bin: But for that the Snow hindred them that they could not paſſe, he deſiſted from his Enterprize. There had Snow fallen newly this yeare vpon the old, which was yet whole and entire, vpon the which they had firme footing, for that which was newly fallen was ſoft and not very thicke. But after that it had bin trodden and beaten by ſo many men and horſes, D no man could keep his footing: As it happens to thoſe which go vpon places which are ſlippery with durt; where their footing failes them: For that they marcht vpon the Ice, and vpon the Snow that was moulten.

Moreouer the men (which was more miſerable) falling back-wards (for that they could not keep their footing in thoſe ſlippery places) tumbled downe into the Caues and hollow places, where they laboured to riſe vpon their Hands and Knees. The Horſes of burthen fell ſometimes,

times, brake the Ice and could not stirre: for that they were laden and could not retire their feete out of the Ice. Then *Hannibal* frustrate of his former hope, for that the men and Horses laboured in vaine, planted his Campe vpon the top of the Mountaine, hauing cleansed the place of great difficulty. Then he Commaunded them all to leuile the way vnto the Rocke where they were to passe. The which was done with much toile. When as the way was made in one day for the Horses and Sumpters, he caused them presently to passe, seating his Campe in those places that were without Snow, and there to feed.
A In the meane time he giues charge to the *Numidians*, to make a way for the Elephants. The which was effected with great difficulty, they being in a manner dead for hunger; for the tops of the Mountaines are without Grasse or Trees, for that they are continually couered with Snow. It is true, that the Vallies of either side of the Mountaines, hauing goodly Pastures and Trees, and places which are very well-inhabited.

When as *Hannibal* had drawne all his Troupes together, he began to pursue his course: and hauing past the Rocke aboue mentioned, in three daies, he came vnto the Plaine, hauing lost the greatest part of
B his Army, aswell by the Enemy and Riuers in his way, as by the roughnesse of the Mountaine in passing them, and not only men, but also Horses and Carriages. Finally, hauing recouered *Italy* in this manner, fiue moneths after his departure from *Carthage*, and past the mountaines in fifteene daies, he enters boldly into the Countries about *Poe* and *Millan*, hauing yet remaining aboue ten thousand, two hundred foot *Affricans*, eight thousand *Spaniards*, and sixe thousand Horse at the most. This he testifies in a pillar where the whole number of his Army is set downe at *Lauyninm*. At the same time *Publius Cornelius Scipio* the Consull, hauing sent his brother into *Spaine* to
C make head against *Asdrubal*, he sail'd to *Pysa* with few men, taking his way through *Tuscany* where he receiued the Army of the Pretors *Manlius* and *Attilius*, which they had against the *Bullonois*, and marcht directly to the Riuer of *Poe*, to fight with the Enemy before he had refresht himselfe.

Hannibal goes on his course.

The number of men which *Hannibal* had remayning after he had past the Alpes.

Seeing we haue turn'd our Discourse to the Warre of *Italy*, and to the Commaunders of these two people, we haue thought it good to deliuer in few words some things which are not vnfitting for a Historiographer, before we come to those which haue bin acted in that Prouince. It may be some one will demaund of me how it happens,
D that seeing we haue handled the Affaires of *Lybia* and *Spaine* at large, yet we haue not spoken of *Hercules* Pillars, nor of that Arme of the Sea which diuides *Affricke* from *Europe*, nor in like manner of the great Sea or Ocean, nor of those things which depend thereon, nor of the Ilands of *England* & *Scotland*, not likewise of the abundance of Tinne, Gold, and Siluer wherewith *Spaine* abounds. It is certaine, that the auncient Historiographers haue spoken many things and diuers, being of contrary opinions. It is true we haue not omitted them, as thinking that they were not fitting for a History, but we haue done it

Polybius his Excuse.

to

to the end that our Relation might not be diuided, nor diuert the Readers often from the order of the Hiſtory: Being of opinion that theſe things ſhould be deliuered with all poſſible truth, in time and place, and not out of ſeaſon. And therefore no man ought to maruaile, if in the following Bookes we paſſe on, when we ſhall come to theſe paſſages, for we do it of purpoſe and for the reaſons aboue mentioned. If there be any one that deſires to heare them at euery paſſage, he may well be compared to a Glutton, that is inuited to a Feaſt: for as taſting of all the meates, as ſoone as he is ſet at the Table, he ſhall receiue little pleaſure or profit for the future, conſidering that he hath no perfect taſte, and that all being put together into the Stomacke, it hinders digeſtion. They in like manner which do the like in reading of Hiſtories, haue not pleaſure for the preſent, nor profit for the future. It is apparent, that a Hiſtory among other things hath need to be corrected in this, aſwell for other reaſons, as for that the auncient Hiſtoriographers, who haue laboured to deſcribe Countries, and the Nature of Regions to the remoteſt parts of the World, haue in many places ſtraied from the truth. A

Finally, we muſt ſpeake againſt them, not by hazard and raſhly, but with reaſon, nor reprehend their ignorance, but rather to commend them and correct them: Who no doubt would haue repaired their errour, if they had liued in theſe times. For there are few men found among the *Grecians*, which in former times could haue gone to ſearch out the extremities of the World, for the danger and tediouſnes of the way: For that there are many, and in a manner innumerable dangers at Sea; and if any through neceſſity, or of his owne free will, had gone to the extremities of the World, he could not eaſily haue found out the ſcituation of places, nor thoſe things which are worthy to be ſought after: For that the greateſt part was inhabited by Barbarous nations, and ſome Deſart and inhabitable: Beſides that, for the diuerſity of Tongues, the enterprize was much more difficult; for there was no meanes to inquire, nor to learne, for want of vnderſtanding one another. It was no leſſe difficult to relate truly thoſe things which they had ſeene, for that euery man was giuen to augment, and to make things ſeeme more admirable. B C

Seeing then it was not only difficult, but in a manner impoſſible, to haue a true Hiſtory of theſe things before this time, we muſt not blame the auncient Hiſtoriographers, if they haue forgotten or committed ſome Errours; but rather we ought to wonder and commend them that they haue bin able to make any ſearch. It wilbe therefore neceſſary to make a true and diligent ſearch of thoſe things, which our Predeceſſors knew not: for that in our times all the paſſages are open, aſwell by Sea as Land, by the meanes of *Alexander* of *Macedon* his Forces into *Aſia*, and of the *Roman* Empire ouer the reſt of the World: And likewiſe when as people were no more troubled with Warre, nor with any deſire or ambition of publicke Affaires: So as they had great opportunity to ſearch out the truth of theſe things. For the effecting whereof we will ſtriue by all meanes, as ſoone as we ſhall find an opportunity. D

tunity. There is nothing that was more pleasing vnto me, then to know that they which desire to vnderstand these things, come vnto the truth by our meanes, and that wee haue not taken so much paines, nor vndergone so great dangers, to visite *Affricke*, *Spaine* and the *Gaules*, by the meanes of the Ocean, but in repairing the errours of the ancient Historiographers, & make those Countries knowne to our men. Let vs now returne to our Discourse of the Warres which are in *Italy*, betwixt the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians*.

Polybius hath visited *Affricke* *Spaine* and the *Gaules*.

A

Wee haue formerly related the number of men which *Hannibal* had remaining after hee had past into *Italy*, who planted his Campe at the foote of the Mountaines to refresh his Army: for it was toiled and wearied, not onely with the passage of the Mountains which was very difficult, but also for want of victuals: Besides, it was continually afflicted with diseases, misery and poverty: The greatest part were dead of famine, and their insupportable toile: for it was impossible to carry things necessary for so great an Army, in a Countrey that was rough and difficult: And if they carried any thing, the greatest part was lost with the Horses.

Miseries common among Souldiers.

B

By this meanes it fell out, that although a little before hee had parted from the River of *Rhone* with thirty eight thousand Foote, and eight thousand Horse, hee had scarce then halfe his Army entire: and yet by the reason of their continuall labour and toile, they were in a manner become wilde. The which *Hannibal* perceiuing, hee not onely laboured to cheere vp the bodies and hearts of the Souldiers, but likewise to refresh their Horses. After which hee marched with his Army, and laboured by all meanes to procure the Friendship of the *Turinois*, which was the neereſt Nation, and were at that time in Warre with the *Millanois*, and seemed to haue no great trust and confidence in the *Carthaginians*. Who seeming not much to regard him, hee assaults one of their strongest Townes, the which hee takes vpon the third day: where putting all vnto the Sword that would not follow his party, hee so terrified and amazed the *Barbarians* which inhabited there-abours, as presently they yeelded themselues into the hands of the *Carthaginians*.

A decrease of *Hannibals* Army.

C

C

It is true that the other *Gaules* inhabiting along the River of *Poe*, would willingly haue ioyned to *Hannibal* as they had resolued, if attending an opportunitie to doe it, the suddaine comming of the Consull had not preuented them. So as they stirred not, and some of them ioyned to the *Roman* Army. The which *Hannibal* perceiuing, he resolued to make no longer stay, and that he must attempt some good enterprize, to make the rest more bold to follow his partie. Being carefull hereof, he had newes that *Publius Scipio* had past the *Poe*, and that he was not farre off: the which at the first he seemed not to regard, as a thing not likely: For he remembred that hee had lately left him at the mouth of *Rhone*, and vnderstood that the passage from *Marseilles* vnto *Tuscany* was long and inaccessible, and the way from the *Tuscan* Sea which leades to the *Alpes* through *Italy*, was rough,

D

D

where an Army could not paſſe. But vpon diuers aduertiſements of the certaine newes hee was amazed, wondring much at the Conſuls induſtry and diligence. The Conſull in like manner wondred nothing leſſe. For where as he thought that *Hannibal* would neuer preſume to paſſe the Mountaines with an Army conſiſting of ſtrange Nations: And that if hee attempted it, hee would dye by the way, hee wondred much at his great courage and boldneſſe, when as hee found that hee had not onely paſt ſafely, but had alſo forced ſome Townes of *Italy*.

The *Romans* aduertiſed of *Hannibals* deſcent into *Italy*

At the ſame time the *Romans* were full of affaires. It is true, that the laſt newes they had receiued, was of the taking of *Sagont*: wherefore they called an aſſembly, and made choice of two Conſuls, whereof the one was ſent into *Affricke* to make Warre againſt *Carthage*, and the other into *Spaine* againſt *Hannibal*. But when they had ſuddaine newes of the comming of *Hannibals* Army, and that he held ſome Townes of *Italy* beſieged: they were ſo amazed, as they preſently countermaunded *Sempronius* from *Lybia*, aduertiſing him of the deſcent of the Enemy into *Italy*, and that leauing the affaires of the Prouince, he ſhould make haſt to ſuccour his Countrey. After which newes, *Sempronius* preſently ſends backe the Army by Sea, giuing them charge to ſaile directly to *Italy*, and he gaue the conduct of the Army by Land to the Tribunes, appointing them a day when they ſhould come to *Rimeny*. It is a Towne ſeated vpon the Adriatique ſhore, at the end of the Plaines which are about *Poe* towards the South. By this meanes matters being altred, and that all ſeemed to fall out contrary to the hope and opinion of the World, euery man vſed diligence to prouide for the future. The two Armies were now oppoſite one to another, whereof the Commaunders for the time they had, laboured to giue courage vnto their men.

The policy of *Hannibal* for an example to his Souldiers.

But *Hannibal* ſtriuing to encourage them vſed this meanes, putting into the middeſt of the Army aſſembled together the Priſoners of the Mountaines, who were in Chaines: The which by their continuall toile, and partly by his commaundment were growne leane and feeble: for (the better to attaine vnto his intention) hee had cauſed them to haue great fetters, and had in a manner ſtarued them, and finally, had commaunded that they ſhould bee cruelly beaten naked.

Hauing drawne them into the midſt of his Army, he cauſed armes to be laid before them after the manner of the *Gaules*, and ſuch as Captaines vſe to arme themſelues with when they fight ſingle Combats: he alſo gaue them Horſes, and Caſſocks made with great Art. Then he demaunded of the Priſoners, which of them would fight man to man, propounding to the Victor the afore-ſaid gifts, and to the vanquiſhed that by death he ſhould be freed from his preſent miſeries. And as they all cried out that they were ready to fight, *Hannibal* cauſeth Lots to be caſt, and makes two men to enter the liſt arm'd, vpon whom the Lot had fallen. The which the priſoners hearing, they lifted vp their

their hands to Heauen, praying vnto the gods, that they would bee pleaſed to chooſe them for the Combate. As ſoone as the Lot was caſt, they vpon whom it fell, were wonderfully ioyfull, and the reſt remained ſad and penſiue. But when as the Combate was ended, the other Priſoners did no leſſe commend the fortune of him that was defeated, then of the Conqueror: Conceiuing that hee was freed from the great and many miſeries, wherewith they were tormented liuing. The like thought the *Carthaginians*: for in making compariſon of the miſery of the ſuruiuours, and of thoſe who fighting died valiantly, they found the fortune of theſe men good, and that of the others moued them to pitty.

When as *Hannibal* ſaw his Army moued to pitty at this ſpectacle, he preſently came into the midſt of the aſſembly, ſaying, that hee preſented it vnto them, to the end they ſhould make vſe of the example of anothers mans fortune, to conſider of their owne: for that they were to vndergoe the ſame Combate, and that Fortune propounded vnto them the like time, and the like rewards: for they muſt of neceſſity liue or dye, or fall into their Enemies hands aliue. If they vanquiſhed, their ſpoile ſhould bee more then a Horſe or a Caſſocke, being the happieſt men in the World, after they had conquered the good fortune of the *Romans*. And if in fighting they died like braue men, they ſhould end their liues with good hope, free from all miſeries and calamities: But withall they muſt expect all miſeries and pouerty, if being vanquiſhed, they ſhould flie, with a deſire of a longer life, or with a reſolution to ſeeke ſome other meanes to liue: and that there is no man ſo voide of ſence, which thinkes (if hee flies) that his ſafe returne into his Countrey is poſſible, if hee will remember the length of the way, with the multitude of Combats which muſt bee maintained during the Voyage: If hee likewiſe conſiders the narrow ſtreights, and ſo many troubleſome Riuers which were to paſſe.

Hannibal's ſpeech to his Souldiers.

Wherefore it was needfull for them, that in laying aſide all hope of flight, they ſhould vſe the like pitty to themſelues in their affaires, as they haue ſhewed lately in the example of other mens fortunes: For as in the others they commended the fortune of the Victor and the vanquiſhed, and held thoſe which remained miſerable: ſo they muſt iudge the like of themſelues. And therefore they muſt goe reſolutely to the Combate, to get an vnſpeakable Victory; or elſe to dye like braue men in battell, if auerſe fortune deny it them: and that they muſt not expect that being vanquiſhed, they ſhould finde any meanes of ſafety

Finally, if they march to the field with this reſolution, there is no doubt but the Victory and their ſafety is in their owne hands: for there was neuer any man that haue fought with this intention, or with a reſolute courage, or forced by neceſſity, but hee hath preuailed ouer his Enemies. And that this is very eaſie to doe, when as all theſe things concurre together contrary vnto the Enemy, as it happens this Day vnto the *Romans*: For as their flight hath a manifeſt and an apparent ſafety in their houſes which were neere them,

ſo the courage of deſperate men will be found inſupportable. And when as after this Oration (together with the example) the Souldiers hearts were much inflamed to Warre, and that their Generals compariſon was pleaſing vnto them, *Hannibal* commending them, ſent them away, and commaunded them to bee ready at the breake of day.

But after that the Conſull *Publius Scipio* hauing paſt the *Poe*, had cauſed his Army to march to the Riuer of *Teſin*, he commaunded a Bridge to be made by ſuch as were skilfull, and made a Speech vnto the aſſembly according to the opportunity of the time. In the beginning he ſpake many things concerning the Maieſty of the people of *Rome*, and the proweſſe of their Anceſtors: But concerning the preſent affaires, this was the ſubſtance. They muſt of neceſſity (ſayd he) hold the victory certaine, although they had not yet tried their valour with the Enemy: But onely for that they were to fight with the *Carthaginians*. Neither muſt they expect that they would dare to come to Battell againſt the *Romans*, hauing in the laſt Warres ſo often beate them both by Sea and Land, to whom they had alſo ſo long payed tribute: and whoſe power they had ſo often tried. And to the end I forbeare to ſpeake of the times paſt, why ſhould men of iudgement doubt of the future, ſeeing we haue ſome experience, that they dare not looke vs in the face?

Scipio his ſpeech to his men.

It is certaine that when lately the *Roman* Horſe-men encountred the *Carthaginians* in *Gaule*, on this ſide the Riuer of *Rhone*, they not onely returned ſafe, but they beate them backe into their Campe: and that preſently, when as *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginian* Army found the *Romans* to be ſo neere, they ſteale away in manner of a flight, and paſſe the Mountaines otherwiſe then they had reſolued, in feare and amazement. Now behold *Hannibal*, who in paſſing the *Alpes*, hath loſt two parts of his Forces. And the reſt is ſo tired and broken with toile, hunger, cold, and pouerty, as they can hardly ſupport themſelues: and the remainder of his Horſes (if any be eſcaped) are ſo worne with labour, and the tedious wayes, as they could not make vſe of them. Finally, it ſufficed the *Romans* onely to preſent themſelues, and that moreouer, his preſence ſhould with reaſon make them more reſolute, ſeeing that he had not left the Army at Sea, nor the affaires of *Spaine*, nor had not tranſported himſelfe thither with ſuch ſpeed, going ſo great a circuite both by Sea and Land, if he had not knowne it neceſſary for the Countrey, and the victory to be certaine. The Army being inflamed with this Speech, and making ſhew of a reſolution to fight, *Scipio* commending their good will, ſent them away, and gaue them charge to feed, and to be ready, and in Armes at the ſound of the Trumpet and Drumme.

Three daies after, the two Commaunders marcht with their Army along the Riuer, on the ſide of the Mountaines. The *Romans* had the left hand, and the *Carthaginians* the right. And when as the day following they were aduertiſed by their Spies of their approach one vnto another, they ſtayed. The third day after, the two Commaunders fronted

fronted one another with all their Horſe, *Scipio* being moreouer accompanied with men that caſt Darts, choſen out of the bands of footmen: The which they did to diſcouer the number of the men, and what they were.

But when they came to affront one another, and the duſt beginning to riſe by reaſon of the Horſes, they preſently prepared themſelues to Battell: *Scipio* puts in Front the Gauliſh horſe-men, with thoſe that Darts, and appointed the reſt to ſecond them, marching a ſlow pace. In regard of *Hannibal*, he makes his point of the ſtrongeſt of his horſe-
A men, and preſents it to the Enemy, caſting the *Numidians* vpon the Wings. But when the two Armies began to enter the Combat furiouſly, they had ſcarce begun the Crie but the Darters fled, without any fight, and paſſing through their ſupplies, they recouered the Battell. They were in truth amazed at the violent charge, fearing to be ouerthrowne by the encounter of the Horſe-men. In the meane time the Combat was great betwixt the Horſe-men; for both the one and the other fought with great courage; which made the Battell to continue long in ſuſpence. There was fighting both on horſe-backe and on foot, for that many had left their horſes in the Battell. And when as
B the *Numidians* in turning about, had fallen vpon the reare of the Darters, who in the beginning had fled from the fury of the Horſe-men, they were inuironed by them, and defeared in great Troupes. They alſo which fought with the *Carthaginian* Horſe-men, after they had receiued great loſſe of their men, and ſlaine many of their Enemies, in the end they gaue backe, for that the *Numidians* charged in the reare. Some were diſperſed here and there: others retired to the Campe in a throng, ſauing the Conſull (who was wounded) in the middeſt of the Troupe, from thence *Scipio* Commaunded his men to follow him without noiſe, and marcheth with his Army to the Bridge which he
C had made vpon the *Poe*, there to paſſe without tumult or danger; but when he ſaw the fields about the *Poe* ſo great and ſpacious, and that the *Carthaginians* were ſtronger in horſes, and being moreouer troubled with the Wound which he had receiued, he held it the ſafeſt courſe to paſſe his Army before the Enemy ſhould purſue him.

A Combat of the Horſe betwixt *Hannibal* and *Scipio*.

The retreate of *Scipio*.

Hannibal made his account that the *Romans* would fight ſometime with their foot-men; but when he was aduertiſed of their flight, and that abandoning their Fort they had paſt the *Poe*, by a Bridge which they had made, he purſues them with ſpeed. The end of the Bridge was already broken and the guard was yet remaining; of the which he
D preſently tooke about ſixe hundred. *Hannibal* aduertiſed that the reſt of the Army was not farre off, hee returnes to his Fort, ſeeking carefully for a place fit to make a Bridge: The which two daies after he found with great difficulty, and then effected it, ioyning many floats together. Afterwards he gaue the Charge to *Aſdrubal*, to paſſe the Army, whilſt that he buſied himſelfe to heare the Embaſſie of the *Gaules*, which were come vnto him from diuers neighbour Countries: For as ſoone as it was bruted that the *Romans* had bin defeated by the *Carthaginians*, all the neighbour *Gaules* made haſt to ioyne with *Han-*

nibal, as they had formerly reſolued, and to giue him ſuccours, and to go to the Warre. After he had giuen them a good reception, he paſt his Army beyond the *Poe*, and takes his way along the Riuer, hoping more eaſily to ouer-take the Enemy. When as *Scipio* had led his Army to *Plaiſence*, (which was a *Roman* Collony) he had a care to cure thoſe that were Wounded, and thinke of a place whither he might lead his Army.

The third day after that *Hannibal* had paſt the *Poe*, he puts his men in order before *Plaiſence* in view of the Enemies, and preſented them Battell. And when as no man offered himſelfe, he Camp'd hauing found a conuenient place within ſixe miles of them. The *Gaules* who had come to ſuccour *Scipio*, ſeeing better hopes with the *Carthaginians*, reſolued among themſelues to abandon the *Romans*. And when at mid-night they found all men aſleep, they being in Armes in their Tents, they part, and kill'd moſt of the *Romans* they met in their way, cutting off ſome of their heads. Finally they retired to the *Carthaginians*, to the number of two thouſand foot, and two hundred Horſe. Being graciouſly receiued, and inflamed with hope of good, *Hannibal* ſends them home to their Houſes; to the end they might make thoſe things knowne, and induce their Country to ſeeke the Alliance of the *Carthaginians*. He ſaw plainly, that of neceſſiy they would leaue the *Roman* party, conſidering the foule crime which their men had committed. Moreouer there was an Embaſſie come from the *Boloni-ans*, deliuering vnto *Hannibal* the Triumviry who (as wee haue formerly ſaid) had bin ſent by the *Romans* to diuide the Lands being taken by Treaſon.

A

The treaſon of the *Gaules* againſt the *Romans*.

B

An Embaſſie from the *Boloonians* to *Hannibal*.

Hannibal commending their good affection, makes an Alliance with them, and reſtores vnto them the Triumviry, to ſerue them as a meanes to retire their Hoſtages, as they had formerly reſolued. *Scipio* being troubled, not ſo much for the Treaſon of the *Gaules*, and the ſlaughter of his men, but for that he fore-ſaw that all the *Gaules* Country (which had bin a long time Enemy vnto the *Romans*) would reuolt, which made him ſtudy how to giue order in time for his Affaires. Wherefore the night following about the breake of day, he diſlodg'd without noiſe, and ſeated his Campe neere vnto the Riuer of *Trebia*, on the higheſt Hils of the Country, relying vpon the ſcituation of the place, and the multitude of their Allies inhabiting thereabouts. *Hannibal* being aduertiſed of his Enemies flight, he cauſeth the *Numidians* to march firſt, and then all the Cauallery, and ſoone after he follows with the reſt of his Army.

C

The Riuer of *Trebia*.

D

The *Numidians* turning to the Campe abandoned by their Enemies, they ſet it on fire, to the great benefit of the *Romans*: For if they had not ſtaied in the Campe, they might haue purſued them in the Reare, and haue made a great ſlaughter of the *Roman* Army. But whilſt they looſe time in burning the lodging, the greateſt part of the Army paſt the Riuer in ſafety: Some of the Reare-ward were ſurprized by the *Carthaginians*, who were either ſlaine or taken Priſoners. In the meane time *Scipio* made choiſe of the Hils, which were neere vnto the Riuer,

Riuer, for that they ſeemed fit to make a Fort. The which being inuironed with a Ditch and a Palliſado, hee attended in this diſtreſſe the returne of his Companion *Tyberius* from *Sycily* with an Army: cauſing his Wounds to be carefully looked vnto, to the end that their affaires being in ſo great danger, he might be a partaker. *Hannibal* ſeated his Campe, within fiue miles of the Enemies Fort, whom the *Gaules* did furniſh abundantly, not only with Victuals, but with all other things neceſſary, and were very ready to vndergoe any danger with the *Carthaginians*.

A The newes came to *Rome* of the deſeate of their men. And although they would neuer haue thought it, yet the *Romans* made no ſhew to be amazed therewith, diſguiſing the deſeate of their Horſe-men to haue hapned, not ſo much by the Proweſſe of the *Carthaginians*, as by the ouer-weening of the Commaunder, and the Treaſon of the *Gaules*, who had yeilded themſelues to *Hannibal*. Finally, they were in good hope of their Warre, ſeeing that the Bands of foot-men were yet entire. Wherefore *Sempronius* being returned, and paſſing by *Rome*, they all perſwaded him publickely to giue Battell to the *Carthaginians*. *Sempronius* at his comming vnto *Rimeny*, receiues all the
B Troupes which were come from *Sycily*, according to his commaundment. From thence marching to *Trebia*, he ioynes with his Companion, where he refreſht his Army, toil'd with the tediouſneſſe of the way, hauing marcht forty daies together comming from *Lylibeum* to *Rimeny*. He alſo vſed diligence to prouide all ſorts of munition. Moreouer he conſulted with *Scipio*, inquiring of the actions paſt, and conferring of the future.

At the ſame time *Hannibal* tooke the Towne of *Claſtidium* by Treaſon, corrupting *Brenguſin* the Captaine of the Garriſon, where as the *Romans* had lodged a great quantity of Corne, whereof he made vſe
C in his neceſſity, and ſent away the Souldiers in ſafety; to the end that by the fame of his Clemency, others might yeild more eaſily vnto the *Carthaginians*. He extended his bounty alſo vnto him that betraide it. And being aduertiſed that the *Gaules* inhabiting that little Country which lies betwixt *Trebia* and the *Poe*, and had made an Alliance with him, had ſought the friendſhip of the *Romans* by Embaſſie: To the end that during the trouble of theſe two powerfull Nations, they might haue the grace of an vncertaine fauour: He ſends (being mooued with rage and deſpight) two thouſand foote, and about a thouſand *Numidian* Horſes, with ſome *Gaules* intermixt, to ſpoile the Country. The
D which hauing performed and taken a great Booty, the Inhabitants ſent preſently an Embaſſie to the Conſull to require ſuccours. *Sempronius* preſently imbracing this occaſion to giue battell, which hee had long deſired, ſends a great part of his Cauallery, with a thouſand foote with Darts, beyond the Riuer of *Trebia*, who charging the *Gaules*, and ſurprizing them in diſorder, for that they were in contention touching the diuiſion of the Booty, they put them into a great confuſion, and forced them to retire, killing and chaſing them into their Fort: Where by the ſally of the Troupe which guarded the Campe, the

Claſtidium taken by Hannibal.

The *Gaules* Repulſe.

the *Gaules* reſuming Courage, they were forced to turne head, and to recouer their Campe. The which *Sempronius* perceiuing, he ſent a ſupply of all his Horſe with the Darters, and forced the *Gaules* to retire into their Fort. But for that *Hannibal* was not then ready to giue battell, he was not of aduice to vndertake it without great conſideration, nor to hazard all vpon all occaſions. And therefore like a well aduiſed Captaine, he cauſed a Retreate to be ſounded, and retires his men into the Fort.

And when as the *Romans* had skirmiſhed with their enemies in vaine, they returned to their Campe, hauing loſt few of their men, and made A a great ſlaughter of the *Carthaginians*. *Sempronius* growne ioyfull and proud of this good Fortune, had a will to giue Battell onely for the deſire of glory, whilſt that his Companion was weake and infirme. And therefore he diſcouers himſelfe to *Scipio*, to whom the time did not ſeeme conuenient to do it, but rather to deferre the Battell, to the end that the *Roman* Souldiers being yet freſh and greene, might gaine experience, and that in Temporizing, the *Gaules* as people light and without faith, might abandon the *Carthaginians*, and that finally he might be preſent, for that his Wound at that time made him vnprofitable. Although that *Sempronius* knew well that *Scipio* ſpake the truth, B yet mooued with ambition, either that *Scipio* ſhould not be preſent, or that the Warre ſhould not be prolonged vntill the comming of the other Conſuls, for that the time of the election was come, he reſolued to giue Battell alone.

Hannibal being of the like opinion with *Scipio*, was carefull how to finde an occaſion to fight, whilſt the *Gaules* faith was firme, and the Enemies Souldiers of little experience, and *Scipio* vnprofitable to vndergoe the danger: But eſpecially he feared to looſe time: For ſeeing he led an Army in a ſtrange Country, and had a great enterprize in hand, there was no other meanes of ſafety, then to keepe his Allies. Where- C fore ſeeing the deſire of *Sempronius*, he prepared himſelfe willingly to Battell.

There was betwixt the two Armies a plaine Champaigne, but very conuenient to lay an Ambuſh; hauing a deepe Riuer, with high Bankes, and Thickets and Buſhes round about it: Which *Hannibal* hauing viewed, he reſolued to lay an Ambuſh. It is true, that the *Romans* fled the Forreſts, by reaſon of the Ambuſhes which the *Gaules* often layd for them, truſting onely in a Champaigne Country: Being ignorant that a plaine is more fitting then a Forreſt, for the couering of an Ambuſh: For they may ſee the Enemy come farre off, and haue D ſometimes fit meanes and opportunity to couer themſelues, ſo as when they finde a Riuer with low Bankes, the Reedes, Flagges of the Mariſhes, Buſhes, and ſuch like things doe couer the foote, and many times the Horſe-men, if they bend downe their Helmets which are apparent. *Hannibal* after he had acquainted his Brother *Mago*, with his reſolution to giue battel, and being both of this aduice, he cauſed him to be called whilſt the Souldiers ſupp'd: His brother *Mago* was a young man, of a braue Spirit and Reſolute, and had bin alwaies bred

A plaine is ſometimes the occaſion of an Ambuſh.

Mago Brother to *Hannibal*.

vp

vp in the Warre. To whom he gaue a thouſand Horſe, and as many Foote choſen out of the whole Army, whom he called vnto his Tent after ſupper, and made a ſpeech vnto them according to the opportunity of the time, declaring vnto them what he had reſolued. Moreouer, he giues euery one of them charge, to chooſe out of all the Troupes nine others like themſelues, and that they ſhould repaire to a certaine place in the Campe. Theſe preſently obeyed the commandment of their Generall. Thus *Mago* accompanied with a thouſand Horſe, and as many Foote, and with a guide, came to the place of his Ambuſh, being well inſtructed by *Hannibal* what hee was to doe. An Ambuſh laid by *Hannibal* for the *Romans*.

A

At the breake of day *Hannibal* calls the *Numidian* Horſe-men able to beare labour: to whom when he had made a ſpeech, and promiſed great rewards, if they carried themſelues like braue men, hee diſcouers his Enterprize. Hee giues them charge to paſſe the Riuer of *Trebia*, and to runne vnto the Gates of the Enemies Campe, and to draw them forth to fight with their Darts, deſiring much to ſurprize them in diſorder, and to fight with them before they had taken any repaſt, the which he did much eſteeme. He alſo giues charge to all the other Captaines appointed for the Combate, to feed their men and their horſes, and commands them to be ready armed, attending the ſound of the Trumpet. But when as *Sempronius* ſaw the Enemy approach, he firſt ſent out all his Horſe-men, and after them ſixe thouſand Darters: Finally, he drawes all his Troupes to field, as if hee meant that day to make an end of the Warre: and who (for the good fortune which two daies before hee had in fight, together with the great number of his men) was in hope to get the Victory. It was by chance in Winter, and did ſnow that day with a vehement cold. Moreouer, the Souldiers were come forth in confuſion with the Horſes, and had no great heat, neither had they fed. And therefore although in the beginning they were ready and reſolute, yet being entred into the Riuer, they came forth wet vnto the breſt: for that the ſnow which had fallen in the night, had made the Riuer ſwell, ſo as they began to be ſo afflicted with cold and hunger, that as the day came on, they were ſcarce able to hold their Armes. In the meane time the *Carthaginians* oyl'd and warm'd themſelues at fires neere vnto their Tents, hauing their Horſes ready after they had fed well.

B

C

When as *Hannibal* (who had an eye euery where) ſaw that the Enemies had paſt the Riuer, he ſets before the Enſignes the ſlingers of *Maiorque* and *Minorque*, and thoſe that were lightly armed, to the number of eight thouſand men, and puts the reſt of his Army in Battalion. When he had marcht about a Mile, he ſets vpon the wings twenty thouſand Foote, *Spaniards*, *Affricans*, and *Gaules*: the like he did of his Horſe-men, who with the Allies that the neighbour Townes of *Gaule* had ſent him, were ten thouſand men. After them on either ſide were placed the Elephants. Then *Sempronius* cauſed a retreate to be ſounded, to call backe the Horſe-men, leſt purſuing the *Numidians* inconſiderately, they might be ſuddainly incloſed by them, for their

D

Hannibal puts his men in Battaile.

The manner of the *Numidians* fighting.

cuſtome is to flie here and there at the firſt charge, and to ſtay ſuddainly when they thinke good, recharging the Enemy with incredible courage and reſolution. Then hee ordered his Foote men after the manner of the *Romans*. Among the which there were about ſixteene thouſand *Romans*, and about twenty thouſand *Latins* their Allies: for when they were to vndergoe any great Warre, and that the two Conſuls were ioyned together, the perfect number of their Army was of ſo many thouſands. Then hee placed three thouſand Horſe-men vpon the wings. When he had thus diſpoſed of his men, he marcht in battaile a ſlow pace, ſcarce mouing.

Sempronius puts his men in battaile.

The two Armies being neere one vnto the other, thoſe that were lightly armed began the fight, wherewith the *Romans* were ſuddainly oppreſt. All things fore-told good vnto the *Carthaginians*: for the bodies of the *Roman* Foote were growne feeble with hunger and wearineſſe, and numm'd with cold: Being moreouer ſlaine by the multitude of Darts which the *Numidians* caſt. For their parts they had abandoned their Darts, as vnprofitable by reaſon of the continuall humidity: The Horſe-men ſuffred the like with the whole Army. Contrariwiſe the *Carthaginians* being in their force, in good order and freſh, were diligent and ready at need. Wherefore when as they had made way for their forlorne hope to retire, and that the Armies had charged one another: the *Carthaginian* Horſe-men fell vpon the Enemies wings, and quite defeated them. It is true, the *Romans* were weake in their numbers of Horſe: and the Souldiers were tired with labour and hunger.

A defeate of the *Roman* Horſe-men.

After the rout of the Horſe-men, the Foote reſiſted more with the equality of courage then of force: But the *Numidians* beſides the Ambuſh which the Army had paſt without diſcouering them, ſhewing themſelues vpon the Reare, put them in a great amazement, yet the Battallions ſtood firme for a time, although they were inuolued with ſo many miſeries. But in the end when as the two wings were preſt, hauing the Elephants in front, and that thoſe which were lightly armed, had compaſſed them in, they fled directly to the neere Riuer. This done, when as the *Romans* which fought in the battell, ſaw their ſupplies broken, they were partly enuironed by them of the Ambuſh, and partly defeated and ſlaine: Others paſt through the Battalion of the *Gaules*, where were many *Affricans*, making a great ſlaughter of the Enemies. But when as they could neither ſuccour their men, nor get to their Fort, as well for the multitude of the Enemies Horſe, as for the ſwelling of the Riuer and the raine, they recouered *Plaiſance*, to the number of ten thouſand men: the reſt for the moſt part were ſlaine along the Riuer by the Elephants and Horſe-men. Some few Foote and Horſe flying diſperſed ouer the Fields, drew to *Plaiſance*, following the route of the Army. The *Carthaginians* hauing purſued them to the Riuer of *Trebeia*, returned to the Campe, for that they could not proceed any farther by reaſon of the raine: being very ioyfull of the victory, whereas the loſſe of *Spaniards* and *Affricans* was ſmall, and that of the *Gaules* great. But they were ſo tormented with raine & cold that all the

The Victory of *Hannibal* againſt the *Romans*.

the Elephants except one, and the greateſt part of the carriage-horſes, with many men and horſes died.

After this action *Sempronius* deſirous to couer and conceale ſo great a loſſe, ſent men to *Rome*, to let them vnderſtand that the violence of the raine had depriued them of an abſolute Victory: the which the *Romans* did eaſily beleeue. But when as within few dayes after, they had newes that the *Carthaginians* held their Army in ſtrength, and that all the *Gaules* held for them, abandoning their party, and withall that their Army kept the Towne, for that it was not well aſſured within its Fort, and that they drew victuals from the Sea by the Riuer of *Poe*, they grew into ſo great a feare and amazement, as they thought *Hannibal* would come a Conquerour to *Rome*. Wherefore they leuied a new Army, and ſent ſupplies into *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, fortifying *Tarentum* and the other Townes in *Italy*. They likewiſe prepared an Army at Sea of fifty Quinqueremes: Finally, they were wholly attentiue to Warre.

The *Romans* feare for the loſſe of the Battell.

A new Army leuied by the *Romans* both by Sea and Land.

At that time *Cneus Seruilius*, and *Caius Flaminius* were choſen Conſuls, and a new leuie of men was made, and ſuccours required from the Allies. One of them led his Troupes to *Rimeni*, and the other into *Tuſcany*. They had reſolued to lead their Armies into *Gaule*. They had beſides ſent to *Hieron* to demaund ſuccours, who ſent them fiue hundred *Candiots*, and a thouſand men which beare Targets. Without doubt the *Romans* at that time drew all the Forces they could poſſible againſt *Hannibal*: for the feare was not onely generall, but euery mans in particular.

During theſe accidents in *Italy*, *Cneus Cornelius Scipio* (who as we haue formerly ſaid, had beene left by his Brother in *Gaule* with an Army at Sea) parting from the mouth of *Rhone*, arriued at *Empories*. And beginning there, hee made all the *Maritime* Countrey vnto *Ebro* ſubiect to the *Romans*, renewing the ancient leagues with ſome, and making new with others. When hee had pacified the Sea-coaſts, and had left Garriſons where neede required, he led his Army vp into the firme land. Hee had now drawne together ſome Companies of ſuccours from the allied Townes. By this meanes he takes ſome Townes, ſome by Compoſition, others by force. The which *Hanno* perceiuing (whom *Hannibal* had left for the defence of *Spaine*) he reſolued to encounter the Enemies, and planted himſelfe right againſt them, neere vnto a Towne which the people of the Countrey call *Ciſſe*.

Scipio arriues at *Empories*, and conquers vnto *Ebro*.

Hanno.

Scipio in like manner did not hold it fit to deferre the Battell. And therefore after hee had gotten the Victory, and taken the Enemies Fort, hee recouered great ſtore of Treaſure: For all they which went to the Warres of *Italy* vnder *Hannibal*, had left all their wealth with theſe men, leſt the Baggage ſhould bee tedious and troubleſome vnto them. Afterwards *Scipio* made a league with all the Inhabitants which were within the Riuer of *Ebro*, and made them Allies and Friends. There were two Commaunders taken aliue, whereof the one was *Hanno*, who had the leading of the

Carthaginians, and the other *Andubal*, King of a Region which lies in the heart of *Spaine*, who had alwayes held the party of the *Carthaginians*. *Asdrubal* hearing the newes, passeth *Ebro*, marching with his Army against the *Romans*: who vpon the way had newes that the Souldiers and Sea-men wandred the fields vp and downe, being confident and careleſſe with the ioy of their Victory. Wherefore hee marches thither ſpeedily with eight thouſand foote, and a thouſand Horſe, where killing a great part, he forced the reſt to recouer their ſhips: yet hee durſt not ſtay long, but repaſt the Riuer of *Ebro*. And when hee had put Garriſons in neceſſary places, hee went to winter at *Carthage*. *Cneus Scipio* aduertiſed hereof, drawes his men ſuddainly together, and goes vnto his Sea-army, puniſhing ſuch as had beene the cauſe of the defeate, after the manner of the *Romans*. When hee had drawne his Army both by Sea and Land together, he went to winter at *Taracona*, where he diuided the ſpoile, ſo as hee purchaſed the loue of them all, making them more reſolute for the future Warre. Behold the eſtate of the affaires of *Spaine*.

King *Andubal* taken.

A defeate of ſome *Romans* by *Asdrubal*.

In the beginning of the Spring *Flaminius* marching thorough *Tuſcany*, came to *Aretzo*. As for *Seruilius*, hee attended (after hee had brought his Army to *Rimeni*) when the Enemy would diſlodge. And whileſt that *Hannibal* ſpent the Winter in *Gaule*, hee kept the *Romans* that were Priſoners ſtraightly feſter'd, and poorely fed, intreating the Allies courteouſly from the beginning: and afterwards cauſing them to aſſemble, he made many remonſtrances vnto them, telling them that he was not come to make Warre againſt them, but to fight with the *Romans* for their liberty: and therefore if they were wiſe, they ſhould imbrace the alliance and friendſhip of the *Carthaginians*: and that he was there to ſet the people of *Italy* at liberty, and to reſtore thoſe whom the *Romans* had outragiouſly chaſed from their houſes, their Townes, and Countries. When hee had vſed theſe, or the like ſpeeches, hee ſent them all away without ranſome, deſiring by this meanes to winne the hearts of all the people of *Italy*, and to make them abandon the *Romans* party, and to encourage thoſe whom they had depriued of their Townes and Countrey. It is true, that whileſt hee wintred, he was many times in dangers by the *Gaules*, the which he preuented by an *African* tricke, for that the *Gaules* diſcouered it as lightly vnto him, as they had giuen their conſent: ſo as hee cauſed periwigges of diuers ages to bee made with great art, the which he vſed, changing his apparrell often: ſo as he was not onely vnknowne to them which had neuer ſeene him, but alſo to his familiars. By this meanes he was in ſafety, they not knowing whom to aſſault for *Hannibal*. Moreouer, when as the *Gaules* were diſcontented, that their Countrey was made the ſeate of the Warre, making a ſhew to be deſirous to fight, to the end it might be tranſported to ſome other part, *Hannibal* reſolued to goe the ſooner to field, and to lead his Army to the Warre which he deſired.

Hannibals ſpeech to the Priſoners that were allied to the *Romans*.

Hannibals policy to keepe himſelfe from killing by treaſon.

A B C D

The Spring time approached, when calling vnto him thoſe which knew the wayes, he inquired of the paſſages, which went into the Enemies Country. And being aduertiſed that all the wayes were long and knowne to the enemy, they diſcouered vnto him one that was ſhorter, but troubleſome, which would leade him through the Mariſhes of *Tuſcany*, whereby he might paſſe his Army, vnknowne vnto the enemy: But when the newes came into the Campe of their Voyage by Mariſhes, the apprehenſion diſcouraged them, fearing the Quagmires and Pooles. Yet he tooke this way with his whole Army, A cauſing the *Spaniards* and *Affricans* to march before, with the ableſt of his men and their Baggage, to the end that if they were forced to plant a Campe, they ſhould not want things neceſſary. It is true, that before, he had not reſolued to carry any Baggage, for that hee knew well that the *Carthaginians* ſhould not want any thing if they were vanquiſhed; and if they won the Countrey they ſhould not likewiſe want. Next he cauſeth the *Gaules* to march, and in the Reare the horſe men, whereof he gaue the charge to his brother *Mago*, to the end that by their helpe, the *Gaules* by their baſeneſſe ſhould not turne head, being diſcontented with the toile. The *Spaniards* and *Affricans* marching B through the Mariſhes, came vnto the end without any great toile, as inured to paines, and accuſtomed to ſuch miſeries. Contrariwiſe the *Gaules* went with great difficulty, as men amazed, falling into the Quagmires of the Moares, and carrying this miſery with griefe and diſcontent, like men vnaccuſtomed to ſuch calamities, the Horſemen kept them from returning.

The Way and Order which *Hannibal* held to paſſe into *Italy*.

Finally the whole Army was in great trouble and paine; and they languiſhed the more, for that they had watch'd foure daies and three nights, going through the Waters. But amongſt all the reſt the *Gaules* were moſt tormented. Moſt part of their carriage Horſes falling into C the Mire, dyed, ſeruing the tyred Souldiers, to reſt themſelues vpon and the baggage, lying downe vpon them in the Water, ſo as they tooke their neceſſary reſt ſome part of the night. Many Horſes alſo loſt their hooſes, by their continuall going in the mire. *Hannibal* could hardly eſcape the moares, but that he was carried vpon an Elephant which was onely remaining: Who by a great paine in his eyes, which had hapned by the bad condition of the Ayre, in the end hee loſt an eie, for that he had neither time nor place to prevent it.

Hannibal looſeth an Eye.

After that he had paſt the Moares contrary to the opinion of all the World, and was aduertiſed by his Spies, that *Flaminius* was about the D Wals of *Aretzo*, he planted himſelfe neere vnto the Mariſhes, partly to refreſh his army being tyred with ſo great toyle, and likewiſe to learne the Reſolution and forces of the Enemy, with the ſcituation of the Country and Wayes. But being aduertiſed that among the Regions of *Italy*, that was very fertile, and that the Champaigne betwixt *Aretzo* and *Feſula* was very rich in Corne, and all other things neceſſary; and that moreouer the Conſull was a proud man, affecting the applauſe of the people, but without experience of Warre, and relying much vpon Fortune, he thought it fit, that in leauing the enemy on

the left hand, he ſhould drawe towards *Feſula*, to ſpoyle the Country of *Tuſcany*: being conceited that the Conſull, for the naturall deſire he had to purchaſe the fauor the people, would neuer ſuffer the Country to bee ſpoi'd: Nor attend his Companion, as deſiring him not in things well done: But contrariwiſe would follow him whereſoeuer he went without feare, hauing a deſire to fight. By this meanes he foreſawe good opportunities to giue Battaile, making therin a wiſe and politique diſcourſe of future things. Beleeue mee he is deceiued, that thinkes any duty greater in a Captaine, then to diſcouer the opinion and Nature of the enemy. For as you muſt obſerue in a Combate betwixt man and man the place where you meane to ſtrike, and conſider diligently where he lies open and diſcouered: So in a great Warre, you muſt ſeeke the Enemy, not ſo much to vnderſtand where the the parts of the body are naked, but by what meanes you may diſcouer the Nature and proceedings of the Generall.

The duty of a good Captain.

There are many which not onely forget the publicke Affaires by a dulneſſe and negligence, but alſo many times thoſe which concerne their priuate Liues. Others ſubiect to Wine, cannot reſt vntill they be drunke, and ſome giuen too much to women, not only ruine Townes and Common-weales, but alſo their Liues with infamy. Moreouer, Cowardize and feare in priuate men is full of Reproach and diſgrace, but in a Commaunder, it is ſometimes the cauſe of great loſſe. Ouerweening raſhneſſe, Choller, and vaine bragging is preiudiciall, and profitable to the Enemy. Beleeue me, ſuch kind of men, doe eaſily fall into the Snares and Ambuſhes of their Enemies. And therefore if any one hauing diſcouered the Vices of the Enemy, findes ſome occaſion whereby he may circumvent the Generall, he may eaſily preuaile ouer the reſt: For as an Enemy doth eaſily boord a Shippe when it is without a Gouernour: So if any one during the Warre, defeates a Commaunder by his Iudgement and good aduice, hee will ſoone be maſter of the reſt of the Army.

The Country Spoil'd by *Hannibal*.

As *Hannibal* had made this Diſcourſe of the *Roman* Conſull, ſo he was not deceiued in his opinion; for parting with all ſpeede thorough the *Feſulans* Countrey, leauing the Enemy behind, he began to put all *Tuſcany* to fire and Sword. The Conſull inflamed herewith, thinking that the Enemy made no account of him, holding it a great diſhonour to ſuffer the Goods of their Allies to bee thus ſpoil'd and carried away before his face, could not take any reſt. And therefore although that many aduiſed him not to purſue *Hannibal*, nor to fight with him, but to keepe his Horſe and foote entire, vntill the comming of his Companion, to the end that both Armies being ioyned, they might mannage the Warre by a common Councell, hee would not doe any thing, giuing them no other anſwere, but that they ſhould conſider what the people of *Rome* would ſay, ſeeing the Enemy Camp'd in the middeſt of *Italy*, and march directly to *Rome* without reſiſtance, they ſleeping in *Tuſcany* at his backe. Hauing vſed this Speech, he began to purſue the Enemy, after that he had ſuddainly drawne his Troupes together, without conſideration either of time or places, deſiring onely

to

to fight, as if the Victory had beene certaine. He had put his whole Army in hope of winning the Battaile, ſo as there were more which charged themſelues with chaines and fetters, and ſuch like things, then with armes to fight.

Hannibal marching directly to *Rome*, ſpoil'd all the Champaigne Country, which lies betwixt the Towne of *Cortone*, and the Lake of *Perouze*, vſing all manner of cruelty to draw the enemy to fight. But when he had newes of *Flaminius* purſuite with his Army, ſeeing the place conuenient to lay his Ambuſhes, hee began to prepare himſelfe
A for a battaile. There was a large plaine enuironed round about with high Mountaines ioyned together: hauing within it a leſſer Hill, which was painfull and difficult, and behind lies the Lake of *Perouze*, betwixt the which and the Mountaines, there is a narrow paſſage, whereby they enter into the plaine.

Hannibal gaines theſe firſt Hils, planting his Campe there, and lodgeth with the *Spaniards* and *Affricans*, laying behind the Mountaines, the Souldiers of Maiorque and Minorque, with others that were lightly armed. He doth alſo place in the ſtreight, the Horſe-men with the *Gaules*, to the end that as ſoone as the *Romans* ſhould be entred, they
B ſhould be wholy inuironed by the Lake and Mountaines, oppoſing the Horſe-men in Front. And hauing thus diſpoſed of his men in the night, he went to take his reſt. *Flaminius* purſuing his enemy with great heate, came vnto the Lake before the Sun ſetting, and the next day early began to lead his Army through the ſtreight. The day was thicke and miſty, by reaſon of a Fogge which came from the Lake, and the Neighbour mountaines. When as *Hannibal* ſaw the greateſt part of the Army entred into the Plaine, and that the fore-moſt approached neere vnto him, hee then gaue his men a ſigne of battaile. Which done, they fall vpon them that were neereſt. The *Romans*
C were amazed at this ſuddaine ſurprize, for that the miſt hindred their ſight, and with all the Enemies charg'd them on all ſides at one inſtant, ſo as they could not put themſelues into battaile, nor make vſe of their Armes, nor ſcarce know what had beene done, being aſſailed by ſome in front, by others in the Reare, and likewiſe vpon the Flankes. So as many holding on their way, they were ſlaine like ſheepe, for that they could not ſuccour one another, and they were ſooner defeated, then they could conſider what they had to doe. *Flaminius* himſelfe, when there was no more hope, was enuironed and ſlaine by certayne *Gaules*. There were ſlaine in this battaile fifteene thouſand men, who
D for the moſt part ſtood firme vnto the end, after the manner of the *Romans*, neuer abandoning their rankes: The others incloſed betwixt the Mountaines and the Lakes by reaſon of the narrow paſſages, and out of hope, were ſlaine baſely or rather miſerably: For being forced in the Lake, ſome were drowned ſtriuing to ſwimme in their Armes: Others going into the Water as farre as they could poſſibly, continued for a time in that eſtate. Finally, when the enemies horſe were entred, they were ſlaine without pitty: Although that lifting vp their hands, they humbly begged to haue their Liues ſaued, or taking Courage

An Ambuſh layd by *Hannibal*.

The *Romans* Surprized and Defeated.

The Battaile of *Perouze*.

Flaminius ſlayn in the battaile.

kild

kild one another. There were about ſixe thouſand of the fore-ward, which forcing through the enemies, eſcaped this paſſage: Although it were in their power to incloſe them, and to ſuccour their friends, yet not knowing what was done behind them, they marcht on ſtill, doubting to make ſome encounter, before they had gotten the top of the Mountaines. And hauing made a ſtand vpon a little Hill, and ſeeing (the Miſt being paſt) the great ſlaughter of their Souldiers, they haſtily got vnto a neere Burrough, like men which had no more hope of ſafety, for that they ſaw the enemy to hold the whole Countrey. The battaile being won, *Hannibal* Commaunds *Maherbal* to purſue them, who parting with the *Spaniards* and the Souldiers that were lightly armed, beſieged the Burrough. The *Romans* being brought to extremity, in the end left their Armes; and after they had concluded to haue their Liues ſaued, they yeilded to this *Affrican*. Behold how that famous battaile paſt, which was giuen betwixt the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians* neere vnto the Lake of *Perouze*.

Sixe thouſand *Romans* taken in a Burrough by compoſition

A

After this *Hannibal* cals for thoſe which *Maherbal* had taken, and for all the reſt being aboue fifteene thouſand, telling them at the firſt that *Maherbal* had no power to contract with them for their liues without his conſent: And after he had vſed proud ſpeeches vnto the *Romans*, he diſtributed them among the Souldiers to be carefully kept in chaines, ſending away the Allies without Ranſome: Telling them that hee was not come into *Gaule* to make Warre againſt the *Latin* Nation, but with the *Romans* for their Liberty. Afterwards he ſent them home to their Lodgings, and Commaunds to bury the bodies of thoſe which were of moſt note, being about thirty: For hee loſt of all his Army onely fifteene hundred men, whereof the greateſt part were *Gaules*. Hee then held a Councell with his Brother and other friends concerning their affaires, who were growne ſo glorious for this Victory, as they held nothing impoſſible.

B

C

The Newes of this great Defeate was now come to *Rome*, and the Senators could not long conceale it from the Common people, nor diſſemble the greatneſſe thereof: So as aſſembling the Court, they were forced to relate it vnto them in particular. As ſoone as the Prætor (being ſet in his Chaire) began to ſay, we haue loſt a great battaile; the amazement and trouble grew ſo great, as they which were at the battaile and there preſent, report that the terrour was greater then in *Rome*, then it had beene in the fight. And it is likely; for it is not poſſible that they which for a long time had not felt any great diſaſter, neyther in Word, nor Deede, ſhould patiently indure ſo great a loſſe. Yet the Senate made a good ſhewe, as it was fitting, aduiſing what was to be done, and what Commaunders they ſhould chooſe, and with what Troupes they ſhould reſiſt the *Carthaginians*.

The great amazement which was at *Rome* for the battaile loſt.

D

Whilſt theſe things paſt in *Tuſcany*, the Conſull *Seruilius* aduertiſed that *Hannibal* was paſt, hee reſolued to ioyne with his companions Army. But for that it was a difficult thing, to paſſe ſo great a number of men together, he ſent *Caius Centronius Proprætor* before with foure thouſand Horſe, to the end that if any occaſion were offered, they ſhould

ſhould doe that which his Companion ſhould commaund him. *Hannibal* hauing gotten this Victory, and aduertiſed by his Spies of the comming of the Enemy, hee ſends *Maherbal* to meete them, with the beſt of his Foote, and part of his Horſe-men, who being met, they defeated the greateſt part at the firſt charge: the reſt retiring to the firſt Hill, within three daies after they were taken aliue. When as the newes of this defeate came to *Rome*, three daies after the other, wherewith their hearts were much aflicted, then not onely the people, but alſo the Senators were in ſo great diſtreſſe and miſery, as all the Citty was in teares. Wherefore leauing the Annall Magiſtrates, they had recourſe to the election of a Dictator; for that the condition of the time, and the affaires then required a Commaunder, which ſhould haue ſoueraigne power. And although that *Hannibal* were very glorious for the good ſucceſſe and fortune of his affaires, yet hee did not hold it fit to goe vnto *Rome*. Wherefore putting the Prouince to fire and ſword, and paſſing by the Dutchy of *Spoletto*, and the Marquiſat of *Ancona*, hee came within ten dayes to the Region which is neare vnto *Adriatique* Sea, ſo rich and abundant in all wealth, as the Army was not able to carry it away.

A defeate of the *Roman* Horſe-men by *Maherbal*.

A Dictator created.

Hannibal runs along the Coaſt of the *Adriatique* Sea.

Finally, hee made a great ſlaughter of men in his iourney: for he cauſed a Proclamation to bee made in his Campe, that they ſhould kill all thoſe that they found carrying Armes, as they had commonly done in Townes that were taken by aſſault. Hee carried ſo great a hatred to the *Romans*, as there was no cruelty that hee omitted. And after they had found a fit and conuenient place along the Coaſt of the *Adriatique* Sea, abounding with all ſorts of commodities, hee laboured by all meanes to refreſh his men and horſes: for both the one and the other were fallen into diſeaſes and the Scuruy, which they had gotten as well by the extreame cold in the Winter which they had endured in *Gaule*, being alwaies in field, as by the continuall toile which they had lately ſuffred in paſſing the Mariſhes, and the continuall ſweat and filth, by reaſon of their harneſſe.

The cruelty of *Hannibal*.

In the meane time hee inures the *Affricans* to carry Armes after the manner of the *Romans*, whereof hee had gotten abundance, conſidering the great ſpoiles of the Enemies. Moreouer, hee ſent newes to *Carthage* of his Victories by Sea. This was the firſt time that hee approach't neare the Sea, ſince his firſt comming into *Italy*. The *Carthaginians* being ioyfull at this newes, were wholly attentiue vnto the affaires of *Italy* and *Spaine*. The *Romans* made choice of *Quintus Fabius* for their Dictator, a man of ſo great virtue and prudence, that for his proweſſe hee purchaſed and obtained the name of *Maximus*, the which his family retaines vnto this day. The Dictator differs from the Conſull in this, that the Conſull hath but twelue Axes before him, and the Dictator hath foure and twenty. Moreouer, the Couſull muſt referre many things to the aduice of the Senate: but this other hath a ſoueraigne and free power, vnder whom all other Magiſtrates ceaſe, except the Tribunes. But this

Quintus Fabius choſen Dictator.

The difference betwixt a Dictator and a Conſull.

shall be for a larger discourse. Moreouer, they gaue vnto the Dictator *Marcus Minucius* for a Constable, or master of the Horse, which is a Magistrate subiect to the Dictator, and supplies his place, when as the necessity of affaires forceth him to be absent.

Marcus Minucius Constable.

In the meane time *Hannibal* marching along the Coast of the *Adriatique* Sea by small iournies, fed his Army in a rich and fertile Prouince, causing the Horse-fleet to be washt with old Wine, whereof there was great abundance, the better to cure them of their Scabs. Hee also caused the Souldiers which had beene wounded, to bee carefully looked vnto, and fortified the rest for future affaires. Hauing past the Countries of *Pretutian* and *Adrian*, hee ruined the Countrey of the *Marrucins* and *Franqueuille*: Moreouer, he bent his course towards *Iapygia*, diuided into three, whereof some are called *Daunians*, and the others *Messapians*. Hee first ouer-runnes *Daunia* beginning by *Luceria*, a Collony of the *Romans*, thundring ouer all the Countrey. Then setling his Campe at *Ibonium*, he falls vpon the *Artins*, and vtterly ruines all *Daunia* without any resistance.

A

Many Countries ruined by *Hannibal*.

At the same time *Quintus Fabius* hauing taken his charge of Dictator, and performed the accustomed Sacrifices, parts from *Rome* with the Master of the Horse, and foure Legions leuied in haste: And within few daies came to *Appulia*, whereas receiuing the Army from the Consull *Cneus Seruilius*, being come from *Rimeni*, he sent him to *Rome* with some troups, giuing him charge to raise an Army at Sea at *Hostia*, and to defend the Coasts of *Italy*, if the *Carthaginians* should attempt any thing by Sea. Finally, he marches with all his troups, and plants himselfe in front of the Enemy, neare vnto *Aignes*, and within sixe miles of them. *Hannibal* aduertised of the comming of *Fabius*, and meaning to amaze them suddainly, drawes his Army to Field, and presents it in Battaile before the *Romans* Fort: But when he had stayed some time, hee retired to his Campe, seeing that no man came forth to fight. You must vnderstand that *Fabius* had resolued from the beginning not to hazard any thing, nor to fight, thinking it would bee very beneficiall to the *Romans*, if he might defend their Townes from the Enemy. Hee was constant in his opinion, so as at the end hee purchased the reputation of a slacke man, and Coward, as if hee fled from danger onely for feare.

B

Hannibal presents Battaile to *Fabius*.

C

The constancy of *Fabius*.

But soone after hee forced the World to confesse, that they could not make choice of a Captaine that was more constant, nor wiser to mannage the Warre, the which appeared soone after in their affaires. Beleeue mee, this wise Dictator vnderstood well what great difference there was betwixt the *Carthaginians* Army, and that of the *Romans*: Considering that the others had from their Youth frequented the Warre, hauing a Commaunder which was bred with them in the Campe, in the raine and winde, and who from his very Cradle had learn'd the trade: hauing gotten so many famous victories both in *Spaine* and *Italy*, against the *Romans* and all their

D

their Allies: and who moreouer, distrusting in all things, put their onely hope of safety in the Victory: the which would proue contrary to the *Romans*. Wherefore he was not resolued to fight, fearing the *Numidians*, for that hee was too weake in Horse: so as retiring for his aduantage with good consideration, he stayed, and led away his Army. The aduantages which the *Romans* had, were abundance of munition and victuals, and a great Army. And therefore hee led it alwaies by the hilly Countries, following the Enemie neare, yet giuing him no meanes to fight, being alwaies well victualed, and neuer suffring the Souldiers to goe forth, but kept them alwaies close together. By this meanes his men were alwaies in safety, and beate the Enemy, if at any time they went from the Army for pillage, so as many times there were some taken, and others slaine. This he did to the end that by little and little hee might weaken their forces, and encourage the Souldiers by these petty Victories, being amazed with their former losses, nor to distrust their Forces, or Fortune. Moreouer, they could not perswade him to come to a Battaile. But *Marcus Minucius* discontent with his temporizing, blamed him of cowardise and feare. Hee was a proud and rash man, who found nothing more tedious and troublesome then to bee absent from a Battaile.

The *Carthaginians* after they had ruined the former Countries, and had past the *Appenine* Hils, they goe to *Samnium*, which is a very fertile Countrey of *Italy*, and which for a long time had not felt any Warre: There they found so great abundance of all things, as they could not consume the Bootie, neither in vsing it moderately nor wastfully. From thence they spoiled *Beneuent*, a Collony of the *Romans*: They tooke the Towne of *Telesia* which had strong walles, was well victualed, and furnished with all things necessary, the *Romans* followed the Enemies still within a daies iourney or two. When as *Hannibal* saw that *Fabius* fled from all occasions of fighting, and yet did not abandon the field, but followed him still by the hilly Countrey, hee resolued to goe speedily into the Countries of *Capua* and *Falerna*, thinking that of necessitie one of the two would happen: either that the *Romans* would come to a Battaile, or that the World would soone see that the *Carthaginians* camp't, and that the *Romans* kept themselues within their Forts. By this meanes he did hope that the Townes of the Prouince being terrified, they would yeeld vnto the *Carthaginians*: For vnto that day not any one had fallen vnto them, although the *Romans* had lost two great Battailes, and there were many to whom their perswasions were very vnpleasing. Whereby wee may see of what authoritie and power the maiesty of the *Roman* Common-wealth was with their Succours and Allies.

The *Carthaginians* spoile the Countrey.

Certainly *Hannibals* conceit was not idle: for the *Capuan* is an excellent Countrey, for abundance of wealth, fertility of land, and the beauty and pleasure of the place. First, it is seated along the Sea: whither infinite number of people come from all parts of the World

The description of the Countrey of *Capua* and its scituation.

to *Italy*. Moreouer, the nobleſt Townes of *Italy* are ſcituated there: for vpon the Borders of the Sea, ſtand the *Switzers*, the *Cumans*, the *Pozolois*, the *Neopolitans*, and at the end the *Nuceriens*.

And towards the North vpon the firme land, are the *Calleniens* and *Teanins*: towards the East and South are the *Dauniens* and *Notains*: and in the mid'ſt of the Region *Capua* ſtands, the richeſt of them all, whoſe Lands are famous amongſt the fabulous Poets, which they call *Phlegrees*: and it is likely that the gods haue ſpoken principally of them, by reaſon of their wonderfull beauty and excellency. Moreouer, this ſcituation is ſtrong by nature, and in a manner impregnable. A For on the one ſide they are incloſed by the Sea, and on the other they are wholly enuironed with Mountaines. There are onely three entries which are narrow and painefull: the one is at *Samnium*, the ſecond at *Eriban*, and the third among the *Arpins*. The *Carthaginians* made a ſhew to goe into theſe Countries, as into a Theater, to amaze them all: and thereby to flye from the Enemy, and then to campe alone.

Wherefore *Hannibal* moued with theſe reaſons, leades his Army by *Samnium* to the ſtreights of Mount *Eriban*, and plants his Campe neere vnto the Riuer of *Vantour*, which diuides the ſaid Champaigne B from *Rome*. Then the moſt pleaſant Countrey of *Italy* was ouerrunne, and the Villages put to fire and ſword. And although that theſe things were very troubleſome to *Fabius*, yet he continued conſtant in his reſolution. But *Marcus Minucius*, and all the Tribunes of the Horſe, were of opinion not to temporize any longer, but to fall vpon the *Carthaginians* with all their ſtrength and forces, not ſuffring the ſpoile of ſo goodly a Countrey in the view of the *Roman* Army. *Fabius* diſlodging more ſuddainly then he had beene accuſtomed, ſeemed to make haſte to preſerue the Countrey of *Capua* from ſpoile: But when hee came to *Falerna*, hee did but ſhew his Army vpon the Mountaines, leſt the Allies ſhould thinke C he held not a Campe. Yet he would neuer drawe downe into the field, fearing to fight with the *Carthaginians*, as well for the reaſons which wee haue formerly mentioned, as for that he was the weaker in Cauallery.

The Riuer of *Vantour*.

When as *Hannibal* had often attempted in vaine, to drawe the Enemy to fight, in the end he ſtudied of a place to winter in, hauing ruined all parts of the Countrey, and taken a wonderfull ſpoile: hauing no intent to loſe his Pillage, but to tranſport it to ſome place where he might paſſe the Winter: to the end his Army might not D want any thing, as well for the preſent as the future. *Fabius* knowing well that the returne of his Enemy would be by the ſame ſtreight by the which he had entred, hee imagined that this paſſage would be beneficiall to the *Romans*: and placeth about foure thouſand men within theſe ſtreights, intreating them to carry themſelues like braue and valiant men, when occaſion ſhould require, making vſe of the aduantage of the place. For his part, hee recouered the next Mountaine with the reſt of the Army, looking earneſtly about

The meanes which *Fabius* held to ſtop *Hannibals* paſſage.

about him what was to be done, and from whence and by whom the Enemy ſhould be Charged, holding himſelfe aſſured to defeate their whole Army, or at the leaſt to make them abandon the Booty which they carried. But *Hannibal* ſaw that *Fabius* fought with his owne weapons: and hauing duly conſidered thereon, he diſappointed his enterprize with an excellent ſtratagem, cauſing many Faggots of dry ſtickes to be drawne together, and bound to the hornes of Oxen, and Bugles, whereof he had to the number of two thouſand; and gaue charge to *Aſdrubal*, that in ſetting fire to the ſtickes at a certaine houre he ſhould
A chaſe the Troupe to the next Mountaine, which was betwixt the Camp and the ſtreight they were to paſſe, and that as ſoone as they ſhould ſee a ſigne which he would giue, they ſhould force the Oxen againſt the Mountaine, vntill they had gotten the top. When as all things were ready, he makes them to feed and to take ſome reſt. About mid-night hee cauſeth them to march which had the charge to tie the Torches to the hornes of the Oxen. This being ſuddainly done by reaſon of the multitude of aſſiſtants, he giues order to kindle them all, and to chaſe them to the top of the Mountaine. Finally, hee giues charge to them that were lightly Armed, to follow them to a certaine place, commaun-
B ding them that as ſoone as the Troupe ſhould begin to runne furiouſly through the Mountaines, they ſhould recouer the places of aduantage, whereby they might ſuccour his men in paſſing, and annoy the enemy if they encountred any. In the meane time hee diſlodgeth with his Army, and marcheth directly to the ſtreights, ordring in Front the Souldiers that were beſt armed, and after them the Horſe-men, then the Baggage, and in the Reare the *Gaules* and *Spaniards*.

Hanibals policy againſt *Fabius*.

The courſe which *Hanibal* tooke in paſſing the ſtreight kept by the *Romans*.

The *Romans* which had been appointed to guard theſe paſſages, thinking that *Hannibal* came where they ſaw the fire on the toppe of the Mountaines, abandoned their places, retiring to the higheſt Hils.
C And when at the firſt they encountred ſome of theſe Oxen ſeperated from the reſt, they made a ſtand, ſeeing their heads on a flaming fire, wondring as at a miracle. But when the Souldiers were diſcouered, they entertained one another with caſting of Darts. And when in the end the Oxen came on, they all made a ſtand on the top of the mountaines, expecting day with great deſire to be more certainly informed of the buſineſſe. *Fabius* aduertiſed of this noiſe, conceiuing it was ſome Ambuſh, and flying the battaile as they reſolued, kept his men within the Fort. In the meane time *Hannibal* (to whom matters ſucceeded according to his deſire) paſt his Army by the mountaine, and carried away all his Spoiles without any obſtacle. Then ſeeing at the
D breake of day the *Romans* in front againſt his men, and to bee ſtronger in number and in their kind of Armes, he ſent them a band of *Spaniards* to ſecond them: Who after they had ſlaine about a thouſand at the firſt Charge, they brought their men ſafe backe vnto the Campe. *Hannibal* being freed by this policy from the ſtreights of *Falerna*, from thenceforth he was more carefull to chooſe a ſafe place to Campe in, ſeeking where he might Winter, greatly terrifying the Townes and people of *Italy*.

During theſe actions, many taxed the Dictator of Cowardize, for that he had ſuffered the enemy to eſcape ſo eaſily, being incloſed within the ſtreights; but hee continued ſtill conſtant in his opinion. Some few daies after he was called backe to *Rome* for the Sacrifices, and left the Gouernment of the Army and all other affaires to the Conſtable, giuing him charge that he ſhould not ſtudy ſo much to offend the Enemy, as to defend his owne men. But *Minucius* (whom the Dictator aduiſed in vaine) had no other care but to fight.

Aſdrubals parting from *Carthage* to go into *Spaine.*

During theſe actions in *Italy*, *Aſdrubal* hauing repaired thirty good ſhips, which he had receiued from his brother *Hannibal*, adding thereunto ten others, parts from *Carthage* in the beginning of Summer, and giues the charge to *Imilcon*, who ran along the Coaſts, and *Aſdrubal* led the Army by Land neere the ſhore, hoping to meete at one inſtant at the mouth of the Riuer of *Ebro*, with the Army by Sea. *Cneus Scipio* aduertiſed that *Aſdrubal* was gone to field, hee was firſt of the ſame opinion, but afterwards he reſolued to fight rather by Sea then Land, by reaſon of the bruite of their new ſuccours, and preparation for war. Wherefore after hee had prepared an Army at Sea of fiue and thirty Veſſels, he made choiſe of the ableſt men of his whole Army, and moſt actiue to fight at Sea. The which being imbarqued, he ſet ſaile to encounter the enemy: and three dayes after hee had ſail'd from *Tarracona*, to places neere vnto *Ebro*, hee comes vnto a Hauen ten miles diſtant from the Enemy. From thence hee ſends two Veſſels of *Marceilles* being very ſwift to diſcouer. This was a people which had a great League with the *Romans*, and had held their party, during the time of the ſecond Punique Warre. But as ſoone as theſe Scouts had made Relation, that the enemies Army at Sea was in the mouth of the Riuer of *Ebro*, he weighes Anchor and ſayles towards them, being deſirous to ſurprize them vnprouided.

The *Romans* Army at Sea.

Aſdrubal had beene aduertiſed of the comming of the *Roman* army, by a ſigne which was giuen him from a Beacon or watch-Tower; and therefore after he had ordred his Army by Land along the ſhore, and and cauſed his Rowers to imbarque, hee puts all into armes. When the *Romans* not onely approacht, but alſo put their ſhippes in battaile, they gaue warning to fight. The *Carthaginians* aſſayling them reſolutely, had for a time ſome ſhew of Victory. But afterwards Fortune began to turne, for they which were vpon the ſhore, gaue not ſo much courage to their men to fight, as hope of ſafety for thoſe that would flye. And therefore the *Carthaginians* got to Land, after that two of their ſhips had bin taken and foure ſunke. But when as the *Romans* purſued them with all their forces, the *Carthaginians* fled to ſhore, abandoning their ſhips, and retired to their Army which was there in Battaile. Finally hauing followed them with great ſpeede, they towed away with Ropes all the Veſſels which floated: And after they had vanquiſhed their Enemies they parted ioyfully as being maſters of the Sea: and of the forty ſhippes they tooke fiue and twenty. Being therefore proud of this Victory, they were afterwards more carefull of the affaires of *Spaine.*

The *Romans* Victory at Sea, againſt the *Carthaginians.*

The

The *Carthaginians* aduertiſed of this miſ-fortune, ſent three-ſcore and ten Veſſels, Rigg'd ſooner then they could imagine, vnderſtanding well of what conſequence it was to be maſters of the Sea. Who ſail'd firſt to *Sardinia*, and afterwards to *Piſa* in *Italy*, to the end they might ioyne with *Hannibal* if it were poſſible. But when as the *Romans* were aduertiſed of the comming of the *Carthaginian* Army, they ſo terrified them with ſixe ſcore Quinqueremes which they ſent, as they preſently returned to *Sardinia*, and from thence to *Carthage*. *Cneus Seruilius* Commaunder of the Army at Sea, had them long in chaſe; but A when as he heard there was no hope to ouer-take them, he came vnto *Lylibeum* with his Fleete. From thence ſoone after he ſailes vnto the Iland of *Cercinetes*, where taking ſiluer of the Inhabitants not to ruine the Country, he turnes backe, and takes the Iland of *Coſſyron* in paſſing: Where after he had put a Garriſon into the Towne, he returned to *Lylibeum*, where lodging his Veſſels in the Port, within few dayes after he went to the Army at Land.

An Army at Sea prepared ſuddainly by the *Carthaginians*.

The *Romans* great Army at Sea.

In the meane time the Senate hauing newes of *Cneus Scipio* his Victory at Sea in the mouth of *Ebro*, they not only held it fit, but alſo neceſſary to purſue the War in *Spaine*, and to annoy the *Carthaginians* B with all their power both by Sea and Land. And therefore they preſently prepared twenty ſhipps of War, and ſent them to *Publius Scipio* in *Spaine*, continuing his authority after his Conſulſhip was ended, to the end that being ioyned with his brother *Cneus Scipio*, all the affaires might be managed by their common Councell. For the thing which the *Romans* feared moſt, was, that the *Carthaginians* preuailing in *Spaine*, would be maſters of the Sea: So as afterwards they might Saile into *Italy*, and furniſh and ſupply *Hannibal* eaſily with men and Treaſure.

Supplies ſent from *Rome* into *Spaine*.

Publius Scipio going into *Spaine*, ioyned with his brother; after which C the War gouerned by their common Councell. Wherefore preſently they paſt the Riuer of *Ebro*, the which before they neuer durſt attempt. Then Fortune began to ſmile on the *Romans*. And after they had made ſubiect thoſe which dwelt in the paſſage of *Ebro*, finding no reſiſtance, they came to *Sagont*: Where being within fiue miles of Cape *Decrux*, they camped in a place ſafe from the Enemy, and conuenient to draw Victuals from the Sea. Soone after that their Army at Sea arriued; whereas this accident hapned. You muſt vnderſtand that *Hannibal* at his going into *Italy*, had taken the Children of the nobleſt Families in *Spaine*, and had left them in guard at *Sagont*: For that the place was ſtrong, and they which kept it, confident to the *Car-* D *thaginians*. There was at time within the Towne a certaine *Spaniard*, whom they called *Acedux* of a noble houſe, and as honeſt a man as any other *Spaniard*, and among the reſt very loyall to the *Carthaginians*: But at that time after the manner of moſt of the *Barbarians*, hee changed his faith together with his Fortune. This *Spaniard* ſeeing the *Romans* to proſper in *Spaine*, had a deſire to deliuer the Hoſtages; hauing a conceite that it would be a great meanes to purchaſe their fauour. When he had well conſidered of all the meanes to bring his enterprize

Acedux or *Abilux*.

to

Boſtar Chiefe of the *Carthaginians.*

to an end, he goes to *Boſtar* Chiefe of the *Carthaginians.* *Aſdrubal* had ſent him into *Spaine*, to keepe the *Romans* from paſſing the Riuer. The which not daring to attempt, he ſeated his Campe beyond *Sagont* vpon the Bankes of the Riuer. He was a mild man, and (contrary to the nature of the *Affricans*) not very politicke: He drawes him a part, as a man which held his faith aſſured to the *Carthaginians*, and lets him vnderſtand the eſtate of the affaires. The *Carthaginians* ſayd he, haue held vnder their obedience vnto this day, the people of *Spaine* by cruelty, for that the *Romans* were a far off: But now the Enemies Campe hath paſſed *Ebro*, ſo as euery man hath thereby occaſion of a new A enterprize. And therefore it is neceſſary to bind thoſe by benefits and fauours, whom they could not retaine by feare: Moreouer, that the *Romans* were neere vnto *Sagont* in Armes, and furniſhed with Armies both by Sea and Land, ſo as the Towne was in danger: For this cauſe he was of opinion that hee ſhould ſend backe all the Hoſtages to their Townes: The which if hee did, hee ſhould firſt of all fruſtrate the *Romans* of their hope, for that they did chiefly beſiedge *Sagont* to haue them: And that moreouer, he ſhould purchaſe the loue and fauour of the *Spaniards* to the *Carthaginians.*

He likewiſe thought that it would be for the ſafety of the Hoſtages, B and that if hee would giue him the charge to carry them backe, hee would do him no ſmall ſeruice to winne their loues, and that he ſhould not only bind their hearts by the ſending backe of the Children vnto their Parents, but he ſhould ſet before their eies, how much the kindneſſe and Clemency of the *Carthaginians* was to be eſteemed. Moreouer he propounded vnto him the expectance hee ſhould haue of their gifts and preſents, to whom he had ſent the Children, and that there was not any man would forget ſo great a benefit.

After he had held this kind of Speech and others to the ſame end, he returned to *Sagont*, as ſoone as he had perſwaded *Boſtar* to that which C he deſired, appointing a day when hee ſhould ioyne with thoſe which ſhould carry backe the Hoſtages. The night following he goes to the Enemies watch, and hauing ſpoken to ſome *Spaniſh* Souldiers of the Allies, they lead him vnto the Captaines: Where hauing vſed much ſpeech, what profit it would be for the affaires of *Spaine*, if the Hoſtages fell into their hands, in the end hee promiſeth to deliuer them. The *Romans* giuing a willing eare vnto him, weighing the greatnes of the action, take his faith, & promiſe him theirs with great rewards. And after they had aduiſed of the place and day, when they ſhould attend to receiue the Hoſtages, he returnes. Afterwards he takes with him D ſuch as ſeemed fit for this buſineſſe, and goes to *Boſtar*: Where receiuing the Hoſtages, he goes out of *Sagont* as it were to flie the enemies Watch: But hauing paſt their Campe a little, hee leads them all into an Ambuſh which they had prepared, as not knowing any thing. The *Romans* gaue great rewards to *Acedux*, and made vſe of him to carry backe the Hoſtages to their Townes, as he had reſolued with *Boſtar*, ſending men with him to make them fauourable. *Acedux* went with them, and by this perſwaſions cauſed many to enter into League with the

Acedux conſpires with the *Romans.*

the *Romans*, by the meanes of theſe hoſtages : laying before their eyes their mildneſſe and great courage, and deteſting the iealouſies and cruelty of the *Carthaginians*, propounding himſelfe for an example. *Boſtar* after the loſſe of the hoſtages by the aduice of a Childe repented too late. And then the ſeaſon of the yeare forced both Armies to goe and winter, after that fortune had fauoured the *Romans* in this enterprize of the hoſtages. Behold the preſent eſtate of the affaires of *Spaine*.

Hannibal being aduertiſed by his Spies of the great prouiſion of
A Corne within *Lucerna* and *Geryona*, and that moreouer *Geryona* was a very good place, hee reſolued to winter his Army there. And paſſing the Mountaine of *Lyburna*, hee drawes to thoſe places. Being come to *Geryona*, fiue and twenty miles from *Lucerna*, hee began firſt to ſummon the Inhabitants to yeeld, vſing faire promiſes, and aſſuring them of his faith. But loſing his time hee beſieged the Towne, the which hee tooke preſently, and ſlew all the Inhabitants, preſeruing the greateſt part of the houſes to ſerue him for Garners : then hee planted his Campe cloſe vnto the Towne, being well ditched and palliſadoed. This done, hee ſends two parts
B of his Army to gather in the Corne, and continued in battaile with the third part, as well to guard the Campe, as to preuent all oppreſſion of thoſe which gathered in the Corne. They brought in dayly a wonderfull quantity, for that the Region was very large, and the number of the people in a manner infinite, and harueſt was now at hand. But *Marcus Minucius* Commander of the *Romans*, in the beginning followed the *Carthaginians* by the Mountaines, hoping hee ſhould ſometimes encounter the Enemy in ſome bad paſſage.

Geriona taken by aſſault.

Marcus Minucius.

But being aduertiſed that they gathered in the Corne, after the
C taking of *Geryona*, and had ſeated their Campe neare vnto it, hee goes into the plaine and recouers a high Hill vpon the way, where hee planted his Campe : and there hee ſtudied by what policy hee might fall vpon thoſe which were in battaile. But when as *Hannibal* found the *Romans* to bee ſo neare, hee ſent onely the third part of his Army for Corne, and kept the two other parts in the Campe.

After which hee plants himſelfe nearer vnto the Enemy, about two miles from *Geryona*, to the end hee might ſeeme to bee carefull to defend thoſe which gathered the Corne, if they made any attempt againſt them. In the meane time there was a little Hill be-
D twixt the two Campes, which was very fit and conuenient for the *Carthaginians*, if they could take it, and dangerous for the *Romans*. *Hannibal* ſent *Numidians* thither in the Night, who tooke it. But when as *Minucins* at the breake of day, ſaw that they held it, hee puts forth thoſe that were lightly armed, and giues an aſſault vnto the Hill.

The Combate for a time was very fierce and cruell : but in the end the *Romans* had the beſt ſucceſſe, for they wonne the Hill by force : whither preſently the whole Army retired. *Hanni-*

The *Carthaginians* defeated by the *Romans* vpon a Hill.

bal continued for some dayes within his Campe, for that the *Romans* were still in front. But soone after necessity forced him to send some to feed the Horses for the Baggage, and others to the Harueſt: to the end that as hee had resolued, he might not consume that which hee had gotten, but might draw together some great quantity of Corne to Winter, hauing alwayes a great care the Army should not haue neede of any thing in that time, especially the Horses and sumpters, for that all his hope and confidence was in the Cauallery.

Minucius seeing the Enemies dispersed, and wandring vp and A
downe, hee drawes his men to field, and marching directly against
The *Carthaginians* surprized by the *Romans*. their Campe, puts them in battaile, and sends the Horse-men with the best Foote-men against the Forragers, giuing them charge to kill all, and not to receiue any to mercy. *Hannibal* surprized with this suddaine accident, durst not put his men in battaile, neither could hee succour those that were disperced. The *Roman* Horse-men with those that were lightly armed, made a great slaughter of their Enemies thus scattred. They likewise which were with *Minucius*, grew so resolute and couragious, as they durst in a manner force the Enemies Fort, and besiege them. *Hannibal* finding himselfe destitute of B
counsell and helpe, kept himselfe within his Fort, which hee guarded with great difficulty, when as *Asdrubal* gathering the Souldiers together which fled to the place where their Campe had formerly beene, neere vnto the Walles of *Geryona*, came to succour him with about foure thousand men. Then resuming a little courage, he comes out of his Fort, sauing his Army from that present danger with great difficulty. *Minucius* hauing made a great slaughter before the Emies Fort, and not much lesse in the field, he retired with a wonderfull hope for the future. And three dayes after hee lodged in the Campe abandoned by the Enemies. For *Hannibal* fearing left the *Romans* by night should lodge in the Campe which he had left neere vnto *Geryona*, C
and so get all the spoiles, he returned thither with speed with his whole Army.

After this defeate, the *Carthaginians* were more wary how to forrage and goe for Corne, and contrariwise the *Romans* more hardy to vndergoe dangers. In the meane time the newes of the victory was (according to the vsuall manner) made farre greater then it had beene: so as all the World reioyced. First for that they imagined that after so many losses, this was the beginning of a better fortune: and iudge thereby, that the slackenesse and cowardize which had seemed to bee in D
their Army, was not the fault of the Souldiers, but of the Dictator. And therefore all the World contemned *Fabius*, and held him to bee dull and a Coward. Contrariwise they did so highly extoll and praise *Minucius*, as they gaue him equall power with the Dictator, the which had not beene formerly seene, hoping that hee would soone make an end of the Warres of *Italy*. Thus there were two
Two Dictators at *Rome* at one instant. Dictators at one time, and in one Army: which was a new thing.

Minucius

Minucius much more proud then it is credible, as well for his good fortune as the peoples fauour, grew ſo glorious as if the Enemies were already defeated and vanquiſhed. *Fabius* fainted not, nor loſt his courage, for the iniury they had done vnto him, but returned to the Campe alwaies conſtant in his opinion. But when hee ſaw that his Companion was much troubled to finde an occaſion of fighting, fearing leſt hee ſhould commit ſome folly, he gaue him the choice, either that one of them ſhould for a certaine time, or euery other day, or for a longer ſpace, haue the Gouernment of the Campe, or elſe
A they ſhould diuide the Legions betwixt them after the manner of the Conſuls, and that either of them ſhould doe with his Army what hee pleaſed. Wherefore they parted their Troupes, and had their Campes ſeparated about a Mile and an halfe diſtant one from another.

Fabius returneth to the Campe.

The diuiſion of the *Roman* Army betwixt the two Dictators.

When as *Hannibal* was aduertiſed not onely by the Fugitiues, but alſo of their actions, of the hatred betwixt the Commaunders, and of the ouerweening of *Minucius*, thinking that this would further his intention, he ſought occaſion to fight with him: hoping hee ſhould eaſily abate his fury and preſumption. There was a little Hill
B betwixt *Minucius* Campe, and that of the *Carthaginians*: whereon whoſoeuer ſeazed, it would proue very preiudiciall to the other. And when as *Hannibal* made haſte to get it, being certaine that *Minucius* would come to preuent him, as hee had other times done, he vſed this ſtratagem. Firſt of all the whole Plaine betwixt them at the firſt ſight ſeemed vnfit to lay an Ambuſh, being void of woods and buſhes: Yet there were about it many turnings and hollow Rocks, where they might eaſily hide Souldiers. Hee ſends by Night to theſe hollow places, according to the capacity which hee knew to bee in them, two hundred, and three hundred, and fiue
C hundred Horſe together with fiue thouſand Foote. And to the end they ſhould not bee diſcouered by the Forragers, hee ſend at the breake of day, ſome that were lightly armed, to take this Hill. The which when *Minucius* perceiued, contemning ſo ſmall a number, he marcht with his Army to repell the Enemy from thence. Firſt hee ſent thoſe that were lightly armed, commaunding them to charge: then the Horſe-men. Finally, hee followes with thoſe that were compleatly armed, not changing the order which hee had held in other encounters.

The policy of *Hannibal*.

The ſumme was now riſen, and all the World looked vpon this Hil.
D The Ambuſhes were couered: *Hannibal* ſent ſuccours continually to his men, and afterwards followed with all his Cauallery. Finally, the two Armies fought with all their Troupes: and in the end the *Roman* Foote-men that were lightly armed, were forced by the Horſe-men to retire to their Companions that were better armed. Then the Ambuſh brake forth, and charged on all ſides with great cries, ſo as they not onely diſtreſſed and afflicted thoſe that were lightly armed, but likewiſe the whole Army. The which *Fabius* perceiuing, and fearing that the *Roman* Army might be wholy defeated,

A Combate betwixt the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians*.

Fabius succours *Minucius*.

parts from his Campe and succours his Companion: At whose comming the *Romans* reioyced, and retired presently to their Ensignes, although they were broken and scattered here and there, with the losse of many Souldiers that were lightly Armed, and diuers others of the Legions.

Hannibal seeing the Enemies re-inforced with Succours, and that they marcht directly towards him, he caused a Retreat to be sounded. Then all the *Romans* which were in the fight confessed publickly that the Vertue and Wisedome of *Fabius*, had saued the *Roman* Empire, which the ouer-weening of *Minucius* had lost and ruined. When as the newes came to *Rome*, all the World knew plainly, what difference there is betwixt the ouer-weening and ignorance of Souldiers, and the iudgement and aduice of a wise Captaine. From that time the *Romans* contented themselues with one Campe, and all obeyed *Fabius*. The which I find related after this manner by another Author.

The great Reputation of *Fabius*.

A

Minucius his Speech.

WHen the two *Armies were returned to their owne Campes*, Minucius *hauing his Souldiers about him spake vnto them in this manner. I haue often heard say, louing Souldiers, that hee is most Wise that can giue good Councell, and tell what is to be done in his difficult Affaires: And hee is next Wise that can obey him that giueth good councell; but hee that can neyther giue good councell himselfe, nor obey other mens councell, is of all others most ignorant and foolish. Seeing that Fortune hath denied vs the first of these Gifts, let vs keepe the second, and whilst we learne to Rule, let vs propound vnto our selues to obey them that be Wise. Wherefore let vs ioyne our Tents with* Fabius, *and when as you shall heare me salute him as my Protector and Father, you likewise shall salute his Souldiers as your noble Patrons, by whose strength and resolution you are preserued this day. Whereupon they presently remoued their Tents, and went to* Fabius *Campe, whereat he marnailed much.* There *Minucius* submitted himselfe and his men to the protection of *Fabius*, resigning the authority of the Empire into his hands.

B

C

The *Carthaginians* thought to accõmodate a place to passe the Winter hauing inuironed it with Ditches, betwixt the Hill and their Campe, and fortified the top of the Hill with men and Pallisadoes: In the meane time the day of the Election of Consuls was come, where they deposed the Dictators, and made choise for Consuls of *Lucius Emilius*, and *Caius Tarrentius Varro*. And when as *Emilius* had created for Pro-Consuls, the Consuls of the precedent Army, *Cneus Seruilius* and *Marcus Attilius Regulus*, who had beene subbrogated in the place of *Flaminius*, they tooke the charge of all the Troupes that were in the Campe, managing all the Affaires of Warre. The Consuls make a new Leuy of men to furnish their Army: and giue charge vnto the Pro-Consuls, that they should not dare to fight a Battaile with the *Carthaginians*, but entertaine their Souldiers with light skirmishes, and inure the Youth to hardnesse and labour for the time to come: for that they imputed the defeats past vnto the ignorance and slacknesse of

Lucius Emilius and *Caius Tarrencius* chosen Consuls.

D

the

the Souldiers. *Lucius Poſtumus* was created Prætor, and ſent into *Gaule* with an Army, to do the like vnto thoſe *Gaules* which were in *Hannibals* ſeruice. They alſo prouided Rowers for the Veſſels which were at *Lylibeum*: And they ſent whatſoeuer was neceſſary to the Captaines that were in *Spaine*. During theſe actions at *Rome*, *Cneus Seruilius*, and his Companion *Attilius*, following the Commaundment of the Conſuls, did not any thing worthy of memory, but make light skirmiſhes, both by reaſon they were forbidden by the Conſuls, and for the roughneſſe of the Weather: Finally, they mannaged the affaires A wiſely and with great policy. By this meanes the two Armies wintred in view one of another. *Lucius poſtumus Prætor.*

Hannibal diſlodged in the beginning of the Spring, and leauing *Geryona*, (for that he had reſolued ſo to preſſe the *Romans*, as they ſhould be forced to come to a battaile,) he takes the Fort of *Naples*, well furniſhed with Corne and all other munition: For the *Romans* had drawne thither a great quantity of Corne from *Canuſium*, and other neighbour Countries, wherewith the Campe was vſually Victualed. This done they were in great perplexity, not ſo much for the loſſe of the munition, as for that the whole Country was left in prey to the enemy. They B ſend men to *Rome*, to acquaint the Senate therewith, and that they might aduiſe what was to be done: For that they had reſolued to giue battaile if the Enemy approached: Seeing there was no meanes of flight, and that the whole Prouince was ruined, and their Allies wauered. The Senate ſent them word that they ſhould not attempt any thing, but expect the comming of the Conſuls, whom they afterwards commaunded to depart. All the World had their eyes fixed vpon *Paulus Emilius*: They had their hope in him, aſwell for his Wiſedome, as for that he had in former times done great exploits againſt the *Sclauonians*. The Fort of *Naples* taken by *Hannibal.*

C

BEing ready to depart, I finde it Written that *Fabius* ſtayed him for a time, ſpeaking thus vnto him. *If thou good* Lucius Emilius *wert matcht with a Companion like vnto thy Selfe, or if thou wert like vnto thy Fellow, then were my Speech in vaine, which I will now make for you both, for being good Conſuls you would worke effectually for the common wealth, although I ſhould be ſilent. But if you were both bad, then would you neither heare my words, nor admit of my Councell. But knowing thy integrity, and the conditions of thy Companion, I fore-ſee that thy goodneſſe ſhall little auaile the Common-wealth, through the folly of thy Companion: So as the Common-wealth doth halt, and is halfe lame; whereby euill* D *Councell ſhall preuaile aſwell as good. Wherefore to Thee onely my Speech tends, fore-telling Thee that Thou ſhalt haue as much Warre with thy fellow* Tarentius, *as with* Hannibal: *Neither doe I know which of them will be a more deadly enemy vnto thee. For thou ſhalt not onely fight with* Hannibal *in the field, but with thy fellow thou ſhalt haue continuall Warre in all places, and at all times. With* Hannibal *thou ſhalt fight with thy Horſes and foote-men, but* Varro *will aſſaile thee with thine owne men. I pray thee remember* Caius Flaminius, *who being Conſull and hauing his men* *Fabius* Speech to *Lucius Emilius.*

about him in his Campe, beganne to grow mad. This man (before hee was made Conſull, and now being Conſull, euen in the Senate-houſe, before hee ſees his field or his enemy,) is already mad. And hee that thus talketh among the Senators, what thinke you will he doe when hee ſhalbe in the field among a number of freſh young Souldiers, where as one word ſpeaking, all the matter ſhalbe decided. But in caſe he make haſte to fight, as he ſaith he will, either I know not what belongeth to the Warre, or elſe we are like to ſuffer greater loſſes, then we did at Traſimenum.

There is but one way to maintaine warre againſt Hannibal, *the which I haue fore-ſeene, and none will be found ſo good to make him weary of* Italy. A *We are in our owne Country, hauing Cities and faithfull Allies ready to aſſiſt vs at all times with Horſe, Harneſſe, Victualls, and all other neceſſaries.* Hannibal *is in a ſtrange Country among his enemies, farre from home, he looketh for no peace both by Sea or Land: Hee hath no Cities to receiue him; he hath nothing but what he ſtealeth, and taketh by rapine: he hath ſcarcely the third part of his Army left, which hee brought ouer* Iberus: *more are dead by famine then with the Sword; and heere hee can hardly feede thoſe that are liuing. Wherefore doubt not but in ſitting ſtill, you ſhall vanquiſh ſuch an Army, which decreaſeth daily in ſtrength, and cannot haue their wants ſupplied. This is the onely meanes to dally and de-* B *ceiue your enemy.*

Varro *deſireth battaile, and* Hannibal *hath the like deſire. Wherefore thou alone muſt wiſely oppoſe thy ſelfe againſt them both, and regard not what they ſpeake of thee, let not the vaine glory of thy Fellow, nor the falſe aſpertions which ſhalbe caſt vpon thee, moone thee to the contrary. Suffer thy Selfe to be called feareſull, ſlow, and vnskilfull in the Warre. It is better to be feared of thy wiſe enemy, then to be praiſed of thy fooliſh company. My meaning is, not that thou ſhouldeſt do nothing, but whatſoeuer thou ſhalt attempt, do it ſoberly, and according to reaſon, not raſhly,* C *truſting to Fortune; follow not the occaſions that the enemy will giue Thee: And be not ouer haſty; for haſte is blind and worketh vnſafely.*

To theſe and his other Words the Conſull anſwered little, ſaying onely that were more true then eaſie to be followed: But hee would profeſſe one thing, that his deſire ſhould alwayes be, to haue things ſucceede well: But in caſe it ſhould otherwiſe happen, hee would rather expoſe himſelfe, to the danger of his enemies Weapons, then to the exclamations of his angry Citizens. With theſe words he parted out of the Citty, and went to the Campe with his haſty Companion. It was ordred that the Warres ſhould be mannaged with eight Legions, D the which had neuer beene done, and that euery Legion ſhould conſiſt of fiue thouſand men. The *Romans* as we haue ſayd, make a compleate Army of foure Legions, euery Legion being foure thouſand foote, and two hundred Horſe, or elſe of fiue thouſand foote, and three hundred horſe, if there be any great neceſſity. To the which they adde as many foote of theis Allies, and thrice as many Horſe. All the Troupes are equally deuided betwixt the Conſuls. Moſt commonly one Conſull giues battaile with two Legions, and with the ſuc-

A Legion of fiue thouſand Men, and the manner how the *Romans* raiſe an Army.

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cours of their Allies. They ſeldome fight with all their Troupes. But the feare and amazement of the *Romans*, was then ſo great of the *Carthaginians*, as they thought it fit not to fight onely with foure, but with eight Legions together. And therefore after they had giuen faire admonitions to the Conſuls, and had laied before them the conſequence of the affaires which way ſoeuer Fortune ſhould turne, they Commaunded them to goe vnto the Campe intreating them to doe the duties of good men, in the adminiſtration of the Warre, as the *Roman* Maieſty required.

A After the comming of the Conſuls to the Campe, they mingled the new Bands to the old Army, and let many vnderſtand the will of the Senate, wiſhing the multitude to be of good Courage, conſidering the ſeaſon of the time: Wherewith *Emilius* made an Oration, whereof this in a manner is the Subſtance.

Paulus Emilius ſpeech vnto the Souldiers.

THat for loſſes lately made, they ſhould not faint like men amazed: For the loſſes in former Battailes had not hapned for one or two cauſes, but for many. And if at this day they be Men of Courage and Reſolution, there was nothing could hinder, but they ſhould obtaine a goodly Victory. That neuer vnto this houre, the two Conſuls had fought with all the Legions together, nor with more warlike Men, nor of greater Experience. And if on the other ſide they haue made vſe of young Men, and little acquainted with the Art of Warre, and who moreouer were ſo ill aduertiſed of the Enemies enterprizes, of the ſcituation of places, and the nature of the Region, ſo as many times they haue found themſelues in danger, when they had ſcarce ſeene the Enemy; which was a matter of great conſequence: For they which were defeated in Gaule, *neere vnto the Riuer of* Trebia, *came to fight without reaſon, neuer inquiring of the enemies enterprize, within three daies after their arriuall from* Sicily; *and they which were neere vnto the Lake of* Peronza, *were defeated before they could ſee the enemy, by reaſon of a great Fogge.*

But now Companion, ſaith he, all things are for vs; for wee are two Conſuls vnited in one will, and the ſame forces, and we haue with vs thoſe of the laſt yeare. And for your part, you haue not onely ſeene the daily combates, the order which Souldiers obſerue, and the enemies Troupes: But moreouer behold the ſecond yeare, wherein you haue had experience of all this, in practiſing your ſelues, and fighting continually. Wherefore ſeeing that things are contrary to thoſe which hapned in former Battailes, it is not likely but the end ſhould proue otherwiſe. It is not credible, nay I ſay it is impoſſible, ſeeing that in fighting with the enemy with an equall number in ſo many incounters, you haue parted Victors, that now you ſhould be vanquiſhed by them with all the Troupes, ſeeing you haue a double Army.

Seeing then Companions that you haue the Victory in your owne hands, you haue no more neede of our Counſell and care. I might make you a longer Speech, if I did hold it neceſſary; for this muſt be expected from thoſe which are mercenary, or being drawne from the Allies are Commaunders of an Army, to whom nothing is more troubleſome then a day of Battaile.

In

In regard of those which are like vnto vs, whose liues are not onely in danger, but their Country, Wiues, and Children, whose remembrances happily should be of more force then any remonstrance.

What man is he that would not eyther vanquish in fighting, or die in the Combat, then to liue in misery, and attend so great a Storme and penerty? Courage Companions, consider with your selues what a difference there is betwixt vanquishing and to be vanquished, and what followes the one and the other, and prepare your selues to Battaile, so as you will remember that it is not the Roman *Army that is in danger, but the Countrey; and moreouer the head of the world. What shall the* Romans A *haue remaining after your defeat? They haue put all their forces and power into your hands, and all their hope is in you. I intreate you for the honour of the immortall Gods, that you would not frustrate their expectation. Yeeld the thankes which you owe vnto your Countrey, let all the world know, that the losses formerly made, were not by the prowesse of the* Carthaginians, *more then by the* Romans: *but for that the* Roman *Souldiers were at that time new, and ignorant of the Warre.*

After this Speech or the like, *Emilius* dismist the Souldiers. Three dayes after the Army marcht towards the Enemies Campe, and on B the third day they planted themselues neare vnto them. But *Emilius* seeing that the Plaine was large, hee was not of opinion to fight with the Enemy: for that hee was stronger in Horse-men, and that they must draw them into some place where the Foote-men might haue the aduantage. Contrariwise *Varro* being of little experience in the Warre, was of aduice not to deferre the battaile, lest the Enemy should escape from them. And therefore these two Consuls were in contention and debate, which is the worst thing that can happen in a Campe.

Discord betwixt the two Consuls.

That day (for they gouerne it by dayes) *Varro* had the Com- C maund: who dislodging from his Campe, made haste to approach neare vnto the Enemy, notwithstanding that *Emilius* opposed himselfe to the contrary. *Hannibal* marcheth against them with his men lightly armed, and his Horse-men, and assaults them with a fight more likely to their fore-runners, then to a pitcht Battaile. The *Romans* receiued them valiantly: Finally, the Night parted them. The *Carthaginians* hauing gotten little, retired to their Campe.

A skirmish betwixt the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*.

And when as three dayes after *Lucius Emilius* had resolued not to fight, and could nor dissuade the other, hee diuides the Army in- D to three, and fortifies two parts on this side the Riuer of *Fante*, which alone diuides the *Appenine* Hills, and bending towards the Sea of *Italy*, runnes into the *Adriatique*. The other third part hee lodgeth on this side the Riuer, about two Miles and an halfe distant from the other two, and in a manner as much from the Enemies Campe. When as *Hannibal* had found out a conuenient place for his Horse-men to fight in, and thinking that the Consuls would come to the Combat, hee began to put his men in Battaile: But fearing

The Riuer of *Fante*.

feating that the Army was amazed, by reaſon of this laſt Fortune, hee reſolued to preach vnto them. He drawes them together, and commaunds them to looke vpon the Country which was about him, demaunding of them what they could deſire of the Gods more beneficiall and profitable then the offer of a battaile, in thoſe places where they might make vſe of their Horſe-men which were inuincible. And when as all had confeſt it freely, therefore ſaith hee, giue thankes firſt vnto the immortall Gods: for in preparing vs the Victory, they haue brought the Enemy into this place of aduantage for vs, and ſecondly to vs, who by our induſtry and labour haue forced them to come to fight. The *Romans* cannot flie, nor auoide the Combate, and therefore the battaile and victory is in your hands. *Hannibals* Speech vnto his Souldiers.

I hold it folly now to perſwade you to performe the duties of braue men. It had beene well ſpoken, when you had no experience of the *Roman* Forces: the which at this preſent time wee made knowne vnto you by words and example. But what preaching can more inflame and encourage your hearts then the workes themſelues: ſeeing you haue obtained the Victory in three great ſeuerall battailes? You haue beene Maſters of the Field in the Combats paſt, and haue had abundance of all things as wee haue promiſed you: So as hitherto I haue neuer failed of my promiſe. But the Combate at this day is for Townes and treaſure: if you gaine this battell, you ſhall be Lords of all *Italy*.

Finally, after ſo many labours and dangers, being deliuered by this alone, you ſhall purchaſe the felicity of the *Romans*: You ſhall bee the Head and Emperours of all the World. For the effecting whereof, there is not any neede of words, but of effects. By the will of the Gods before it be long, you ſhall all ſee by experience that I am a man of my promiſe. After theſe Remonſtrances, hauing commended their reſolution, he planted his Campe vpon the Riuer-ſide, where the Enemies greateſt forces lay. The day following hee commaunds them to treate themſelues well, and to prepare themſelues to battaile for the day following. And therefore at the third day he paſſed the Riuer at the Sunne-riſing, and put his men in battaile. But *Emilius* (ſeeing that his Forces were not equall in that place, and knowing that *Hannibal* would diſlodge for want of victuals) came not out of his Fort. *Hannibal* puts his men in battaile.

When as *Hannibal* had ſtayed ſome time there, ſeeing that hee had in vaine called the Enemies forth to fight, he retired the reſt of his Army to the Campe, and ſent the *Numidians* to charge thoſe which came from the *Romans* leſſer Campe to water: which they kept and detained from them, purſuing them with great cries vnto the Fort. Whereat *Varro* diſdaining much, that the *Roman* Campe ſhould bee annoyed by theſe men, was the more inflamed and encouraged vnto battaile. The whole multitude wiſhed nor deſired nothing more, ſo much the expectance in all things is tedious.

And as in the meane time the newes were come to *Rome*, that although the Armies were not lodged in a place to giue battaile, yet they were one right againſt another, and that there were dayly encounters, all the World entred into great heauineſſe and care. Certainly the *Romans* hauing receiued lately wonderfull great loſſes, feared much the future. Euery man fore-caſts with him ſelfe what the *Romans* fortune would bee, after the defeate of this Army: All the World poured out threats againſt the *Sybils* Bookes, they ſaw nothing in the Temples and priuate houſes but prodigies and ſtrange ſignes. And therefore the whole Citty was addicted to Prayers, to ſacrifices to the Gods, and to Ceremonies: for the *Romans* are great obſeruers, as well in publique as in priuate, in the time of Warre, neither doe they let paſſe any thing out of their remembrance which in reaſon they ought to doe.

A great amazement at *Rome*.

The *Romans* in old time very ceremonious.

Varro to whom the authority belonged the next day, at the Sunne-riſing drawes forth the Armies out of both the Campes without the priuity of his Companion. And parting with thoſe which were in the great Fort, hee ioynes vnto them thoſe that were in the leſſer.

Varro offers battaile, and the order which he held.

Then putting his men in Battaile, hee places the *Roman* Horſemen vpon the right wing, which was neereſt vnto the Riuer. Next to the which continuing the order, hee diſpoſeth of the Foote-men, with the greateſt number of Enſignes, and the cloſeſt Bands: and the Horſe-men of the Allies were vpon the left wing, and in Front thoſe that were lightly armed. They were with their Allies, to the number of foure ſcore thouſand Foote, and about ſixe thouſand Horſe. *Hannibal* paſſing the Riuer at the ſame time, ſends them of *Maiorque* and *Minorque* with thoſe that were lightly armed before: and paſſing the reſt of the Army at two places, hee plants himſelfe before the Enemy, ordring the Horſe-men of *Gaule* and *Spaine* neere vnto the Riuer vpon the left wing againſt the *Roman* Horſe-men. After which he ſets Foote-men in the midſt of the *Affricans*, who were armed to proofe, and after them the *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, and finally the reſt of the *Affricans*: and on the right wing he lodgeth his *Numidian* Horſe-men.

The *Roman* Army of foure ſcore thouſand Foote and ſixe thouſand Horſe

The order which *Hannibal* held to put his men in battaile.

When he had put his whole Army in order, he placeth in the midſt the Troupes of *Gaules* and *Spaniards*: he ordered them in a crooked forme, and a weake figure, meaning that the *Affricans* ſhould vndergoe the danger before them, as a ſafegard to the Battaile. The *Affricans* were armed in ſuch ſort, as you would haue taken it for a *Roman* Battalion, by reaſon of the Armes which they had gotten at *Trebia*, and at the Lake of *Perouza*. The *Gaules* and *Spaniards* carried the like Targets, but their Swords differ'd: For the *Spaniards* were ſhort, and therefore eaſie, wherewith they did both thruſt and ſtrike: But the *Gaules* were long and without points. It was a ſtrange and terrible thing to ſee the *Gaules* naked aboue the waiſte, and the *Spaniards* attired in ſhirts of Linnen, wrought with purple after the manner of their owne Countrey. There were ten thouſand Horſe, and aboue forty thouſand Foote with the ſuccours that

The diuerſity of Swords betwixt the *Gaules* and *Spaniards*.

Hannibals Army conſiſted of forty thouſand Foote, and ten thouſand Horſe.

that came from *Gaule*. *Lucius Emilius* led the right wing, and *Terentius Varro* the left: *Marcus Attilius*, and *Cneius Seruilius* gouerned the Battalion in the midst. And as for the *Carthaginian* Captaines, *Asdrubal* led the left wing, *Hanno* the right, and *Hannibal* was in the middest with his Brother *Mago*. The *Romans* looked towards the South, and the *Carthaginians* to the North: but neither of them were annoyed with the Sunne.

The battaile of *Cannæ*.

After they had giuen warning to battaile, the encounters and skirmishes were for a time equall. But when as the *Gaules* and *Spaniards* of the left wing, had charged the *Romans*, the Combate was fierce and cruell, so as they did not charge and recharge, but ioyning together, they did fight Foote to Foote, and man to man, after they had left their Horses. There the *Carthaginians* vanquished and slew most of the *Romans*, fighting valiantly, and with great courage. In regard of the rest, they slew them retiring neare the Riuer without any mercy or compassion: And then the Foote-men receiued those that were aduantagiously armed, charging one another. The *Spaniards* and *Gaules* resisted the *Romans* valiantly for a short time, but being forced, they retired, breaking their Lunary order. Then the *Roman* Battalion pursuing with great courage, did easily disorder the Enemies Rankes: for that of the *Gaules* was weake, as hauing fortified the hornes, being in the midst of the danger. Wherefore the hornes and the midst were not equall: so as the midst of he *Gaules* Battalion aduanced farre vpon the hornes, like an halfe Moone, the crookednesse turning towards the Enemie.

The defeate of the *Roman* Horsemen by the *Gaules* and *Spaniards*.

The *Gaules* Battalion of Foote broken by the *Romans* and reunited againe.

Finally, the *Romans* pursuing them, marcht thorough without any resistance, so as at their cõming they had vpon their Flancks the *Affricans* that were best armed, who couering themselues with their Targets, charg'd their Enemies vpon the sides thrusting with their swords. So as by the prouidence of *Hannibal*, the *Romans* were inclosed among the *Lybians*, by the encounter which they had made against the *Gaules*. They did not fight by Battalion, but Man to Man, or by troupes, turning against those which charged them vpon the Flancks. And although that *Lucius Emilius*, who commaunded the right wing, had beene in the Combat of the Horsemen, Yet hee was safe and well, meaning therefore that in giuing courage, his deedes should bee answerable to his words, seeing that the hope of Victory consisted in the Footemen, hee thrust into the hottest of the Battaile, where in fighting hee gaue courage to the Horsemen, the which *Hannibal* did in like manner. In the meane time the *Numidians* of the left wing with all their Horse-men, falling vpon the right wing of the *Romans*, they neither did nor suffred any thing that was worthy of memory, so equall were the two Troupes both in force and courage: yet they made the *Romans* vnprofitable, scatteriug them heere and there. In the meane time *Asdrubal* went to aide and succour the *Affricans* with the Horse-men of the left wing. The which the Horse-men of the *Roman* Allies perceiuing, they presently turned head. *Asdrubal* seeing this, performed the duty of a wise and discreet Captaine: and sent the

Lucius Emilius.

Hannibal.

Asdrubal.

Numidians, (whom he knew were more in number, and terrible to make a chase,) to pursue them that fled, and went himselfe speedily with the Footmen to succour the *Affricains*: where assailing the *Romans* in the Reare, he fortified his owne Men, making a great slaughter of the Enemie. *Lucius Emilius* hauing receiued many wounds, died in this Battaile: Hee was a Man who vnto his death had done good seruice vnto the Common-wealth. *They write that* Caius Lentulus *a Tribune leading an empty horse in his hand as hee fled, saw* Paulus *the Consull sitting on a stone, all couered with blood, to whom he said:* Lucius Emilius *whom the Gods should hold innocent of this cruell slaughter, take this horse, whilest any strength remaines within, and I being thy friend will lift thee vp, and keepe thee on, lest thou make this Battaile dolefull thorough the death of a Consull: without the which there is cause enough of mourning and weeping. Whereunto the Consull answered,* Caius Cornelius *increase thou in vertue, but beware lest whilest thou doest bewaile this accident, thou finde little time to escape thy selfe. Goe therefore and bid the Senate make strong the walls of* Rome, *and to fortifie it with Succours, before the Conquerour come: and tell* Quintus Fabius *secretly, that* Lucius Emilius Paulus *doth constantly remember his precepts, lineth in them, and will die in them. And I pray thee suffer me to passe this life, among these my dead Knights, lest by longer liuing, I become an accuser of my fellowe, defending my innocencie by the trespasse of another, and yet at length dye being held guilty of this action.*

Emilius slaine in the Battaile.

Emilius speech to *Lentulus*.

The *Romans* holding still good in so long and furious a Battaile, were in the end all slaine. Among the which died the Consuls of the precedent yeare, *Marcus Attilius* and *Cneius Seruilius*, braue men, and worthy of the *Roman* name. At the same time the *Numidians* ouertooke the horsemen which fled, whereof they slew a great number, and dismounted the rest. Some retired to *Venusium*: among the which was the Consull *Varro*, whose life was base, and his command vnprofitable for his Country. Behold the end of the Battaile of *Cannas*, so famous as well for the victors as the vanquished: whereof the reason is, for that of sixe thousand *Roman* horse, there escaped but threescore and tenne to *Venusium* with *Varro*; and of the Allies about three hundred scattered here and there, who fled to the Neighbour Townes. And as for the Bands of Foote, the Enemie tooke about tenne thousand aliue, so as there hardly escaped three thousand. The rest to the number of threescore and tenne thousand were slaine in the Battaile. The *Carthaginians* got not the victory without losse. There were slaine about foure thousand *Gaules*, fifteene hundred *Affricains* and *Spaniards*, and two hundred horse. The *Romans* which were taken aliue were not in the Battaile: for *Varro* had left tenne thousand Men in the Campe, to the end that if *Hanibal* led forth all his Army to fight, that in assailing the Enemies Campe whilest they were otherwise busie, they might spoile the *Carthaginians* Munition. And if *Hanibal* left a sufficient Garrison for the Campe, then his Forces would be the lesse, for the *Romans* were stronger in numbers of Men. Behold the manner how they were taken. *Hanibal* had left a sufficient Garrison in his Campe to guard it: But when as the *Romans* saw the Battaile grow hot, they go vnto the Campe

The *Romans* lose the Battaile.

Varro flies with threescore and ten Horse.

Ten thousand *Romans* taken aliue.

Threescore and ten thousand slaine in the Battaile.

Hanibals losse.

as

as they had reſolued to beſiege it. The *Carthaginians* defended themſelues: But for that the *Romans* charged them furiouſly, they were forced to abandon the place. In the meane time *Hannibal* hauing gotten an abſolute victory, falls vpon thoſe which aſſailed his Campe, and put them to flight, ſhutting them vp within their Forts, of whom hee ſlewe two thouſand, and tooke the reſt. The *Numidians* on the other ſide brought vnto *Hannibal* the *Roman* horſemen, who flying, were diſpierced in the Fields. Thus after the Battaile ended, neither of them were deceiued in their expectation: for preſently the *Carthaginians* were Maſters of the Prouince, which they call great *Greece*, ſo as *Tarent*, *Capua*, and *Naples*, came vnder their obedience, and all the Townes wauered for *Hannibal*, neither was he out of hope to take *Rome* ſpeedily.

Tarent, *Capua* and *Naples* reduced vnder the obedience of *Hannibal*.

Finally, the *Romans* wholy diſpairing of the Empire of *Italy*, were in feare not onely of their owne ruine, but alſo of the whole Country, expecting houerly their cruell Enemie at the walls of *Rome*. The Citie being thus troubled, Newes (to the end the meaſure of their miſeries might be full) came from *Gaule* of the Defeat of *Lucius Poſtumus* the Pretor, with his Army by an Ambuſh. Yet the Senate inuolued in ſo many miſeries, made a good ſhew; aduiſing the people to fortifie the Citie with Men, and to conſider of their affaires with courage and conſtancie. The which the things which ſucceeded afterwards did verifie, for being now vanquiſhed by the *Carthaginians*, and ſeeming to acquit vnto them the glory of Armes, within ſhort time after, by the conſtancie of the Common-wealth, and by the Councell and wiſdome of the Senate, they came (after they had vanquiſhed and ruined the *Carthaginians*) to be Lords not onely of *Italy*, but alſo of the whole world. And therefore we will conclude this booke, and likewiſe the actions of *Spaine* and *Italy*, which were during the hundreth and fortieth Olimpiade. And when we ſhall come to thoſe of *Greece*, during the ſame Olimpiade, we will ſpeake more at large of the *Roman* Common-wealth: For I hold it not onely neceſſary for the Reader, for the knowledge of the Hiſtory, but alſo profitable, to correct and gouerne a Common-wealth.

Lucius poſthumus defeated in *Gaule*.

The end of the Third Booke of Polybius.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE of the Hiſtory of POLYBIVS.

WEE haue in my opinion ſufficiently ſhewed the cauſes of the ſecond punique warre in this laſt Booke, and then the deſcent of *Hannibal* into *Italy:* Wee haue alſo related many Combats betwixt the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians*, vnto the Battaile, which was fought neere vnto the Riuer of *Fante*, and the Towne of *Cannes*. Now wee will purſue the warres of *Greece* of the ſame time, deliuering in few words, the things mentioned by vs in the ſecond Booke of the preparation of our worke, and eſpecially of the Common-weale of the *Acheins:* Conſidering that their manner of gouernment tooke a great increaſe, as well before as in our time. And therefore beginning with the time of *Tiſamenes* (one of the ſonnes of *Oreſtes*) we haue ſaid that the *Acheins* liued from his time vnto the Reigne of *Gyges*, vnder Kings deſcending from him: And that hauing chaſed them away, the Citie being well aduiſed, gaue the gouernment vnto the Commons: Some few yeares after the Townes and Burroughes began to fall into diſſention, by the meanes of the *Lacedemonian* Princes. Yet afterwards as we haue ſaid, the *Acheins* reunited themſelues, which was the firſt meanes that all *Morea* tooke the firname of *Acheins*. Wee haue moreouer deliuered their actions in particular, vnto the Defeate of *Cleomenes* King of the *Lacedemonians*. And there we haue concluded our preparation, with the death of *Antigonus*, *Seleucus*,

Tiſamenes.

Cleomenes.

ſeucus, and *Ptolomy*: for they all died in one Olimpiade. It reſts now, that in writing the Remainder, wee ſhould begin there. The ſubiect ſeemes good: firſt, for that the deedes which *Arate* hath written, end at that time, to the end that to continue the Narration of the *Grecians* actions, wee ſhould proſecute (as wee haue promiſed) thoſe which follow: And for that the times are ſo vnited, as one part hath beene in our age, and the other in the time of our Parents. By this meanes we haue ſeene part, and heard the reſt from thoſe which haue ſeene them. I haue not held it fit to ſeeke things farre off, nor to make a relation growing from heare ſay or report, for that I conceiue it would not be profitable for the Reader: And therefore let vs begin with the time, when as Fortune ſeemed to haue made a new world. *Philip* the lawfull ſonne of *Demetrius*, being in his younger yeares, had taken poſſeſſion of the Empire of *Macedon*. *Achæus* Lord of all the Prouince neere vnto *Taurus*, had not onely the Name of a King, but alſo the Forces. *Antiochus* ſirnamed great, ſucceeded his Brother *Seleucus* lately dead, in the Realme of *Syria*, although hee were but young: and *Ariarates* had taken the Realme of *Capadocia*. At the ſame time alſo *Ptolomy Philopater* had gotten the Empire of *Egipt*: and ſoone after *Lycurgus* was choſen King of the *Lacedemonians*. The *Carthaginians* likewiſe had choſen *Hannibal* for their Generall in the Warres as we haue mentioned. And therefore it ſeemes that there was an alteration, ſeeing that all the Potentates were renewed, which is a naturall thing, and which happened at one time.

The time of the death of *Antigonus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolomy*.

Polybius writes nothing but what he hath ſeene, or receiued from thoſe which had ſeen them.

Philip.

Achæus.

Antiochus.

Seleucus.

Ptolomy Philopater.

Lycurgus.

The *Romans* and *Carthaginians* made the warre which we haue mentioned: and *Antiochus* and *Ptolomy* that of *Syria*. In regard of the *Acheins* and *Philip*, they had warre againſt the *Etoliens* and *Lacedemonians*. Whereof ſee the cauſes. The *Etoliens* being long diſcontented with peace, were not content to liue vpon their owne charges, as being accuſtomed to liue vpon their Neighbours, for the neceſſity of their great expences, by reaſon of their Naturall arrogancie, whereunto being ſubiect, they lead a cruell and brutiſh life, obſeruing no law of friendſhip nor alliance: ſo as all things are of good prize vnto them. And although that during the life of *Antigonus*, they did not ſtirre, fearing the forces of the *Lacedemonians*: Yet after his death when as *Philip* had ſucceeded him, they began (diſdaining his youth) to ſeeke occaſions of warre with them of *Morea*: and namely, for that by an ancient cuſtome of iniuries, they had vſed to rob and ſpoile at Sea: And that moreouer they held themſelues more powerfull to make warre then the *Acheins*.

The cauſes of the warre betwixt the *Acheins* and *Philip*, againſt the *Etoliens* and *Lacedemonians*.

Being in this humour, ſoone after they found this occaſion, together with the fauour and fortune of their enterprize. *Dorimache Triconee* was ſonne to *Nicoſtrates*, who violated the affaires of the *Pambiotins*: who being yet young and full of arrogancie and pride, an *Etolien* had beene ſent by the Common-wealth to *Phigalea*: It is a Towne ſcituated right againſt the *Meſſenian* Mountaines, and which by fortune was then allied to the *Etoliens*. Hee let them vnderſtand that hee had beene ſent thether to gouerne the Towne and the Country: Although they had

The ſcituation of *Phigalea*.

had done it of purpose to discouer the estate of *Morea*. But for that in regard of the alliance, they could not victuall the Pyrats, who wandring there abouts, retired to him to *Phigalea* for their Munition, and the rather for that the peace made with *Antigonus* continued still, hee aduised them to carry away the *Messeniens* Cattell, who were their Friends and Allies. The which they began at the first to chase out of their limits: and afterwards as their obstinacie increased by little and little, to ruine the houses in the night standing scattered in the Fields, and to spoile and ruine the whole Country. The *Messeniens* discontented herewith, send an Embassie to *Dorimache*, to complaine of the outrages done by the Pyrates, who at the first made no account of it, doing it partly for the benefit of the Pyrates, and partly for his owne interest, hauing a share in the Booty. But being often prest by Embassies, by reason of the continuance of the wrongs, he told them that he would be soone at *Messena* to doe them right, for the complaints they made against the *Etoliens*. Being arriued, and that many presented themselues vnto him hauing bin wronged, hee sent some away with scoffes: others with iniuries, and some he terrified with bigge and outragious words. During these pursuits at *Messena*, the Pyrates came in the night to a Burrough called *Chiron*, and tooke it by *Scalado*, and sacking and spoiling it, they slewe some of those which were found in Armes, and carrie away the rest Prisoners with the Cattell.

The Etoliens spoile the Messeniens.

The Etoliens take Chiron by Scalade.

The *Messenians* being more incensed herewith, considering his Presence, and finally thinking that they were deluded, they cause him to come before the Magistrates. By good fortune *Schiron*, a man of good esteeme, and at that time Gouernour of the *Messeniens*, was of opinion, not to suffer *Dorimache* to part out of the Towne, before hee had restored the spoiles which the Pyrates had made, and repaired the houses in the Country, and deliuered those which had committed the Murthers. And when as all the assembly approued of this Councell, *Dorimache* inflamed with choller, told them they were fooles, and if in doing that, they thought to wrong *Dorimache*, and not the *Etoliens*: And that moreouer they did him great wrong, and that within a short time reuenge would be taken.

There was at that time in *Messena* a man of base condition, called *Babyrthe*, so like in face, body, lineaments, and voyce to *Dorimache*, that if they had giuen him his Crowne and Robe, you could hardly haue discern'd them. This *Dorimache* knew well. And when he vsed proud and audatious words to the *Messeniens*, *Schiron* grew into choller, telling him, thinkest thou that we care for thee or *Babyrthe* for this thy rashnes. After which words, *Dorimache* thought good to strike saile, restoring to the *Messeniens* all the pillage. And going then to *Etolia*, he tooke this speech of *Schiron* so to heart, as without any other cause he made warre against the *Messeniens*. At that time *Ariston* was chiefe of the *Etoliens*, who by reason of the weakenesse of his body, growne by a long infirmity, could not mannage this warre. Although hee were allied to *Scope* and to *Dorimache*, yet he gaue the conduct to *Dorimache*. But he durst not openly incense the *Etoliens* to make warre against the *Messemens*:

Babyrthe.

Ariston.

niens : for that hee could not propound for a ſufficient cauſe, as growing onely vpon choller for an iniury ſpoken to him. And therefore leauing this aduice, hee addreſſeth himſelfe to *Scope* in priuate, perſwading him to oppoſe himſelfe againſt the *Meſſeniens* : being then aſſured of the *Macedonians*, by reaſon of the minority of their King, for that *Philip* had not ſeauenteene yeares compleate : and that moreouer the *Lacedemonians* held not the party of the *Meſſeniens*, acquainting him with the Friendſhip and alliance hee had with the *Greciens*. Wherefore hee found not any man that could hinder his paſſage to
A *Meſſena*. Then hee propounded vnto him with an *Etolien* perſwaſion, the great profite that would redowne thereby : conſidering that all the Countrey lined in aſſurance, and that they alone had not felt the *Cleomenique* Warre : and that finally the *Etoliens* would bee well pleaſed, and ready to doe them honour vnto the vtmoſt of their ability and power.

As for the *Acheins*, they would giue them occaſion of Warre, if they ſought to hinder their voyage : But if they did not budge, they would paſſe eaſily to *Meſſena* : and for that the *Meſſeniens* had made a promiſe to the *Acheins* and *Macedonians*, to enter into their league,
B they gaue ſufficient occaſion of Warre. Hauing vſed a long Speech touching this enterprize, hee ſoone moued *Scope* and his Friends, as without aſſembling the people, or attending the will of the Magiſtrates, or obſeruing any order of Iuſtice, they made Warre againſt the *Meſſeniens*, the *Epirotes*, *Acheins*, *Acarnaniens*, and *Macedonians*. Wherefore they preſently ſent forth many Pirates, who encountred with the royall ſhip of *Macedony*, laden, and carried it to *Etolia*, where they ſold the Pilots and Marriners, and in the end the ſhip.

Warre attempted by the *Etoliens* againſt *Morea*.

Then they ranne along the Empire, ſpoyling all thoſe which
C they met, being aſſiſted by the *Cephalonien* Veſſels, to commit their outrages, taking Townes by Treaſon. For in *Acarnania* they tooke *Orea*, and ſeized vpon a Caſtle which is in the midſt of the *Megalopolitains* Countrey, which they call *Claire*, by men whom they had ſecretly ſent into *Morea* : whereof making vſe afterwards for a retreate, they committed great ſpolles at Sea. At that time *Timoxenes* which was Chiefe of the *Acheins*, tooke the Towne of *Taurion* by aſſault, the which *Antigonus* had taken in the time of the Warre of *Morea*.

Taurion taken by aſſault.

You muſt vnderſtand that King *Antigonus* held *Corinthe* with the
D good liking of the *Acheins*, as we haue ſhewed heretofore, in ſpeaking of the *Cleomenique* War : But he had not reſtored *Orchomenes* vnto them, the which hee had taken by force, and had made himſelfe Lord thereof, requeſting and deſiring (as it ſeemes) not onely to haue an entry into *Morea*, but alſo to keepe the heart thereof by meanes of the Garriſon of *Orchomenes*.

Dorimache and *Scope* making great choiſe of the time, when as *Timoxenes* had not no many dayes to continue and ſtay in his Magiſtracy, and that *Arate* who was to ſucceede him, could not execute

his office, they aſſembled the *Etoliens* neere vnto the Mountaine of *Rhie*: and hauing prepared the *Cephalonian* ſhips, they ſayled to *Morea*: and in paſſing by the Coaſts of the *Patrenſes*, *Pharences*, and *Tritenſes*, they march againſt the *Meſſeniens*. It had beene forbidden not to doe any outrage to the *Acheins*. But who can preſcribe an order to a multitude, who ſpoile all where they come? Comming in the end to *Phigalea*, and making their attempt againſt the *Meſſeniens*, without any regard of their ancient Friendſhip, and without any feare of God or Men, they ouer-runne and ſpoile the Countrey, putting all to fire and ſword. In the meane time the *Meſſeniens* finding themſelues too weake, kept themſelues cloſe within their Towne. A

The time of election approaching for the *Acheins*, they aſſembled at *Egea*, whereas holding their Diet, when as the Embaſſadours of *Patres* on the one ſide, and thoſe of *Pharos* on the other, made their complaints for the outrages done by the *Etoliens*, and that on the other ſide the *Meſſeniens* demanded Succours with great compaſſion, they were induced, partly by the wrongs done vnto their Allies, and moued partly with pitty, which they had of the *Meſſeniens*, being likewiſe diſcontented that the *Etoliens* had paſt their Army thorow their Countrey without their priuity, they reſolued to giue ſuccours to the *Meſſeniens*, and thereby to accuſtome the *Acheins* to Warre: and what the aſſemblies ſhould ordaine, ſhould be obſerued. *Timoxenes* chiefe of the *Acheins*, who was not yet depoſed, fearing to make any attempt, as if there were no other meanes but the multitude: for that after the Warre of *Cleomenes*, when as all quarrels were pacified, hee knew well that the people of *Morea* were giuen to pleaſure, and that making no more accompt of Warre, they were growne idle. B

Contrariwiſe, *Arate* not able to endure the outrage done vnto his Allies, and incenſed the preſumption of the *Etoliens*, remembring in like manner their ancient hatred, hee made haſte to cauſe the *Acheins* to take Armes, and to fight with the *Etoliens*. And therefore fiue dayes before hee ſhould enter into the Magiſtracy, hee receiued the Seale from *Timoxenes*, and wrote vnto the Towne, willing them to leuie men, and to aſſemble at *Megalopolis*. But before wee proceede, I haue thought good to ſpeake ſomething of his nature and diſpoſition. C

The diſpoſition of *Arate*.

Arate was a man perfect in all things for the Gouernment of a City: for hee ſpake well, and had a good inuention; being alſo diligent, and of execution: There was not his equall to endure a Ciuill diſſention patiently, nor to contract leagues and alliances. Finally, hee was a wiſe and diſcreet man in his Magiſtracy and charge, and to lay Ambuſhes for his Enemy, bringing them vnto a good end by his labour and patience. Whereof there are many proofes and teſtimonies, but eſpecially for that he deliuered *Sicyon* and *Mantinea* to the *Acheins*: and had taken *Pellene* from the *Etoliens*. Hee likewiſe conquered the ſtrong Fort of *Corinthe*, which they call *Acrocorinthe*. D

Yet

Yet if hee were to fight, he was careleſſe to take Councell, and faint-hearted in the fight. Wherefore he filled *Morea*, with the triumph of the ſpoiles taken by him: ſo as Nature hath not onely framed a diuerſity in mens bodies, but alſo in their ſoules: So as many times the ſame man doth not carry himſelfe onely in diuers things, an able man in ſome, and ſlacke in others: But alſo hee doth many times in one and the ſame action make ſhew of extreame heate, and ſometimes of incredible ſlackneſſe: ſo as ſometimes hee ſeemes a man of great courage, and another time very fearefull. Theſe are no ſtrange things, but vſuall, and well knowne vnto thoſe that doe obſerue them. Wee likewiſe ſee many men in hunting to bee wonderfull hardy againſt the cruelleſt ſauage Beaſts that can bee found: whom if you leade to the Warre againſt the Enemy, would be found Cowards and faint hearted. You ſhall likewiſe finde many in the Warre, which are reſolute ro fight man to man, but in a pitcht Battaile are of no eſteeme. The diuers Natures of men.

It is certaine that the Horſe-men of *Theſſaly* being ioyned together, are not to bee forc't in a Battaile, but if you charge them by ſmall Troupes, it is eaſie to cut them in peeces: the which is contrary in the *Etoliens*. They of *Candy* are the moſt actiue men in the World, as well for Combate at Sea and Land, for Ambuſhes, Robberies, Rapines, ſurprizes in the Night, and for all manner of deceipts: But in a pitcht Battaile, they are faint-hearted Cowards, and of no ſeruice. To whom the *Acheins* and *Macedonians* are quite contrary. I haue deliuered theſe things in few words, to the end that no man ſhould maruaile, nor giue leſſe credit to the Hiſtory, if ſometimes wee ſhew that one and the ſame man hath carried himſelfe diuerſly in the like affaires. Let vs now returne where wee left. The nature of the *Theſſalonians*. *Etoliens*. *Candiots*.

After the aſſembly had beene made at *Megalapolis*, of able men for the Warre, the *Meſſeniens* came againe to the *Acheins*, intreating them to helpe and aſſiſt them, being ſo apparently wronged by the *Etoliens*: and deſiring withall if it were their good pleaſure to bee receiued into their league, hereafter to beare the neceſſary charges for the preſeruation thereof. The cheife of the *Acheins* make anſwere, that as for the alliance, they could not hearken vnto it, for that it was not in their power and ability to receiue or fauour any one without the conſent of *Philip* and the other Allies: For that the accord continued yet firme, which had beene made in the time of the *Cleomenique* Warre, vnder the command of *Antigonus*, betwixt the *Acheins*, *Epirotes*, *Phocenſes*, *Macedonians*, *Beociens*, *Arcadians*, and *Theſſalians*. And yet they would willingly giue them ſuccours, ſo as they will giue their Children for hoſtages vnto the *Acheins*: promiſing neuer to make peace, nor any accord with the *Etoliens*, without the conſent of the *Acheins*. It is true, the *Lacedemonians* had drawne downe an Army neere vnto *Megalopolis*, not ſo much in regard of their Alliance, as to ſee the euent of the Warre. The *Meſſeniens* ſeeke the alliance of the *Acheins*.

An Embaſſie ſent from *Arate* to the *Etolians*.

When as *Arate* had thus concluded with the *Meſſeniens*, he ſends an Embaſſie to the *Etoliens*, ſignifying vnto them to retire their Army out of the *Meſſeniens* Countrey, and that hereafter they ſhould doe them no wrong, nor touch the *Acheins* Countrey: And if they did otherwiſe, hee declared himſelfe their Enemy. *Scope* and *Dorimache*, hauing heard the Embaſſadours charge, and being aduertiſed of the preparation of the *Acheins*, thought good to yeeld vnto *Arate*. Wherefore they ſent Letters preſently into *Cylene* to *Ariſto*, chiefe of the *Etoliens* requiring ſhipping: and two daies after they parted, cauſing the Baggage to march before, taking their way towards the *Elienſes*: a people which had beene alwayes faithfull to the *Etoliens*. But *Arate* thinking ſimply they had gone away, as they had reſolued, gaue leaue to all his Bands to retire vnto their houſes: and went directly to *Patras*, accompanied onely with three thouſand Foote and three hundred Horſe, which were vnder the charge and command of *Taurion*, to cut off the Enemies retreate. A

Dorimache being aduertiſed, and fearing they ſhould hinder the paſſage, hee ſent all the booty with a good Conuoy to the ſhips, giuing charge to thoſe which had the conduct, that they ſhould come and meete him at *Rhie*, where he had reſolued to imbarke. When he had conducted the booty a little way, hee preſently turnes head and comes to *Olympia*. Being there aduertiſed that *Taurion* was about *Glitoria* with his Troupes, fearing that he ſhould not be able to imbarke at *Rhie* without fighting or danger, hee held it beſt to fight preſently with *Arate*, who had but ſmall Troopes, and was ignorant of his Enterprize. Hee conceiued that hee ſhould make his retreate ſafely that way which he had reſolued, if he defeated the Enemy, in running the whole Prouince, before the *Acheins* ſhould make a new head: and if they fled the Combate for feare, hee ſhould paſſe where hee pleaſed without danger. *Dorimache* moued with theſe reaſons, ſeated his Campe neere vnto *Methydrie*, which is not farre from *Megalopolis*. The *Acheins* aduertiſed of the comming of the *Etoliens*, made ſo little vſe of thoſe things which were viſible, as they forgot nothing that might augment and increaſe their folly. Firſt, in leauing *Clitoria*, they planted their Campe neere vnto *Caphies*. B C

The errour of the *Acheins*.

And when as the *Etoliens* parting from *Methydrie*, had paſt at *Orchomene*, the *Acheins* marcht by the Countrey of the *Caphiens*, being incloſed with a Riuer, as with a Rampier. The *Etoliens* fearing to fight with the Enemy according to their firſt reſolution, as well for the difficulty of the places, (for there were before the Riuer Ditches and inacceſſible places) as for the comming of the *Acheins*. They marcht vnto *Oligurte* in good order, being loath that any one ſhould force them to runne into danger. When as the Bands of Horſe-men followed them vpon a Plaine neere vnto them, *Arate* ſent the Foot-men that were lightly armed after the Horſe-men, vnder the conduct of *Acarnane*, giuing them charge to fight with them, and to trie D

the

the Fortune wherein hee committed a great errour, for ſeeing hee had an intent to fight, he ſhould not haue charged them in the Reare, for that they were not farre from the Mountaines, but in front, before they ſhould haue gotten the top: By this meanes the Battaile had beene in the Plaine. Whereby vndoubtedly the *Etoliens* had beene defeated by reaſon of their kind of Armes and order. Contrariwiſe *Arate* by bad aduice left vnto the Enemies the opportunity of the place, and of time which was offred him. When as the *Etoliens* ſaw the *Acheins* march, they vſed all diligence to gaine the Mountaine, making haſte to ioyne with their Foote-men. *Arates* men not duely
A conſidering what had beene done, and being ignorant of the Enemies enterprize, when they ſaw the Horſe-men runne, they ſent thoſe that were lightly armed of two wings, thinking it had beene a flight: and giue them charge to ſuccour the Horſe and Foote. Then *Arate* marched with the reſt much diſcontented, making a long wing. The *Etolien* Horſe-men approaching to the Foote of the Mountaines, began to march a ſlow pace, and called downe their Foote-men with great cries: who comming ſuddainly to ſuccour them, and ſeeing they were not fewer in number then the Enemy, they turned head againſt the *Achein* Horſe-men, and charged them, for that they
B had an aduantage in the number of men, and the opportunity of the place.

A fight betwixt the *Acheins* and the *Etoliens*.

The Combate was fierce on either ſide, and the victory for a time was in ſuſpence. Finally, the *Achein* Horſe-men were repuls'd. And when as they which were lightly armed. which had beene ſent to ſuccour them, met with them that fled, they were forced to doe the like being amazed with this new accident, and partly broken by them that fled. So as the defeate was but of fiue hundred, whereas the flight was of aboue two thouſand. The *Etoliens* ſeeing plainely what they had to doe, purſued the *Acheins* with cries and ioy. Who thinking
C to finde their men in Battaile where they had left them, retired to *Arate*. And therefore their flight in the beginning was honeſt, and for their ſafety. But when as they ſaw them diſlodge, and to come by files, and in diſorder, then ſome flying here and there, ſought for their ſafety: others marching directly to their owne men, diſordred one another without any Enemy: Finally, they all flie, and ſaue themſelues in the neighbour Townes: for *Orchomenes* and *Caphies* were not farre off, otherwiſe they had beene all taken or ſlaine that day. Thus the *Acheins* were defeated neere vnto *Caphies*.

A deſeate of the *Acheins*.

D The *Megalopolitains* being aduertiſed, that the *Etoliens* had planted their Campe neere vnto *Methydrie*, they aſſembled all with one conſent, and went to Field three dayes after the Battaile, to ſuccour the *Acheins*: but they were forced to bury thoſe, with whom they did hope to fight againſt the Enemy. And therefore they made a great Ditch, wherein they put all the dead Bodies, and performed their obſequies after the manner of the Countrey. The *Etoliens* being Victors, paſt through *Mroea* without feare of danger. At what time after they had ſought diuers wayes to gaine the *Pelleneſiens*, and

had ruined the Country of the *Sicyoniens*, in the end they retired by the ſtreight of the *Iſthmus*. Theſe were the cauſes of the warre of the Allies, whereof wee haue formerly ſpoken: whereof the beginning was by a Decree which was afterwards made among the Allies, and confirmed at *Corinthe*: where they were all aſſembled for that cauſe: *Philip* King of *Macedon* conſenting thereunto.

Arate blamed by the *Acheins*.

Some few dayes after, the *Acheins* being aſſembled, they blamed *Arate* both in publique and priuate, as if he had beene the cauſe of this defeat and loſſe, and the Commons were the more inflamed, for that the Enemies league made it to ſeeme greater. Firſt, it ſeemed hee had committed a great fault, to haue ſeazed vpon the Magiſtracie before his time, and to haue made enterprizes doing another mans office: wherein hee had many times before beene vnfortunate. But it ſeemed hee had done worſe, diſſoluing the *Acheins* Army, the *Etolien* Commaunders being ſtill in the midſt of *Morea*. Thirdly, that being ill accompanied, he had giuen Battaile without force: conſidering that hee might eaſily haue retired to the Neighbour Townes, vntill the *Acheins* had made a new head: and then giue Battaile if he had thought it fit. Finally, that hee had carried himſelfe ſo inconſiderately, that in leauing the Plaines (where without doubt his Men had beene the ſtronger) he had aſſailed the Enemie in the Mountaines with Souldiers lightly armed: whereby the *Etoliens* could haue no greater aduantage.

Yet ſuddainly when as *Arate* was returned, and entred into the aſſembly, and that he began to eeliuer the things which he had formerly done for the publique good, and had made knowne the cauſes of the laſt Defeat, and giuen them to vnderſtand that he was not the cauſe thereof, as his Enemies had falſly ſlaundred him: and that finally hee would haue craued pardon, letting them know that if hee had commited any fault, the *Acheins* ſhould not conſider the euent of things, ſo bitterly nor with ſuch rigour, but with fauour and mildneſſe, the opinion of the Commons was ſuddainly ſo changed, as where before they ſeem'd to be wonderfully incenſed againſt *Arate*, they ſodainly turned their choller againſt his ill-willers, ſo as from that time they followed the Councell and opinion of *Arate*. Theſe things happened in the hundred and nine and thirtieth Olympiade, and thoſe which follow in the hundred and fortieth.

The aduice of the *Acheins* touching the warre againſt the *Etoliens*.

It was then reſolued by the *Acheins*, to ſend Embaſſies to the *Epirotes*, *Peocians*, *Phocenſes*, *Acarnaniens*, and to *Philip* King of *Macedon*, to let them vnderſtand that the *Etoliens* had entred twice into *Acheia*, contrary to the former accords: and likewiſe to demaund ſuccours according to the league, and moreouer that the *Meſſeniens* might bee receiued: and that the chiefe of the *Achiens* might leauie fiue thouſand Foote, and fiue hundred Horſe, and ſuccour the *Meſſeniens*, if the *Etoliens* did reaſſaile them. Finally, that he might agree with the *Lacedemonians* and *Meſſeniens*, touching the number of Foote and Horſe, which they ſhould keepe ready for the common affaires of the league. After theſe things thus reſolued, the *Achiens* ſtomacking the Defeate whereof we haue ſpoken, did not forget the *Meſſeniens* affaires, nor their reſolution.

tion. The Embaſſadours execute their charge diligently. The chiefe likewiſe aſſemble the youth as it had beene decreed, and agree with the *Lacedemonians* and *Meſſeniens*, that either of them ſhould furniſh two thouſand fiue hundred Foote, and two hundred and fifty Horſe, to the end that the whole might amount to ten thouſand Foote, and a thouſand Horſe. The time being come, when as the *Etoliens* were to hold their Diet, they aſſembled the Commons, and conſulted how to make a peace with the *Lacedemonians* and *Meſſeniens*, and with other people their neighbours, being forced partly by pouerty, and
A partly weakned by the *Acheins* Allies. As for the *Acheins*, they reſolued to contract with them, if they would leaue the Alliance of the *Meſſeniens*: But if they would hold it ſtill, they were of aduice to make Warre againſt them, which was a moſt idle and ſenceleſſe thing. For being allied to the *Acheins* and *Meſſeniens*, they declared Warre againſt the *Acheins*, if they contracted any Friendſhip or alliance with the *Meſſeniens*: and contrariwiſe a peace was confirmed, if they held them for their Enemies. And therefore their villany could not take place, by reaſon of the contrariety of their ſubtill inuention.

The idleneſſe of the *Etoliens*.

The *Epirotes* and *Philip* hauing heard the Embaſſadours charge, re-
B ceiued the *Meſſeniens* into the league: and although they diſliked the outrages of the *Etoliens*, yet it ſeemed they made no great accompt of it: for that they had done no new action, conſidering they had beene accuſtomed to ſuch things. Wherefore they willingly continued a peace with them. Thus ſometimes outrages growne old and continued, are ſooner pardoned then thoſe of new date. The *Etoliens* vſing this courſe of life, in ruining *Greece* by their incurſions, and making Warre many times before they declared it, did not vouchſafe to anſwer to the complaints: Many times alſo they made no accompt, and mockt at thoſe which demanded ſatisfaction, for thoſe things
C which they had done, or would doe. And although that the *Lacedemonians* had beene lately reſtored to liberty by *Antigonus*, by meanes of the *Acheins*, hauing promiſed to *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, not to attempt any thing againſt them, yet they ſent an Embaſſie ſecretly to the *Etoliens*, and confirmed friendſhip and alliance with them.

When as the *Acheins* Army was aſſembled, and the ſuccours of the *Lacedemonians* and *Meſſeniens* ready, as it had beene decreed: *Scerdilaide*, and *Demetrius* ſayling from *Sclauonia* with foureſcore and ten Veſſels, paſt to *Liſſe*, contrary to the accord made with the *Romans*. And attempting firſt to take *Pyle*, they were ſhamefully repuls'd after
D ſome dayes ſiege. *Demetrius* afterwards made a voyage with fifty Saile vnto the *Cyclades*, and ſpoiles the Ilands, taking ſome by Treaſon. *Scerdilaide* with the other forty, drawes towards *Naupacte*, relying vpon the friendſhip of *Amiclas* King of the *Athenians*, to whom he was allied. There an accord was made with the *Etoliens*, by the meanes of *Agelaus*, that in marching with them into *Achaia* they ſhould diuide the booty by halfes. The which being concluded betwixt *Scerdilaide* and *Agelaus*, *Dorimache*, and *Scope*, they entred into *Acheia* with an Army of *Etoliens* and *Sclauonians*, the Towne

Scerdilaide and *Demetrius*.

The deſcent of *Scerdilaide*, *Agelaus*, *Dorimache* & *Scope* into *Acheia*.

of the *Sithians* being of their party: *Ariſton* chiefe of the *Etoliens* ſtayed at home, ſaying that he had peace and no warre with the *Acheins*, as if hee had beene ignorant of the Enterprize: which was a ſimple and idle courſe. Is there any thing more fooliſh, then to thinke long to couer with words things that are plaine and euident? This done *Dorimache* comes with his men to *Cynethe* with wonderfull ſpeed. The *Cynethenſes* were tormented with great diuiſions and ſeditions, hauing beene long time *Arcadiens*: whereas many murthers had beene committed, with Baniſhments, Rapes, and Spoiles: Finally it fell out, that A they which held the *Acheins* party, had the command of the Towne. Wherefore their chiefe men, and the guards of their Towne were of *Acheia*. Matters ſtanding in this eſtate ſome yeares before the deſcent of the *Etoliens*, when as the baniſhed men had ſent to them of the Towne, intreating them to receiue them into grace and concord, the Gouernours perſwaded by their words, ſent an Embaſſie to the *Acheins*, deſiring to make this peace and agreement with their Councell and aduice. Whereunto the *Acheins* conſented, for that they conceiued that the affection and loue of the one and the other, would by this meanes be more firme vnto them, conſidering that they which were within had all their hope in them, and that the baniſhed men would conceiue, that B they had beene preſerued by the benefit of the *Acheins*: The *Cynethenſes* ſent backe the Garriſon of the *Acheins* with their Captaine, and called the baniſhed men into their Towne, which were to the number of three hundred, in taking their Faith with Oathes, whereby men may be moſt religiouſly bound.

But preſently after they were receiued into the Towne, they reſolued among themſelues to betray it, and to be reuenged on thoſe which had preſerued them, without any conſideration of the cauſe of this new practiſe: So as I am of opinion, that at the time when they ſacrificed, and gaue their Faith and Oathes, that euen then they reſolued to contemne C the Gods, and vſe cruelty towards thoſe which had ſaued their liues: for they had ſcarce ſet footing within the Towne, but they called the *Etoliens* to deliuer it vnto them. The buſineſſe was mannaged in this manner. *Polemarches.* Some of the baniſhed men, were created *Polemarches*: It is a Magiſtrate which hath charge of ſhutting of the Gates, and keeping the keyes at night, and in the day time to attend the Guard thereof. The *Etoliens* hauing their ladders and other things neceſſary, attended the execution of the enterprize. The *Polemarches* ſlew their Companions which were not of their faction, and opened the Gate. This done, the *Etoliens* entred, ſome by the Gate, ſome by Ladders. The whole Citie being D troubled by this new accident, ranne vp and downe full of feare and lamentation: for that they could not runne to the Gate, for that the Enemies caſt themſelues from the walls, neither could they goe to the walls, for that they came by multitudes in at the Gate. And thus the *Etoliens* *Cynethe taken by the Etoliens.* tooke the Towne preſently, where among all the outrages which they committed, they did one act of great iuſtice, for they ſlew all the Traytors, and ſpoiled their goods. The like they did to others, taking away all their ſubſtance. Men were tormented to confeſſe their Goods, if

they

they had hidden away, and many others ſlaine. Hauing thus taken the Towne, and after ſome fewe dayes leauing a ſufficient Garriſon, they marcht with their Army towards *Luſes*. Where approaching neere to *Diana's* Temple, which is betwixt *Clitoria* and *Cynethe*, and is held by the *Grecians* as a place of Freedome, they had an intent to carry away the Cattell of the Goddeſſe, and to rauiſh all the Treaſure of the Temple. But the *Luſiates* offered them part to temper their wickedneſſe. The which being receiued, the *Etoliens* parting from thence, planted their Campe neere vnto *Clitoria*.

A At that time *Arate*, chiefe of the *Acheins*, had ſent an Embaſſie to *Philip* for ſuccours, and had aſſembled the choyce of the youth from all parts, and demanded from the *Lacedemonians* and *Meſſeniens*, the number of men, which they were to furniſh by the accord. The *Etoliens* began firſt to perſwade the *Clytoriens*, to leaue the alliance of the *Acheins* and to imbrace their party. The which being refuſed, they tormented them with diuers aſſaults, and ſcaling the walls, they laboured to enter the Towne: But for that the Inhabitants defended themſelues courragiouſly, they rais'd the Siege, being in deſpaire to take it: and returned to *Cynethe*, ſpoiling the Sheepe and Cattell of the Goddeſſe, meaning to deliuer the Towne to the *Elienſes*: Vpon refuſall they reſolued to keepe it, making *Euripides* Captaine. But being afterwards terrified with the Newes of the ſuccours of *Macedon*, and the preparation of the *Acheins*, they burnt it, and taking their wayes againe towards *Rhie*, they reſolued to paſſe there. *Taurion* aduertiſed that the *Etoliens* marcht, and of the ruine of *Cynethe*, and that *Demetrius* of *Phareh*, was come from the *Cyclades* to *Cenchrea*, hee perſwaded him to ſuccour the *Acheins*, and to hinder the paſſage of the *Etoliens*, in tranſporting the ſhips by the *Iſthmus*.

The *Clytoriens* aſſaulted by the *Etoliens*.

B

Cynethe burnt by the *Etoliens*.

Demetrius had parted from the Iland with profit, but with little ho-
C nour, for that the *Rhodiens* came againſt him with an Army at Sea, hee yielded eaſily to *Taurion*: and the rather for that he furniſhed the neceſſary expences the tranſport of the Shippes, wherefore after hee had tranſported them, and was aduertiſed that the *Etoliens* were paſt two dayes before, hee ſail'd againe to *Corinthe*, after he had ſpoiled ſome of the *Etoliens* Coaſts: with whom the *Lacedemonians* hauing ſecret intelligence (as we haue ſaid) they deferr'd to ſend the ſuccours promiſed by the accord, ſending onely ſome Horſe and Foot for a colour. *Arate* made ſhew to his people, that for the preſent hee would performe the duty of a Citizen, rather then of a Captaine without any trouble, for the
D remembrance of the loſſe which he had made, vntill that *Scope* and *Dorimache* were retired, hauing ruined the whole Prouince, and what they pleaſed: although it were no difficult thing to defeat them in their rough and narrow paſſages. And although the *Cynethenſes* had ſuffered a wonderfull loſſe of all their goods, and were in a manner all ſlaine, yet the world held them worthy of the puniſhment which they endured.

And for that the people of *Arcadia* haue a certaine fame and renowne of good men, not onely for their eaſie kinde of life, and their good diſpoſitions, and great honeſty towards all the world, but alſo for the

The cuſtomes of the *Arcadians*.

the honour and reuerence they beare vnto the Gods. I haue thought it good to relate in few words, ſomething concerning the rudeneſſe of the *Cynethenſes*, and to let the world vnderſtand (ſeeing they were held to be *Arcadians*) how they did ſo much differ from the other *Grecians* of that time, in wickedneſſe and cruelty. For my part I thinke this hath happened, for that they haue beene the firſt and the onely men which among all the *Arcadians* haue neglected that which their Anceſtors had wiſely inuented.

Muſique profitable to all the world.

It is certaine that Muſique, (I meane true Muſique) is profitable to all the world, and neceſſary for the *Arcadians*: Neither is that true which *Ephorus* (ſpeaking without reaſon) writes in the Proeme of his Hiſtories, that Muſique is inuented to deceiue and abuſe men: Neither muſt wee thinke that the ancient *Candyots* and *Lacedemonians*, had without reaſon, preferr'd the Flute and Songs before the Trumpet in Warre: Neither had the ancient *Arcadians* Muſique in ſo great honour in their Common-wealth, as they not onely cauſed Children to learne it, but alſo young men vnto the age of thirty yeares, who otherwiſe were rude and vnciuill. It is no vnknowne thing, that in *Arcadia* alone, they did accuſtome their children from their infancies, to ſing praiſes in Hymnes, by the which euery one did vſe to commend the Angels of his Birth, vertuous Men, and the Gods. And after all this they doe yearely make Games to father *Lyber*, with Songs and Dances, inſtructed in the Diſciplines of *Philoxenes*, and *Tymotheus*. And thoſe of Children, are called the Games of Children, and the others the Games of Youth: Finally, all their life is adicted to this kinde of ſinging, not ſo much for the pleaſure they take to heare the Muſique, as to excite them to ſing together. Moreouer, if any one be ignorant in other Arts, it is held no ſhame: but none of them may be ignorant of Muſique: for they learne it by neceſſity: Neither may he confeſſe that he vnderſtands it not, for that among them is reputed infamous. Finally, the young men doe yearely preſent Shewes and Games in the Theater to the Burgeſſes, with Songs and Dances, at the publique charge. Which things (in my opinion) were wiſely inuented by their Anceſtors, Not for laciuiouſneſſe or delights, but for that they ſee the continuall toile of the people in manuring the land, with a rudeneſſe and brutiſhneſſe of life, and moreouer with an auſteere kinde of liuing, which proceedes from the coldneſſe and roughneſſe of the Ayre, to the which of neceſſity we growe like.

The Games of Children and Youth.

It is apparent that the Region of heauen, made Nations to differ in their manner of liuing, in their forme and complexion, and in many diſciplines. Seeking then to make Nature pleaſing and tractable, which of it ſelfe ſeemes fierce and rude, they firſt propounded all thoſe things which we haue mentioned, and afterwards common aſſemblies, and many ſacrifices, where as men and women frequented, and finally danced of Virgins and Children. All which things they haue done to the end that that which by Nature was rude in the hearts of men, might be made milde and pleaſing by cuſtome. But for as much as the *Cynethenſes*, after ſome tract of time, became to diſdaine theſe things, which were

The occaſion of the ruine of *Cynethenſes*.

were aboue all things neceſſary for them, (inhabiting in the coldeſt part of *Arcadia*) they grew in a ſhort time to ſuch a rudeneſſe of life, as there was not any Citie in *Greece*, where there were more villanies and Murthers committed. The teſtimony of their wicked life is moſt manifeſt, for that the other people of *Arcadia* deteſted their manner of liuing: For at what time as they ſent an Embaſſie to *Sparta*, after this great ſedition, in what Towne ſo euer they entred during their voyage, they were chaſed away ignominiouſly, and forbidden to returne: and the *Mantiniens*, after their departure, purged the Citie, and all places there-
A abouts with ſacrifices.

We haue related theſe things, to aduiſe the Cities of *Arcadia*, not to giue ouer the cuſtome of their Countrey: and to the end men ſhould not thinke that they were ſo much giuen to the Muſique of laſciniouſneſſe, and that by this meanes no man ſhould mocke at their cuſtome: I haue alſo done it for the loue of the *Cynethenſes*: to the end (the Gods permitting it) that in puniſhing them, they may leade a better life and loue Muſique, for it is the meanes by the which they may leaue their naturall Ruſticitie. Seeing then we haue ſpoken ſufficiently of the *Cynethenſes* manner of liuing, and of their ruine, let vs returne where
B we left.

The *Etoliens* hauing ouer-runne all *Morea*, and put the Country to fire and ſword, returned to their houſes. Finally, *Philip* King of *Macedon*, came to *Corinthe* to ſuccour the *Achiens* with an Army. But hearing that all was paſt, he ſends poſt to his Allies, aduiſing them to ſend men vnto him to *Corinthe*, to conferre of their common affaires. In the meane time he cauſeth his Army to martch towards *Tegee*, for that he was aduertiſed that the *Lacedemonians* were in mutinie among themſelues. And for that they had liued long vnder Kings, and had then recouered their liberty vnder the conduct of *Antigonus*, being ſubiect to
C no man, they fell into diuers factions, euery man ſeeking to haue authority in the Common-wealth aboue his fellow. There were two among the Gouernours, which held their Councell ſo ſecret, as no man could diſcouer it: the reſt to the number of three, carried themſelues openly for the *Etolien* party, being confident that *Philip* conſidering his age, could make no alteration in *Morea*. But when as contrary to their hope and expectation, they had newes of the flight of *Etoliens* in *Morea*, and of the comming of *Philip* King of *Macedon*: Theſe three Gouernours of the Citie, hauing no confidence in one of the other two, called *Adimant*, for that knowing their ſecrets, he ſeemed to diſlike of their pro-
D ceedings, and fearing that at the comming of *Philip* all would be diſcouered. They declared themſelues to certaine young men, and afterwards cauſed all the people to aſſemble in Armes, at *Iuno's* Temple, by the ſound of the Trumpet, as if the *Macedonians* were come againſt the *Spartains*: who ſuddainly aſſembled vpon this new accident.

Philip comes to *Corinthe*.

A mutinie among the *Lacedemonians*.

Adimant diſliking this, came into the aſſembly, ſaying: The Trumpet ſhould haue ſounded ſome dayes paſt, and this aſſembly of men in Armes ſhould haue beene made, when as wee heard that the *Etoliens*, Enemies to the *Lacedemonians*, approached their Mountaines, not now when

when as we are aduertiſed, that the *Macedonians* our Benefactors and preſeruers came with their King. And whileſt he continued this ſpeech, the young men falling vpon him, ſlew him cruelly, with *Sthenelaus*, *Alcamenes*, *Thyeſtes*, *Byonides*, and diuers others. As for *Polyphonte*, hee retired with his friends to *Philip*, hauing long before foreſeene the future.

The Murther of the Gouernours of the *Lacedemonians*.

Things paſſing in this manner, the *Lacedemonian* Gouernours ſent an Embaſſie to the King to lay the wrong vpon them that were ſlaine, and to perſwade him to proceede no farther, vntill that all the troubles of the Citie were pacified: Giuing him to vnderſtand, that the *Lacedemonians* kept their faith and friendſhip with the *Macedonians* inuiolable. The Ambaſſadours meeting the King neere vnto the Mountaine of *Parthenia*, deliuered their charge. Who being heard, *Philip* aduiſed them to returne ſpeedily, and to aduertiſe the Gouernours that hee would ſoone returne with his Army to *Tegee*, and that they ſhould preſently ſend the chiefe of their Citie to *Corinthe*, to conferre of their preſent affaires.

Ambaſſadours ſent from *Lacedemon* to *Philip*.

By this meanes the Ambaſſadours being returned, and hauing acquainted them with *Philips* anſwere, the Gouernours ſent him tenne of the chiefe of the Citie, among the which *Omias* was the firſt, who comming to *Tegee*, and entring into the Kings priuie Councell, they vſed diſgracefull ſpeeches of *Adimant* and his confederates: as if he had bin the cauſe of this Mutinie. Finally, they omitted nothing, which they thought fit to purchaſe the Kings loue, promiſing to doe any thing, whereby it ſhould appeare plainely, that they continued conſtant in the Kings alliance and friendſhip.

Hauing deliuered theſe things, the *Lacedemonians* went out of the Councell. The *Macedonians* were of diuers opinions concerning theſe affaires: for ſome being aduertiſed of the Enterprizes, which the *Spartains* made with the *Etoliens*, being alſo of opinion, that *Adimant* had beene ſlaine for the loue he bare vnto the *Macedonians*, beganne to counſell the King, to make the *Lacedemonians* an example to others, as *Alexander* had done the *Thebains*, when he came to be King. The other Senators ſaid, that this kinde of puniſhment was more rigorous then their deedes deſerued, and that they ſhould onely let the offenders know their offence, and depriue them of the gouernment of the Common-weale, and giue it to his friends. All which being heard, the King deliuered his opinion, (if it be credible that it was his owne) for it is not likely that a young man who had ſcarce attained the age of ſeauenteene yeares, could giue iudgement in ſo great affaires. But it becomes a Hiſtoriographer to attribute the reſolution taken in Councell to Princes, by whoſe will all things are gouerned. So they which read or heare this Hiſtory, muſt conceiue that theſe kinde of ſentences proceede from thoſe which are the wiſeſt, and neereſt vnto Princes: as if they ſhould attribute this to *Arate*, who at that time was in great authority with the King.

Alexander the great.

Philip therefore ſaid, that if the Allies attempted any thing in particular among themſelues, it did not concerne him, but onely to warne them

Philips wiſe anſwere.

them by words or letters : But if they offended their Allies openly, they muſt receiue a publique puniſhment, and that the *Lacedemonians* had not infringed the common alliance in any thing, but contrariwiſe had offred to doe all things for the *Macedonians* : and that moreouer hee muſt not ſtudy to intreate them worſe, conſidering that it were againſt reaſon, to take reuenge on thoſe for a light cauſe, who being Enemies his Father had pardoned. The Kings Sentence being confirmed, *Petreus* a Friend to *Philip*, was preſently appointed to goe to *Lacedemon* with the Embaſſie, hauing charge to aduiſe the *Spar-*
A *tans* to liue in Friendſhip, and to take an Oath for the preſeruation of their Faith and League.

In the meane time *Philip* razeth his Campe, and returnes to *Corinthe*, leauing a great hope in the Allies of his good diſpoſition, hauing vſed the *Lacedemonians* ſo graciouſly. And hauing found the Embaſſadours of the Allies at *Corinthe*, who were aſſembled there by his command, they began to hold a Councell for the common affaires of *Greece*, where as all with one voice, had the actions of the *Etoliens* in execration. The *Beociens* charged them that in the time of peace they had ſpoyled *Minerua's* Temple : and the *Phocenſes*
B that hauing planted their Campe neere vnto *Ambryſe* and *Daulia*, they had a reſolution to take them. The *Epirotes* ſhewed that they had put all their Countrey to fire and ſword : the *Acarnanians* that they had attempted to take a very rich Towne in the Night by *Scala-doe*. Finally, the *Acheins* propounded, that they had taken *Caria* belonging to *Megalopolis* : That they had ouer-run and ſpoiled the Bounds of *Patras* and *Phare*, and put *Cynethe* to fire and ſword, and then razed it : And moreouer, had ſpoiled *Diana's* Temple at *Luſes*, and beſieged the *Clitoriens* : and that finally they had made Warre at Sea to *Pyle*, and at Land to *Megalopolis*, ioyning with the *Sclauonians*.

Complaints of diuers people againſt the *Etoliens*.

C The Councell of the Allies hearing theſe things, all with one conſent concluded to make Warre againſt the *Etoliens*. It was reſolued in Conncell, that all they ſhould bee receiued into the league, whoſe Townes or Prouinces had beene taken by the *Etoliens* after the death of *Demetrius*, who was Father to *Philip*. And that moreouer they which through the neceſſity of the time had beene forced to make an alliance with the *Etoliens*, ſhould be reſtored to their former liberty, and it ſhould bee lawfull for them to liue according to the Lawes and cuſtomes of their owne Countries. Finally, they ordained that the
D *Amphictions* ſhould bee reſtored to their Lawes, and haue the ſuperintendency of the Temple, which at that time the *Etoliens* held, who had made themſelues Lords. When as theſe things had beene thus reſolued, the firſt yeare of the hundred and fortieth Olympiade, ſuddainly the Warre of the Allies was kindled, which tooke its iuſt beginning from the outrages done by the *Etoliens*, whereof we haue ſpoken. They that were in the aſſembly, ſent preſently to the Allies, to aduertiſe them, that according vnto that which had beene ordayned, euery one for his part ſhould make Warre againſt the *Etoliens*. Moreouer, *Philip* writes vnto the *Etoliens*, that if they

Warre concluded againſt the *Etoliens*.

The *Amphictions*.

would anſwere any thing to that they were charged, they ſhould ſend vnto him: And that they were mad with folly, if ſpoiling and ruining all the World without any open Warre, they which were vniuſtly wronged, would not ſeeke reuenge: and that in doing ſo, they would be held to begin the Warre. The *Etoliens* hauing receiued theſe Letters, making no ſtay for the Kings comming, appointed a day to goe to *Rhie*, to meete the King. But when as they were aduertiſed of that which had beene concluded in the aſſembly, they ſent a Poſt vnto the King, to let him vnderſtand that they could not reſolue any thing concerning the affaires of the Common-weale, before the *Etoliens* had called an aſſembly. A

The *Acheins* hauing held their Diet at *Egia* according to their cuſtome, they confirmed the reſolution: and preſently ſignified Warre to the *Etoliens*. In the meane time *Philip* comming to *Egia*, vſed a gracious and friendly Speech vnto them, the *Acheins* embraced his words with great affection, renuing that ancient Friendſhip which they had held with his Predeceſſours. At that time the day of the Election was come, and the *Etoliens* had made choice of *Scope* for their Captaine, who had beene the firſt Author of the former alterations. Wherevpon I know not what to ſay: for a warre mannaged by a common conſent; a ſpoile committed by ſouldiers vpon al their neighbours; not to puniſh ſuch crimes; to aduance and honour the Captaines, and Heads of ſuch actions, ſeemes to mee an abſolute villany. For how can wee otherwiſe call this kind of Malice? That which I ſay, is manifeſt herein. When as *Phebidius* had violated the *Cadmian* league, the *Lacedemonians* puniſhed the Authour of the crime, yet they did not with-draw their Garriſons: as on the other ſide, it is fit to make ſatisfaction for the vniuſt wrongs committed. The *Thebains* did otherwiſe: For when as by a publique edict, they had reſtored the Townes to their liberty, and to their owne Lawes, according to the *Antalcidan* peace, yet they did not depriue the Magiſtrates. And when as hauing a league with the *Mantiniens*, they had ruined them, they ſaid they had done them no wrong, for that they had tranſported them from one Towne into many. Hee is ſimple, and accompanied with Malice, who ſhutting his owne eyes, thinkes he is not ſeene. Beleeue me, Enuy hath beene a great occaſion of the miſchiefe of theſe two Cities: the which no man of iudgement ſhould follow in his priuate or publique affaires. But when as *Philip* had receiued money from the *Acheins*, hee retired into *Macedony* with his Army, to leuie men, and to make neceſſary preparations for the Warre. Finally, hee left a great hope of Clemency, not onely in the Allies, but throughout all *Greece*, for the concluſion which was generally confirmed.

Scope choſen Head of the *Etoliens*.

Phebidius.

Enuy the cauſe of great miſchiefe.

B C D

Theſe things were done at ſuch time as *Hannibal* chiefe of the *Carthaginians*, beſieged *Sagont* after that he had conquered all beyond the Riuer of *Ebro*. If then the beginning of *Hannibals* actions fall out at the ſame time with thoſe of *Greece*, it is apparent that we haue not vnaduiſedly related his vallour in the laſt Booke: conſidering that wee follow the order of time. And for that the Affaires of *Italy*, *Greece*, and

Aſia,

Aſia, had their proper beginnings, and their common ends, it hath beene neceſſary to make a particular relation of either of them, vntill wee come vnto the time: when the ſaid affaires being intermixt together, haue begun to draw vnto the ſame end. By this meanes the relation of euery part is more manifeſt, and the vniting of all more plaine. You muſt vnderſtand, that they were intermixt and turned to the ſame end, in the third yeare of the hundred and fortieth Olympiade. Wherefore we will relate in common that which followed. As for that which was before this time, we haue deliuered it in particular, euery thing in its place in the laſt Booke: to the end that the time ſhould not only follow, but there ſhould be an vnion of all things.

Philip wintring in *Macedony*, made a new leuie of men, and neceſſary prouiſions for the Warre: he fortified the Townes againſt the attempt of the *Barbarians*, which dwelt about *Sparta*. Afterwards he went to *Scerdilaide*, with whom hee made a league, promiſing him aide and ſuccours to pacifie the affaires of *Sclauonia*: and in blaming the *Etoliens*, he perſwaded him to what he would: For a priuate iniury doth not differ from a publique, but by the number and greatneſſe of things which happen. It is alſo an ordinary thing that the alliance of wicked men is eaſily broken, if Equity and Iuſtice bee not obſerued. The which happened at that time to the *Etoliens*. You muſt vnderſtand, that when as they had compounded with *Scerdilaide*, that the Booty ſhould bee equally diuided, if hee would fall vpon the *Acheins* with them; who giuing credit to their words, marcht with them to *Cynethe*, where after the taking and razing thereof, the *Etoliens* carried away great ſtore of Gold, and a great number of Cattell, diuiding the Booty among themſelues, whereof they did fruſtrate *Scerdilaide*. Wherefore he grew into choller and indignation: and when as *Philip* put him in minde thereof, hee ſuddainly confirmed the alliance vnder theſe Conditions: that he ſhould haue twelue thouſand Crownes yearely, and ſhould ſaile with thirty ſhips, making Warre by Sea againſt the *Etoliens*. Behold the things with ſuch like which *Philip* contriued. In the meane time the Embaſſadours ſent vnto the Allies arriued, firſt in *Acarnania*: whereas letting them vnderſtand what they were enioyned, they preſently and freely confirme what had beene decreed, and make Warre againſt the *Etoliens*: although they had beene to bee pardoned, if they had forborne longer then the reſt: conſidering that for their neighbourhood, they ſeemed to haue iuſt cauſe of feare, and that they had formerly had experience of what conſequence the hatred of the *Etoliens* was vnto them, and for that they alone might be ruined. It is true, and I am of opinion, that honeſt men, and ſuch as reſpect their honour, ſhould hold nothing more deare, then to giue order that their duty may in no ſort be forgotten, the which the *Acarnanians* haue alwayes obſerued aboue all the *Grecians*, although they had but a ſmall beginning: whereby it follows, that no man ſhould forbeare to make this people a Companion in his affaires: for they haue naturally ſomething in them that is generous and noble, and deſireus of liberty. The *Epirotes* on the other ſide, after

The difference betwixt a priuate and publique iniury.

The commendation of the *Acarnanians*.

they had heard what the Embaſſadours had in charge, they allowed of the reſolution: Yet they made anſwere, that they would not make War againſt the *Etoliens*, before they were aduertiſed that *Philip* had begun it. And afterwards they made anſwer to an Embaſſie of the *Etoliens*, that they had decreed to maintaine peace with them, ſhewing themſelues in ſuch affaires fearefull and inconſtant. For they ſent Embaſſadours vnto King *Ptolomy*, to intreate him not to furniſh the *Etoliens* againſt *Philip* and his Allies, with money, victuals, or any other ſuccours.

Anſweres to Embaſſadours.

But the *Meſſeniens* (for whoſe cauſe this Warre was kindled) anſwered the Embaſſadours, that they would not make Warre againſt the *Etoliens*, before they had recouered (by the meanes of their Allies) the Towne of *Phigalea*, ſcituated in the Mountaines, which then the *Etoliens* detained from them vniuſtly. Which aduice was giuen by *Oenes* and *Nicippus*, Gouernours of the Towne, with the conſent of ſome of the principall, notwithſtanding that the Commons oppoſed. Wherein I conceiue they vnderſtood not their Duty, nor the profit of their Common-wealth. I am of opinion that we ſhould flie and auoide Warre, but not in ſuch ſort, that wee ſhould chooſe to endure, and ſuffer all things rather then to enter into it. But why ſhould wee commend an equality in a Common-wealth, or Faith, or the name of liberty which is ſo pleaſing, if there were any thing to be preferr'd to peace? I doe not commend the *Thebains*, who in the time of the Warre of *Media*, made choice of it for feare, to free themſelues from the common calamity and danger of all *Greece*, whereby they were after ruined. Neither am I of the opinion of *Pindarus*, who in his Poeſies exhorts the Burgeſſes, that in neglecting all other things, they ſhould onely ſeeke for peace and reſt: and hauing ſought for peace, hee defines it to bee the end of reſt and a cleare light. But when as hee thought to haue ſpoken with great perſwaſions, ſoone after hee deliuered a ſentence, the moſt ſcandalous and incommodious thing in the World. It is true that peace is a moſt excellent thing, if it bee iuſt and honeſt. Yet wee may not doe an vnreaſonable act, nor ſuffer an infamy to enioy it. It is certaine that the Gouernours and chiefe men of *Meſſene*, hauing a regard to their priuate profits, were much inclined to peace, which was not reaſonable. Wherefore as often the times were propitious vnto them, according to their deſires, and ſometime dangerous, they fell continually into the ſame inconuenience: ſo as alwayes hauing the ſame reſolution to keepe the peace, they many times brought their Countrey into great danger. Where-

The blame of the *Epireits*.

The *Meſſenians* alwayes friends to the *Arcadians*, and Enemies to the *Lacedemonians*.

of I conceiue the cauſe was, for that they were Neighbours to two principall Citties of *Greece*, that is to ſay, the *Arcadians*, to whom they had beene alwayes Allies and Friends, and the *Lacedemonians*, to whom they had beene continuall Enemies, yet they did not openly carry themſelues as Enemies to the *Lacedemonians*, or Friends to the *Arcadians*: By this meanes they liued in peace, when as the ſaid Citties made warre betwixt themſelues, or with other. But when as the *Lacedemonians* (after they had made a peace with their other enemies) ran vpon them,

they

they were forced to ſerue them with ignominy: or abandon the Countrey with their Wiues and Children, to auoide ſeruitude: Conſidering that they were not able with their owne forces to reſiſt the power of the *Lacedemonians*, nor to defend themſelues with the helpe and ſuccor of the *Arcadians*, whoſe Friendſhip they were not able to keepe. The which hath often happened vnto them of late yeares. I pray vnto God if it bee his will, that the eſtate wherein the affaires of *Morea* now ſtands, may be ſuch, as that which wee haue to ſay, may not take place. Yet if there happen any alteration, I ſee but one hope
A for the *Meſſeniens* and *Megalopolitains*, to preſerue and defend their Countrey, if following the ſentence of *Epaminondas*, they liue alwayes well vnited, and gouerne their Councels and Affaires with one conſent, whereof they haue ancient teſtimonies of the truth. The *Meſſeniens* as *Caliſtines* doth report, erected a Pillar in the Temple of *Iupiter* of *Lyce*, in the time of *Ariſtomenes*, on the which theſe Verſes were ingrauen.

Time on a wicked King hath vengeance ſhowne,
The Traytour to the Meſſaine ſtate Ioue *hath made knowne:*
Nor could hee ſhunne the moſt reuengefull fate
B *Of* Ioue, *who fauours the* Arcadian *ſtate.*

You muſt vnderſtand that for as much as they had beene chaſed from their Countrey, they wrote theſe Verſes, as meaning to pray vnto the Gods for their ſecond Countrey. For the which in my conceit they had good reaſon. For the *Arcadians* not onely receiued them into their Citty, during the Warre of *Ariſtomenes*, being baniſhed and chaſed away, making them Burgeſſes, and aſſiſting them with Councell and Wealth: But they alſo ſuffered them to marry their Daughters vnto their Sonnes. Moreouer, hauing examined the
C Treaſon of King *Ariſtocrates*, they not onely put him cruelly to death, but puniſhed all the Race proceeding from ſo wicked a ſtocke. But leauing the times paſt, let vs come to things of a freſher Date, and are happened ſince this alliance betwixt the two Citties, which gaue ſufficient teſtimony of that which we haue ſpoken. *Ariſtocrates.*

You muſt vnderſtand that at what time the *Lacedemonians* began (after that great Victory which the *Grecians* had neere vnto *Mantinea* by the death of *Epaminondas*) to enter into hope to make the *Meſſeniens* ſubiect, not comprehending them in the accord, the *Megalo-*
D *politains* and all the Citties of the league tooke theſe things ſo to heart for the *Meſſeniens*, as preſently they receiued them into their Alliance, and excluded the *Lacedemonians* alone of all the *Grecians*. Matters ſtanding in this eſtate, who will not thinke but wee had reaſon to ſay that which wee haue formerly ſpoken? Wee haue continued this diſcourſe of the *Arcadians* and *Meſſeniens* at length, to the end that remembring the outrages which the *Lacedemonians* had many times done them, they ſhould continue alwayes true and conſtant in their Faith and Friendſhip: and that for no feare of

their affaires, nor for any deſire of peace, they ſhould neuer abandon one another when it concernes their ſafety. But let vs returne now to the diſcourſe where we left.

The *Lacedemonians* according to their manner of liuing, ſent backe the Embaſſadours of the league without any anſwere: they were ſo ſottiſh and ouer-weening. Wherefore I hold that to bee true, which is commonly ſpoken, that ouer-weening doth many times make men mad, and drawes them ro ruine. After all theſe things, when as the new Megiſtrates were created, they which in the beginning made that ſedition in the Common-wealth, and were the cauſe of the Murthers before mentioned, ſent to the *Etoliens*, requiring them to ſend an Embaſſie. The which when they had eaſily obtained, and that *Machate* Embaſſadour for the *Etoliens*, was come to *Lacedemon*, they goe preſently to the Gouernours of the Citty, telling them, that they muſt aſſemble the people to heare this Embaſſie, and to create according to the cuſtome of the Countrey: and that they muſt no longer ſuffer the Empire of the *Heraclidis* to be loſt, contrary to the Lawes of the Citty. And although the Gouernours were diſcontented to ſee the preſent eſtate of their affaires, yet not able to reſiſt their force, fearing alſo the young men, they made anſwere, that as for Kings they would aduiſe of it afterwards, and preſently they would aſſemble the people to heare *Machate*.

Machate ſent Embaſſadour from the *Etoliens* to the *Lacedemonians*.

The aſſembly being made, they cauſed *Machate* to enter, who began to perſwade them to imbrace the alliance of the *Etoliens*: blaming the *Macedonians* much without reaſon, and ſpeaking many falſe things in praiſe of the *Etoliens*. Hauing ended his ſpeech, there was a long debate among the people, and their opinions were diuers: for ſome held it fit to follow the *Etolien* party, and to embrace their alliance: others were of a contrary opinion, inſiſting that they ſhould preſerue the Friendſhip of the *Macedonians*. Finally, after that ſome Senators were riſen, and had put them in minde of the benefits of *Antigonus*, and of the *Macedonians*, and of the loſſe they had in the time of *Carixenes* and *Timee*, when as the *Etoliens* entred the *Spartains* Countrey, and put all to fire and ſword, attempting to ſurprize the Towne, reſtoring the baniſhed men by force and policy, they cauſed many to change their opinion: and in the end the people were perſwaded to entertaine their Friendſhip with *Philip* and the *Macedonians*. Matters thus decided, *Machate* returnes into *Etolia*, hauing effected nothing of that for which hee came. The Heads of this Mutiny, whereof wee haue ſpoken, being diſcontented herewith, began to plot a moſt cruell Enterprize.

Carixenes.
Timee.

Soone after the Youth were to aſſemble in Armes, to performe a Sacrifice which was done yearely, after the manner of the Countrey in *Pallas* Temple, where the Gouernours of the Citty had the authority, and continued ſome dayes in the Temple. Wherefore they corrupted ſome of the Yong men which ſhould be there in Armes with gifts: who at a time appointed amongſt them, ſeeing the Gouernors buſie at the Sacrifices, ſhould aſſaile them ſuddainly, and kill them like Sheepe. And although

although they were in the Temple, the which the *Lacedemonians* honoured as a Sanctuary, and where all malefactors, (although they were condemned to dye) were in ſafety, yet the inſolence of men was growne to ſo great a cruelty, as they ſlew all the Magiſtrates before the Altars, and on the Tables of the Goddeſſe. The like they did afterwards to the Senators, which had followed the opinion of *Herides*. Finally, after they had chaſed out of their Citie thoſe that were oppoſite to the *Etoliens*, they created new Magiſtrates of their owne faction: making a league with the *Etoliens*. By this meanes they declared themſelues at one inſtant Enemies to the *Acheins*, and vnthankfull to the *Macedonians*. They had a great hope in the loue of *Cleomenes*, whoſe comming they expected with great affection. Beleeue mee, the mildneſſe and courteſie of Princes hath ſo great power, as it leaues in the hearts of men, not onely by their preſence, but alſo by their abſence, a generall zeale of loue and good will towards them.

The murther of the *Lacedemonian* Gouernours by the young men.

A league made betweene the *Lacedemonians* and *Etoliens*.

The power of clemencie in Princes.

The *Lacedemonians* hauing the Gouernment of their Commonwealth, almoſt for the ſpace of three yeares, after that *Cleomenes* had beene chaſed away, they neuer thought of chuſing a King: But when they had newes of his death, they had an humour to chuſe one: whereof the firſt Authors of this practiſe, were the heads of the ſedition, who had made the league with the *Etoliens*. Wherefore they elected (according to their lawes and cuſtomes) for one of their Kings, one named *Ageſipoles*, being yet very young, the ſonne of *Ageſipoles*, who was ſonne to *Cleombrotus*. It happened that he raigned at ſuch time, as *Leonides* was depoſed from the Magiſtracie: for that hee was the neereſt of that race. And they gaue him for Tutor *Cleomenes*, the ſonne of *Cleombrotus*, and brother to *Ageſipoles*. And although that *Archidamus* had two ſonnes by the daughter of *Hippomedon*, who was ſonne to *Eudemides*: and *Hippomedon* liuing ſtill, who was ſonne to *Ageſilaus*, and Nephew to *Eudemides*: and that there were many others of the ſame blood, yet they made choiſe for their King, (making no account of the reſt nor of their race) of *Licurgus*, who was of another houſe, and had no expectance to raigne. In truth it was ſaid, that he was of the race of *Hercules*, and created King of *Sparta*, in giuing to euery one of the Magiſtrates ſixe hundred Crownes.

Licurgus choſen King.

Thus you ſee that all wicked things haue alwayes beene ſet to ſaile. But it was not long but the heads of this crime ſuffered the puniſhment of their folly and ouer-weening. *Machate* aduertiſed of that which had beene done at *Lacedemon*, returnes againe to *Sparta*, and perſwades the Kings and Magiſtrates to make warre againſt the *Acheins*, ſaying, that by this meanes, the ambition of thoſe *Lacedemonians* which held the contrary party, and fled the alliance of the *Etoliens*, might be eaſily ſuppreſt. When as the Kings and Magiſtrates were perſwaded by his words, he returned into *Etolia*, hauing done what he deſired by the folly of the *Lacedemonians*. Afterwards *Licurgus* leuying mercenary men, and aſſembling the people of the Citie, enters into the limits of the *Argiues*: whom he aſſailes vnprouided, expecting no ſuch vſage from the *Lacedemonians*: And ſuddainly takes *Polychne*, *Parſie*, *Leuce*, *Cyphas*, and

Machate preuailes in his enterprize.

Townes taken in *Argos* by *Licurgus*.

and ſome other of their Burroughes, putting all the Countrey to fire and ſword. Theſe things being done, the *Lacedemonians* declared warre againſt the *Acheins*. And in the meane time *Machate* went to the other neighbour Townes, perſwading them as he had done the *Lacedemonians*. By this meanes the *Etoliens* (to whom all things ſucceeded happily) vndertooke the warre boldly. Contrariwiſe, all things were auerſe to the *Aecheins*. For King *Philip* (in whom they chiefely relied) did but then leuie men: the *Epirotes* had not yet begun the warre with the *Etoliens*, and the *Meſſeniens* liued in peace. The *Etoliens* hauing drawne vnto them the *Elienſes*, and *Lacedemonians*, preſt the *Acheins* of all ſides. It happened that *Arate* had left the gouernment, and his ſonne *Arate* was choſen chiefe of the *Acheins*, and that *Scope* was Captaine Generall of the *Etolien* Army, but he was not to ſtay long in it: for the *Etoliens* at that time made their election, after the middeſt of September, and the *Acheins* about the beginning of May.

Summer being paſt, when as young *Arate* had vndertaken the gouernment, all the warres in a manner had one beginning. For *Hanibal* prepared at that time for the ſiege of *Sagont*: The *Romans* ſent *Lucius Emilius* into *Sclauonia* againſt *Demetrius* of *Phare*: *Antiochus* began the warre in *Syria*, by the meanes of *Ptolomais* and *Antyrus*, which were deliuered vnto him in treaſon by *Theodotus*: and *Ptolomy* againſt *Antiochus*. *Licurgus* to follow *Cleomenes*, beſieged *Athence*, a Towne of the *Megalopolitains*. The *Aeheins* leuied both Horſe and Foote. *Philip* parted from *Macedon* with his Army, hauing about tenne thouſand Leginaries, and fiue thouſand men arm'd with Targets, and about eight hundred Horſe. This was the preparation for warre at that time. The *Rhodiens* made warre at the ſame time againſt the *Conſtantinopolitains* for ſome ſuch cauſes. The *Conſtantinopolitains* inhabit a City ſtrong by ſcituation, and wonderfull commodious to finde all things that may giue content vnto man: For it is ſo well ſeated vpon the Gulfe of *Pontus*, as no Marchant can enter nor goe forth, but at the mercy of *Conſtantinople*. And as the Pontique Sea, brings any things neceſſary for man, the *Conſtantinopolitains* are the Maſters: for the Countries there-abouts ſupplies them with great aboundance of Leather for their common vſe, and a great multitude of Stags, and they ſend to vs honey for daintineſſe, wax, fleſh ſalted, and ſuch like things: They draw alſo from vs other things which abound in our Countries, as Oyles, and all ſorts of Wines: Somtimes they furniſh Wheat, and we doe the like to them.

Philips Army.

The ſcituation of *Conſtantinople*.

Theſe are the things whereof the *Grecians* make vſe, or elſe the vent would bee vnprofitable vnto them; whereas the *Conſtantinopolitains* ſhould ſhew themſelues malicious in allying themſelues to the *Gaules*, or to any other barbarous Neighbours: So as the *Grecians* ſhould be forced to abandon the Pontique Sea, for the ſtraightneſſe of the places, and the multitude of *Barbarians*. Wherefore the *Conſtantinopolitains* haue great commodities by reaſon of their ſcituation, tranſporting thoſe things whereof they abound, and drawing vnto them what they want without any paine or danger. They are alſo very profitable to the other Cities of *Greece*. And therefore the *Grecians* did honour and

eſteeme

eſteeme them worthy, to whom they not onely giue thanks, but they are bound to giue them Succours againſt the *Barbarians*, as doing good to all men. We haue thought good to ſhew the cauſe, why this Citie is ſo happy: for that there are many which know not the nature and property of the place: and it hath beene alwayes our deſire, that ſuch things might come to the knowledge of many: and that if it might be, they might be viſible to the eye, if not, yet at the leſt as much as ſhould be poſſible, they might be comprehended in the vnderſtanding.

The Sea then which they call Pontique, hath in circuit two and twenty thouſand furlongs, or there-abouts, hauing two mouthes oppoſite one to the other: whereof the one comes from *Propontis*, and the other from the blacke Sea, the which hath in circuit eight thouſand furlongs. But for that diuers great Riuers fall from *Aſia* into it, and more out of *Europe*, it ſometimes flowes into the Pontique Sea by its mouth, and from thence into *Propontis*. The Mouth of the blacke Sea is called *Boſphorus Cimeriques*, and is thirty furlongs broad, and threeſcore in length. *The circuit of the Pontique Sea.* *Boſphorus Cimeriques.*

As for the mouth of the Pontique Sea, it is called the ſtreight of *Conſtantinople*, whoſe length is not in euery place equall: for from the *Propontis* the ſpace betwixt *Chalcedon*, and *Conſtantinople*, containes foureteene furlongs, and from the Pontique Sea, the which they call *Fanum*, ſcituated in *Aſia* (whereas *Iaſon* firſt as they ſacrificed to the twelue Gods, returning from *Cholchos*) is diſtant from *Europe* tenne furlongs. Moreouer, they deliuer two reaſons, why the blacke Sea and the Pontique runne continually: whereof the one is well knowne, for that the water encreaſeth by the multitude of Riuers which fall continually into it, and hauing no other meanes to voide it, it muſt of neceſſity encreaſe, ſo as it is forced to paſſe away by its mouth. The other is, that the bottome is fill'd with aboundance of ſand, which the Riuers bring continually into it: ſo as the water is forced to ſwell, and ſo to paſſe away. Theſe are the true cauſes of their courſe, which neede not the relation of Marchants to purchaſe credit, but onely of naturall reaſon, which is the trueſt teſtimony that can be found. *Two cauſes why the blacke Sea and the Pontique run continually.*

But ſeeing wee are fallen vpon this diſcourſe, wee muſt not omit any thing, (as many Hiſtoriographers doe) to ſeeke out the ſecrets of Nature: and wee muſt vſe (as much as poſſibly wee may) a demonſtratiue relation, to the end wee may leaue nothing in doubt to thoſe which deſire to vnderſtand. Neither were it fitting in theſe times, (when as all things haue beene diſcouered) to ſeeke the teſtimony of Poets or fabulous Writers in doubtfull things: the which former Hiſtoriographers haue done.

By this meanes, as *Heraclides* ſaith, they haue not propounded teſtimonies worthy of credit, in doubtfull things, and which are in debate. Wee therefore ſay that the Pontique Sea fills it ſelfe continually with ſand, which the Riuers bring into it, and that in time it will be made euen with the land. The like we ſay of the blacke Sea, ſo as the ſcituation of places continue as wee ſee them at this day, and that the cauſes of the ſand which fall continually into it ceaſe not. For ſeeing the time

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is infinite, and the bottomes whereof wee ſpeake are encloſed with certaine limits, it is manifeſt, that by a long ſucceſſion of time, they would be fill'd vp by the deſcent of that which falls into them, bee it neuer ſo little, ſo as it continues. And for that the ſands which are brought into them, are of no ſmall quantity, but in a manner infinite, it is apparent that what wee ſay will ſoone happen: and wee ſee it partly already, for that the blacke Sea is in a manner fill'd vp: for, the greateſt depth hath not aboue fiue fathome, or ſeauen at the moſt, wherefore they cannot ſaile without great Ships, vnleſſe the Marriners towe them off by their Maſts. And although in the beginning the blacke Sea was like vnto the Pontique in taſte, as the Ancients confeſſe, Yet it is now a very ſweete Mariſh: for that the ſea hath beene ſurmounted by aboundance of ſands, and the many ſweete Riuers which fall into it. The like will happen to the Pontique, and begins already: But it cannot be ſo eaſily diſcouered by reaſon of the great depth. And yet if we ſhall obſerue it well, we ſhall finde it euident: for there are made within it by the ſubſtance (which by the deſcent is carryed, for that the *Danowe* enters by many mouthes) hills which the Marriners call Shelfes, a daies iourney from the ſhore: where many times in the night they ſuffer Shipwracke.

A

B

The *Danowe*.

The ſhelfes in the Sea.

Behold the cauſe why theſe Shelfes are rather made farre within the Sea, then neere the ſhore: for the greater force the Riuer hath in their courſe, driuing the waues into the ſea, it is neceſſary that the ſand and other ſubſtance ſhould be carried farre into it: And whereas the violency of the Riuers ceaſeth by reaſon of the depth of the Sea, rather then by a naturall reaſon, all the ſands ſinke and findes a bottome where it ſtayes. Wherefore it happens that the ſhelfes of ſwifteſt Riuers are found fartheſt into the Sea, and their depth neere vnto the ſhore: where as they which haue a ſlow courſe, are not farre from the mouth. Finally, wee muſt not wonder at the great quantity of wood, ſtone, and ſand, which is carried into the Pontique Sea: for that many times wee ſee a torrent or land flood ouerflowe a great Countrey in a ſhort time, carrying away earth and ſtone. So as it ſometimes happens, there is ſuch an alteration made of a great Countrey, as in ſeeing it ſoone after, we doe ſcarce know it. Wherefore wee muſt not wonder, if ſo many and ſuch great Riuers fall continually into the Pontique Sea, in the end fill it vp: for this is not onely likely, but alſo neceſſary, if wee will diligently examine the reaſon, the likelihood it ſhould proue ſo, is great, for as much as the Pontique Sea differs from ours, for that the blacke Sea is ſweeter. Wherefore it followes, that when as the Pontique Sea hath paſt as much more time as the blacke, for that it is of a greater depth, it will be ſweet and mooriſh like vnto it: and the ſooner, for that there are more Riuers, and greater fallen into it. Wee haue ſpoken theſe things for thoſe which thinke that the Pontique Sea cannot bee fill'd vp, nor become mooriſh, being now a full Sea. Wee haue likewiſe done it, for that Saylors report ſuch variety of lyes, to the end that like children we ſhould not alwayes giue credit vnto them, for that wee haue not viſited the places: and that hauing ſome knowledge of the

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tryeth,

trueth, we may diſcouer whether that which they relate be true or falſe. But let vs returne to the commodity of the ſcituation of *Conſtantinople*, as the length of the Sea, which ioynes the Pontique, and the *Propontis* hath ſixe ſcore furlongs, and that *Fanum* limits the part which is from the Pontique Sea, and *Conſtantinople*.

On the other which is from the *Propontis*, there ſtands a Temple betwixt both, which they call the refuge of *Europe*, ſeated vpon a Promontory on the mouth of the Pontique Sea, and is diſtant from *Aſia* fiue furlongs. It is ſcituated vpon the greateſt ſtreight of the Sea, where as King *Darius* made a Bridge as they report, at ſuch time as hee A made a deſcent againſt the *Sythians*. From the Pontique Sea vnto this place the Waues runne equally, for that the ſhores of either ſide are of one diſtance. But when it comes to the refuge of *Europe*, where (as we haue ſaid) the Sea is narroweſt, the Water of the Pontique Sea beats violently vpon the oppoſite Country, and thoſe places of *Aſia* which are right againſt it: Then it doubles its courſe, againſt the Promontory of *Europe* neere vnto the Altars; and then it falls into the Country which the inhabitants call *Oxe*. This ſtands in *Aſia* whereas *Io* (hauing paſt the Sea firſt) ſtaied, as fables report. Yet in the end it takes its courſe to *Conſtantinople*, hauing bin beaten backe by the B *Oxe*. Whereas diſperſing it ſelfe about the City, it partly diuides it ſylfe, and ſeperates that place which they call the Horne; and on the other ſide it flowes againe in its owne courſe. Yet this violence cannot paſſe into that Country which is right againſt it, where *Calcedon* ſtands: For where as it makes ſo many turnings here and there, and that the Gulfe is of no ſmall breadth, it failes in a manner in this place, paſſing to the oppoſite part, not in a direct Line but bending: So as leauing *Calcedon*, it takes its courſe by the Gulfe. This drawes ſo many Commodities to the *Conſtantinopolitains*, and the contrary to the *Calcedonians*. And although it be apparent that the ſcituation of theſe C two Cities are equally commodious, yet the paſſage is difficult for thoſe which will ſaile to *Calcedon*. Contrariwiſe they are carried to *Conſtantinople* by the violence of the Waues: So as it ſeemes that they which will goe from *Calcedon* to *Conſtantinople*, cannot Saile directly thither by reaſon of the Violent courſe of the ſtreame: And therefore they recouered the *Oxe*, and the Towne which they call *Chryſopolis*, from whence they are afterwards Tranſported by force vnto *Conſtantinople*.

King *Darius*.

The refuge of *Europe*.

The Country of the *Oxe*.

Chryſopolis.

Finally the *Conſtantinopolitans* haue a good commodity to Saile any D way, whither they bend to *Helleſponte* with a Southerly Winde, or elſe from the Pontique Sea to *Helleſponte*. You muſt vnderſtand that the direct and common courſe from *Conſtantinople* to the ſtreights of *Propontis*, is by *Abydos* and *Seſtes*; and in like manner from the ſtreights to *Conſtantinople*. But it fals out otherwiſe with the *Calcedonians*, for the reaſons which we haue mentioned, and for the diſtance of the Region of the *Cyziceneins*; for it is a difficult thing for them which Saile from *Helleſponte* to *Calcedon*, to keepe the Coaſt of *Europe*, and in approaching the Country neere vnto *Conſtantinople*, to turne vnto *Calcedon*,

The commodities of *Conſtantinople* by the Sea of *Abydos* and *Seſtes*.

cedon, for the violent courſe of the ſtreame. And againe, it is impoſſible to Saile from thence into *Thrace*, as well for the violence of the Waues, which go croſſe, as the contrariety of the Windes, for a Southerly winde is good for thoſe which enter into the Pontique Sea, and the contrary for ſuch as go foorth; and theſe two winds only ſerue to go in, and come out. Theſe are the things whereby the *Conſtantinopolitains* draw ſuch great commodities from the Sea.

The continuall Warre of the *Conſtantinopolitains* with the *Thracians*.

Now we will ſhew the diſcommodities which the City is to ſuffer by reaſon of the firme Land. *Thrace* enuirons the Country of *Conſtantinople* in ſuch ſort, as it imbraceth it from Sea to Sea. So as they A are in perpetuall Warre with the *Thracians*: For although they get a Battaile or two againſt this cruell and barbarous Nation, yet they cannot quench the Wars, the multitude of people and Princes is ſo great: For that after they haue gotten Victory ouer one, there doth ſuddainly ariſe three other mighty Princes, who ouer-runne the Country for ſpoile: Neither can they doe any thing to haue an accord, or to pacifie the Warre by paying of Tribute; for preſently they find their Enemies multiplied. And therefore they are waſted and conſumed with a continuall and cruell Warre. But what can you finde more diſloyall then a neighbour enemy? Nor a Warre more dangerous then with a barba- B rous Nation? And with all theſe miſeries wherewith they are oppreſſed by Land, they are moreouer tormented with *Tantalus* paine, as the Poets feigne: For the *Barbarians* (conſidering that they haue a fertile Region) ouer-run the Country and ſpoile it, after that the Land hath bin well manured, and that the fruite which is very beautifull, and in abundance, is in Seaſon.

The *Conſtantinopolitains* ſeeing ſo great a ſpoile of their goods, and the loſſe of their labour and charges, are wonderfully grieued. Yet bearing this War with the *Thracians* by a Cuſtome, they alwaies held their auncient accord with the *Grecians*. But when as the *Gaules* be- C ganne to be their neighbours, vnder the Conduct of King *Comontoire*, they were in great danger. You muſt vnderſtand that the *Gaules* which

Brennus Chiefe of the *Gaules*.

had made Warre vnder the leading of *Brennus*, and had eſcaped a great danger at *Delphos*, paſt not into *Aſia* when as they came to *Helleſponte*: But allured with the commodity of the place, they ſtaied neere vnto *Conſtantinople*, whereas after they vanquiſhed the *Thracians*, and built

The *Thracians* vanquiſhed by the *Gaules*.

Tyle the Royall, they made Warre againſt them of *Conſtantinople*. Who at the beginning pacified their fury with preſents, when as they firſt aſſailed them vnder King *Comontoire*, in giuing them ſometimes thirty thouſand, another time fifty thouſand, and ſometimes a hun- D dred thouſand Crownes, to the end they ſhould not ouer-runne their

An abſolute deſeate of the *Gaules* Empire.

Country. Finally, they were forced to giue them foure-ſcore thouſand Crownes yearely vntill the time of *Clyare*, at what time the *Gaules* Empire had an end, and this Nation was wholly vanquiſhed and extinct by the *Thracians*. Their Treaſure being at that time exhauſted by reaſon of theſe Tributes, they ſent firſt an Embaſſie into *Greece* to demaund their aſſiſtance. But for that moſt of the *Grecians* made no account of it, they reſolued to take a Tole vpon all thoſe which ſhould

paſſe

paſſe into the Blacke Sea. The which all the reſt diſliking for the nouelty of the thing, they blamed the *Rhodiens* for ſuffering it, as being then Lords of the Sea. A Tole impoſed vpon thoſe that ſailed into the Blacke Sea by *Conſtantinople*.

This was the beginning and Fountaine of the Warre which wee are now to deſcribe. The *Rhodiens* mooued, aſwell with their owne loſſe as with that of their neighbours, hauing firſt called their Allies, ſent an Embaſſie to *Conſtantinople* to aboliſh the Tole. VVho performing their Voyage according to their Charge, could not perſwade the Commons: For that *Hecatondore* and *Olympiodore* (who had then *Hecatondore & Olympiodore.*
A the Gouernment of the Common weale) oppoſed themſelues: So as they returned without effect. Soone after they ſent to declare VVarre vnto them for the afore-ſaid cauſes. Preſently after the *Rhodiens* ſent Embaſſadours to *Pruſias*, to perſwade him to make Warre againſt the *Pruſias.* *Conſtantinopolitains*: for they knew well hee was offended with them for certaine cauſes. The *Conſtantinopolitains* in like manner ſolicited *Attalus* and *Acheus* by many Embaſſies, to ſuccour them againſt the *Rhodiens*. It is true that *Attalus* was at liberty, but hee was much oppreſſed with pouerty: for that *Acheus* had forced him to retire himſelfe within the liberties of his Fathers Empire. Finally *Acheus*, who teat- *Attalus* and *Acheus.*
B med himſelfe Lord of all the Countrey which lies on this ſide *Tauris*, and publiſhing himſelfe for King, promiſed ſuccours vnto the *Conſtantinopolitains*, which gaue them occaſion of great hope, and terrified very much the *Rhodiens* and *Pruſias*: For *Acheus* was allied vnto *Antiochus*, who raigned in *Syria*, and had attained to this Principallity by ſuch or the like meanes.

After the death of *Seleucus* father vnto *Antiochus*, and that his Sonne *Seleucus* the eldeſt of the brethren, had ſucceeded in the Realme, *Acheus* paſt the Mountaine of *Tauris* with him in regard of his kindred, about two yeares before the time whereof wee now ſpeake. For as The meanes of *Acheus* raigne.
C ſoone as *Seleucus* was King, and hearing that *Attalus* had taken the whole Country which lies on this ſide Mount *Tauris*, conſidering that hee muſt giue order to his Affaires, paſſeth the Mountaine with a great Army: VVhere within few dayes after hee was ſlaine by *Apaturin* a *Gaule*, and *Nicanor*. *Acheus* reſoluing to reuenge the death of his kinſman, kills them preſently. And then he gouernes the Army and all other affaires with great VViſedome and Courage. For when as the opportunity of the time, and the generall conſent of all the Souldiers, perſwaded him to take the Crowne; yet hee would not doe it, but kept the Realme for the younger Brother *Antiochus*: and gouerning all o-
D ther matters carefull, he reſolued to ſubdue the whole Country which is on this ſide *Tauris*. But when as all things had ſucceeded happily, and that in the end he had left nothing but *Pergamus* to *Attalus*, hee *Acheus* cauſeth himſelfe to be called King.
preſently changed his minde, and cauſed himſelfe to bee called their King, being growne proud with the Victories which hee had obtained contrary vnto his Hope. So as it fell out that his name was more feared, by the Inhabitants on this ſide *Tauris*, then of any other King or Prince.

Wherat the *Conſtantinopolitains* being moued, they made no difficulty

to vnder-take a Warre againſt the *Rhodiens* and *Pruſias*: Who accuſed them, that when they had promiſed to ſet vp his Images, yet they afterwards forgot it thorough negligence: And withall, hee was much more incenſed, for that they had done what poſſibly they could to pacifie the Warre which was kindled betwixt *Achæus* and *Attalus*: For that euery man knew that their peace was dangerous to him for many Reaſons. Finally, hee obiected againſt them, that whereas they had ſent an Embaſſie to *Attalus*, at the Games which he had made in the honour of *Minerua*, they had not ſent any one vnto him when hee gaues thankes vnto the Gods. For which reaſons (being incenſed) hee willingly embraced the *Rhodiens* party againſt them of *Conſtantinople*. And therefore hee agreed with their Embaſſadours that they ſhould ſend foorth a very ſtrong Fleete, to aſſaile the *Conſtantinopolitains* by Sea, promiſing likewiſe to inuade them by Land with no leſſe forces then they ſhould. This was the the beginning, and the cauſes of the Warre which the *Rhodiens* made againſt the *Conſtantinopolitains*.

They alſo at the firſt entred into it with great Courage, hoping that *Achæus* would ſuccour them, according vnto his promiſe. They had alſo called *Thibete* of *Macedony*, whom they oppoſed againſt *Pruſias*: to take from him the meanes to make VVarre againſt another, being much troubled for the defence of his owne. But *Pruſias* parting with great rage and fury againſt the *Conſtantinopolitains*, hee preſently tooke *Panum*, a place very ſtrong by Nature, and ſeated vpon the mouth of the Pontique Lea, which they of *Conſtantinople* had lately purchaſed for a great ſumme of money, mooued with the opportunity of the place: to the end that no man might enter or goe foorth of the Pontique Sea but by their fauour. Moreouer he put all the Countrey of *Aſia* (which the *Conſtantinopolitains* had long helde) to fire and Sword. On the other ſide the *Rhodiens* hauing made ſixe ſhippes, and taken foure from their Allies, whereof they made *Xenophante* Commaunder, they ſailed vnto *Helleſponte* with an Army of ten ſaile of very ſtrong Shippes. And hauing left nine neere vnto *Seſte*, for the defence of the entry into the Pontique Sea, the Commaunder hauing a good VVinde ſailed with the tenth vnto *Conſtantinople* to view their Countenance: And whither at this firſt beginning of the VVarre they would be better aduiſed. But finding them ill affected, hee retired vnto his whole Army with the which hee returned to *Rhodes*.

Panum taken by *Pruſias* from the *Conſtantinopolitains*.

In the meane time the *Conſtantinopolitains* ſent Embaſſies, ſome vnto *Achæus*, intreating him to haſten his Succours: Others into *Macedony* to draw downe *Thibete*; for it ſeemed that the Realme of *Bythinia* did as rightly belong to *Thibete* as to *Pruſias*, for that hee was his Vncle. The *Rhodiens* being aduertiſed of the obſtinacy of the *Conſtantinopolitains* vſed Wiſedome and Policy: For when they vnderſtood that all their Hope was in *Achæus*, whoſe Father *Ptolomy* kept in Priſon at *Alexandria*, and that *Achæus* leauing all other Affaires whatſoeuer, was carefull of his deliuery, they thought good to ſend an Embaſſie to *Ptolomy*,

An Embaſſie ſent by the *Rhodiens* to *Ptolomy*.

Ptolomy, and to intreate him with great Affection, to deliuer vnto them the father of *Achæus*: to the end that by this meanes they ſhould make himbound vnto them. *Ptolomy* after he had heard the Embaſſadours, did not ſeeme very willing to deliuer *Andromochus*, hoping to make vſe of him at neede: for that hee was not yet well pacified with *Antiochus*, and that *Achæus* hauing ſeazed vppon the Realme without any contradiction, and farre extended his power: For *Andromochus* was Father vnto *Achæus*, and brother to *Laodicea* Wife to *Seleucus*. Yet to pleaſe the *Rhodians* hee deliuers him vnto
A them, to reſtore him vnto his Sonne if they thought good. The *Rhodians* by this meanes hauing done according to their owne deſires, and reconciling themſelues vnto *Achæus* by ſome other meanes, they did fruſtrate the *Conſtantinopolitains* of their principall hope. There fell out alſo another accident which troubled them very much: For *Thibete* whom they had drawne out of *Macedony* (as we haue ſaid) died ſuddainly of ſickneſſe. For which accidents the *Conſtantinopolitains* began to faint.

The Death of *Thibete*.

Contrariwiſe *Pruſias* hauing a greater hope of his Enterprize, parted from *Aſia* to make Warre, and leuied men in *Thrace*, preſſing the
B *Conſtantinopolitains* ſo neere, as they durſt not iſſue or ſally out of the Gates, which looked towards *Europe*. Wherefore being thus deſtitute of all hope, and ſuffering all the iniuries of Warre, they ſought and inuented ſome honeſt meanes to be freed. And therefore when as *Canare* King of the *Gaules* approached neere vnto the City, labouring by all meanes to pacifie this Warre, both they and *Pruſias* referred themſelues vnto him for all their Quarrells. Whereof the *Rhodians* being aduertiſed, and deſiring to bring their Reſolution to a finall end, they ſent *Aridix*, and *Polemocle* to *Conſtantinople* with three Triremes, meaning (as they commonly ſay) to ſend them peace or
C Warre.

Canare King of the *Gaules*.

After the comming of this Embaſſie vnto *Conſtantinople*, there was an Accord made with the *Rhodians*; that the *Conſtantinopolitains* ſhould not take Tole of any one that ſail'd into the Pontique Sea. The which if they performed, the *Rhodians* and their Allies would make a firme peace with them. And as *Pruſias* they concluded and agreed vppon theſe Conditions: that *Pruſias* and the *Conſtantinopolitains* ſhould liue in Peace and Amity, and neuer hereafter make Warre one againſt another. And that *Pruſias* ſhould make reſtitution of all
D the Prouinces, Townes, People, and Slaues, without any recompence, in the like manner hee ſhould doe of the Shippes, and other Booty which hee had taken from them in the beginning of the Warre. Moreouer the Carpenters VVorke, Tiles, and remainder of Houſes, which hee had tranſported from *Fanum*, (for *Pruſias* fearing the comming of *Thibete*, had razed all the Burroughes whereinto the Enemy might retire himſelfe:) and that finally hee ſhould bind himſelfe with all the Souldiers of *Bythinea*, to reſtore vnto the Inhabitants of *Myſia*, (which are vnder the obedience of the *Conſtantinopolitains*) all they had taken from them.

An accord betwixt the *Conſtantinopolitans* and the *Rhodians*.

An accord made with *Pruſias*.

This was the beginning and ending of the Warre of *Pruſias* and the *Rhodiens* againſt the *Conſtantinopolitains*. At that time the *Gnoſiens* ſent an Embaſſie to the *Rhodiens*, to draw from them three or foure well built Triremes, with the which *Polemocle* had lately made his Voyage, with three other ſtately Veſſels of Warre, againſt thoſe which lately had Reuolted againſt them. The which being done, when as the Army arriued at *Candy*, the *Eleuterneins* doubting that ſome few daies before *Polemocle* had ſlaine *Timarche* their Burgeſſe to pleaſe the *Gnoſiens*, made Warre againſt the *Rhodiens*, after they had made their complaint. A little before the *Lyciens* had ſo many ſeuerall croſſes. A

Candy in a manner reduced all vnder the obedience of the *Gnoſiens* and *Gortiniens*.

Finally all *Candy* was in Combuſtion. The *Gnoſiens* and *Gortiniens* making Warre with one Councell and conſent, reducing all the Iland vnder their obedience, except the *Lyciens* Towne: For the taking whereof they did their vtmoſt power and indeauours, thinking in the end to raze and ruine it quite: To the end it might ſerue for an Example to other Cities, to terrifie them from a Reuolt: For that it alone would not receiue them for their Lords. In the beginning all they of *Candy* made Warre againſt the *Lyciens*, but they beganne preſently to fall into Diſcorde, vpon a very light cauſe: The which happens often with that Nation. So as the *Polyreneins*, the *Certeins*, the *Lampeins*, and moreouer the *Horeins*, and the *Arcadians* held the *Lyciens* party, forſaking the alliance of the *Gnoſiens*. The *Gortiniens* were in diuers opinions: The moſt aged held the *Gnoſiens* party: and the young men that of the *Lyciens*. The *Gnoſiens* ſeeing the will of their Allies thus changed, and that the Affaires went otherwiſe then they formerly expected, they drew a thouſand men from *Etolia* by the right of Alliance. Which being done, the moſt aged of the *Gortiniens* ſeazed ſuddainly vpon the Fort, drawing in the *Gnoſiens* and *Etoliens*, and deliuered them the Towne, chaſing away the party of the young men, and killing ſome moſt cruelty. B C

The *Lyciens* had by chance at that time made a Roade into the Enemies Country, leauing no forces within the Towne, whereof the *Gnotiens* being aduertiſed by their Spies, they tooke it vnfurniſhed of any forces, and ſent the Women and Children to *Gnoſon*. And when they had burnt and razed it with fury, they retired. The *Lyciens* returning, were ſo amazed when they ſaw all in fire and ruine, as no man durſt enter into the Towne. But going about it in troupes, they lamented their Countrey and Fortune. From thence turning head, they returned to the *Lampeins*, who receiued them louingly and with great affection: Who being Fugitiues and ſtrangers, were in one day admitted Burgeſſes, and made Warre againſt the *Gnoſiens* with the Allies. D

The *Lyciens* Towne razed and burnt.

Behold how *Lycia* a Collony of the *Lacedemonians*, and the moſt auncient of *Candy*, was ſuddainly and miſerably ruined. The *Polyreneins*, *Lampeins*, with all their other Allies, ſeeing the *Gnoſiens* to be in League with the *Etoliens*, and the *Etoliens* to be enemies to *Philip* and the *Acheins*, ſent an Embaſſie to the King and the *Acheins*, to make a League

League with them, and to draw ſuccours from them. Who receiued them, and ſent them foure hundred *Sclauonians*, vnder the Commaund of *Plator*, and about a hundred *Phoceins*, who at their arriuall did greatly aſſiſt the *Polyreneins* allied to the *Achiens*. For within a ſhort time, their forces being increaſed, they forced the *Eleuterneins*, *Cydoniates*, *Aptereins*, and diuers others being ſhut vp within their Wals, to abandon the *Gnoſiens* alliance, and to imbrace their party. Which things being effected, the *Polyreneins* and their Allies ſent fiue hundred *Candyots* to *Philip* and the *Acheins*. Not long before the *Gnoſiens* had ſent a thouſand to the *Etoliens*. Thus the Warre was manna-ged for the loue one of another. The baniſhed men among the *Gortiniens* ſurprized the Port of the *Pheaſtins* and that of the *Gortiniens*, from whence they made many ſallies againſt them of the Towne. And this was the eſtate of the affaires of *Candy*.

Plator chiefe of the Sclauoni-ans.

A

At the ſame time *Methridates* made Warre againſt the *Synopenſes*, which was in a manner the beginning and cauſe of his miſ-fortune. And when as they required ſuccours of the *Rhodiens*, they made choiſe of three men for this buſineſſe: To whom there was giuen foure and twenty thouſand fiue hundred pounds, to furniſh the *Synopenſes* with neceſſary prouiſion for the War. They which had this Commiſſion, made prouiſion of ten thouſand Goate skinnes fill'd with Wine, of thirty ſixe thouſand pound weight of Ropes made with Haire, and ten thouſand made with ſinewes, a thouſand Armes compleate, three thouſand pieces of gold coyned, foure Merchants ſhips, with Croſſe-bowes and other Engines of battery in great number. The *Synopenſes* hauing receiued all this prouiſion, returned to *Synope*. They were in great feare leaſt that *Methridates* ſhould beſiege them both by Sea and Land. *Synope* is ſeated on the right ſide of the Pontique Sea, where as the Riuer of *Phaſis* enters into the Sea, and likewiſe vppon a Cape, which ſtretcheth farre into the Sea: The necke whereof is cloſed in by the Towne, which ioynes vnto *Aſia*, and hath in length about two Furlongs: The reſt of the Cape aduanceth it ſelfe into the Sea, which is a flat Countrey and the approaches very eaſie, and contrariwiſe very difficult and inacceſſible, to thoſe which come from the Sea, neyther hath it any paſſages. The *Synopenſes* fearing that *Methridates* ſhould beſiege the Towne, not onely on that ſide which ioynes to *Aſia*, but likewiſe on the other, drawing his Army to Land, they did carefully fortifie that part which is inuironed by the Sea, leauing a good Guard there to keep the Enemy from landing: for the place is of a ſmall Circuit, and requires no great guard. This is all which paſt at that time in *Synope*.

Mithridates.

The *Rhodiens* ſuccour the *Synopenſes*.

B

The Situation of *Synope*.

C

D

King *Philip* parting with his Army from *Macedony* (for there wee left our former Diſcourſe) cauſed it to march by *Theſſaly* and *Epirus*, making haſt to paſſe by thoſe Regions into *Etolia*. *Alexander* and *Dorimache* reſolving at the ſame time to take *Egirus*, hauing drawne together twelue hundred *Etoliens* at *Oeanthy*, which is one of their Townes, oppoſite vnto that whereof wee now ſpeake, and their ſhippes being ready to paſſe, they only attended an opportunity to put their

Alexander.
Dorimache.
Egirus.
Oeanthy.

their enterprize in Execution. It happened that an *Etolian* hauing liued long at *Egire*, and finding that the Guard at the Gate kept no good Watch by reaſon of their Drunkenneſſe, hee acquaints *Dorimache* therewith, ſoliciting him to take the Towne by night: he being a man accuſtomed vnto ſuch Actions. *Egire* is a Towne of *Morea*, ſcituated neere vnto the Gulfe of *Corinthe*, betwixt *Egia* and *Sicyon*, vpon a certaine Hill which is rough and difficult, drawing towards *Parnaſe*, and about ſeauen Furlongs diſtant from the Sea. When the time was come, *Dorimache* hauing imbarqued his Army, and prouided carefully for all things neceſſary, he came before the breake of day to a Riuer which runs neere vnto the Hill whereon the Towne ſtands.

The ſcituation of *Egire*.

From thence, he with *Alexander* and *Archidamus* the ſonne of *Pantaleon*, accompanied with a great number of *Etoliens*, marcht directly vnto the Towne, along the way which leads to *Egia*. The Fugitiues was gone before with twenty of their beſt foote-men, for the knowledge he had of the places: And had gotten the Walls by Rockes which ſeemed inacceſſible: Where as entring the Towne by a ſincke, he found the Guards a ſleepe: Who being ſlaine, and hauing broken the barres of the Gate without diſcouery, they made way for the *Etoliens*, who entred with great fury, and carried themſelues ſimply and without diſcretion, which was an occaſion of the *Egirates* Victory, and of their defeate and ſhame. For thinking that all had beene loſt for the *Egirates*, they ſuddainly Armed, and put themſelues in Battaile within the Towne, where they ſtaied for a certaine time. But at the breake of day euery man thought of his owne priuate profit and gaine: And diſperſing themſelues throughout the whole Towne, they fell vppon the Burgeſſes houſes, and rifled their goods: Finally they had no care at all but of ſpoile and Rapine.

Egire ſurprized by the *Etoliens*.

The *Egirates* mooued at this ſtrange accident, ſome fled out of the Towne amazed with feare: whoſe houſes the Enemies had forced, for that the *Etoliens* were apparently maſters of the Towne. But they who hearing the ſound of the Trumpet, were gone foorth with their ſeruants to aide and ſuccour the City, retired vnto the Fort: Wherefore their number and force augmented continually, and the *Etoliens* grew weaker: For that the *Egirates* repaired ſtill to the Fort, and the others diſperſed themſelues in houſes for ſpoile. And although that *Dorimache* ſaw the apparent danger: yet without any amazement, he aſſaults the Fort with a wonderfull Reſolution, imagining that they which were retired into it, being amazed at his comming, would preſently yeild vnto the *Etoliens*. But the *Egirates* incouraging one another defended the Fort, with incredible reſolution and aſſurance.

An aſſault giuen by *Dorimache* to the Fort of *Egire*.

By this meanes the Combat was furious of either ſide. But for that the Fort was not incloſed with wals, they fought man to man; and the Combat for a time was furious and equall: For that the one fought for their Country and children; and the other for their liues. But the *Etoliens* in

in the end beganto flie ſhamefully: whom the *Egirate* (growing more couragious) purſued: ſo as a great part of the *Etoliens* died in ſallying out at the Gate, oppreſſing one another in the throng. *Alexander* was ſlaine fighting valliantly. *Dorimache* ſtriuing to get forth, died in the preſſe. The reſt were preſently ſlaine, or kill'd themſelues falling into Pits. There were few ſaued, who abandoned their Armes, and fled to the ſhips. By this meanes the *Egirates* by their incredible courage recouered their Countrey in a manner loſt by negligence.

The *Etoliens* defeated by the *Egirates*.
Alexander ſlaine.
Dorimache ſmothered.

At the ſame time *Euripides*, (who had beene ſent by the *Etoliens* to be Chiefe of the *Elienſes*, who after he had ouer-run the Countries of the *Dimenſes*, *Pharenees* and *Tritenſes*) tooke his way through the *Elienſes* Countrey, chaſing before him a great Booty, whereof *Micchus* of *Dime* being aduertiſed, who by chance was at that time ſubrogated in the place of the Commander of the *Acheins*, and following the Enemy vpon the retreate, with the helpe of the *Dimenſes*, *Pharenſes*, and *Tritenſes*, fell vnaduiſedly into their Ambuſhes, and was defeated with the great loſſe of his men: whereof there died forty Foot, and there were two hundred taken. *Euripides* glorious of this good fortune, ſoone after went againe to Field, and tooke a Caſtle from the *Dimenſes*, which was of conſequence, the which the people of the Countrey called *Mure*: and they ſay, that *Hercules* built it in old time, making Warre againſt the *Elienſes*, to vſe it as a Fort, and retreate in the time of Warre.

Micchus defeated.
The Caſtle of *Mure* taken by *Euripides*.

The *Dimenſes*, *Pharenſes*, and *Tritenſes* hauing made this loſſe, and fearing for the future by the taking of the Caſtle by *Euripides*, they firſt ſent Letters to the Chiefe of the *Acheins*, to aduertiſe them of their misfortune, and to demand ſuccours againſt the *Etoliens*. And afterwards they ſent ſome of the Chiefe of their Towne in Embaſſie. *Arate* could not raze any mercenary Souldiers, for that during the Warre of *Cleomenes*, the *Acheins* had payed them ill, and withall hee mannaged the affaires fearefully and without conſideration. And therefore *Lycurgus* tooke *Athenet*, a Towne of the *Megalopolitains*: the like *Euripides* did (beſides the former prize) to *Gorgon* and *Telphuſia*. The *Dimenſes*, *Pharenſes*, and *Tritenſes* being fruſtrate of the hope they had in the Chiefe of the *Acheins*, reſolued among themſelues not to contribute any more money, to ſupply the neceſſities of their Warre: And that they would leuie at their owne charge about three hundred Foote, and fifty Horſe to defend their Countrey. Whereby they ſeemed to haue taken good order for their priuate affaires, but they had no great reſpect to the profit of a Comminalty: For they haue giuen a very bad example to others, to make a new enterprize vpon any occaſion: whereof the blame may well be layd vpon the Commander, who by his ſloth and negligence had fruſtrated his men of their expectance.

Athenes taken by *Licurgus*.

It is a common courſe, that all they which are in danger, hold that Friendſhip is to be entertained and kept, ſo long as there is any hope to draw ſuccours from them: and when that ceaſeth, then they are to prouide for their owne affaires. And therefore the *Dimenſes*, *Pharenſes*, and *Tritenſes* are to be pardoned, for that in the extreame danger

of their Townes, they had leuied men, conſidering the negligence of the Chiefe of the *Acheins*. But whereas they would not furniſh money for the common affaires of the league, that is not excuſable: For as it was not fit to neglect their owne affaires, ſo it was a baſe and diſgracefull thing to omit that which concernes the preſeruation of a common league: ſeeing they wanted not Victuals according to the common conuentions: and moreouer they had beene Authours of the league with the *Acheins*. And this was the eſtate of the affaires of *Morea*.

Philips Army. King *Philip* had paſt *Theſſaly*, and was in *Epirus*: whereas taking a number of *Epirotes*, with the *Macedonians* he brought with him, and A three hundred Slingers out of *Acheia*, with a hundred *Candiots* which had beene ſent by the *Meſſeniens*, hee comes vnto the Countrey of the *Ambraciates*: whereas if hee had entred preſently into the heart of *Etolia*, the Warre might haue had an end. But for that hee was ſolicited by the *Epirotes* to force *Ambracia* firſt, he gaue the *Etoliens* meanes to reſiſt, and prouide that which was neceſſary for their defence. But the *Epirotes* preferring their priuate intereſt before the common profit of the Allies, hauing a great deſire to make *Ambracia* ſubiect, perſwaded *Philip* to beſiege it, and to take it before he paſt: For they conceiued that the Towne of *Ambracia* would bee very beneficiall vnto B vnto them, if they might take from the *Etoliens*, and that it would eaſily fall into their hands. You muſt vnderſtand that *Ambracia* is a place ſtrong by nature, well fortified with double walles, and ſo enuironed with Moares and Mariſhes, as there is but one narrow paſſage by Land, made by Art. Moreouer, it lookes towards the Towne, and the Prouince of the *Ambraciates*. *Philip* at the perſwaſion of the *Epirotes*, plants his Campe neere vnto *Ambracia*, making prouiſion of that which was neceſſary for the Siege.

The ſituation of *Ambracia*.

Scope makes an incurſion into *Macedony*. At the ſame time *Scope* drawing together a great number of *Etoliens*, and paſſing thorough *Theſſaly*, enters into *Macedony*, and puts all C that Region to fire and ſword which lies neere vnto Mount *Pierie*, and drawes towards *Die*, making a great ſpoile. And for that the Inhabitants of the Countrey were fled, he razed the houſes, and places for Games: and not content therewith, he ſet fire on the Cloiſters built neere vnto the Temple with great charge: moreouer, he ruined whatſoeuer was erected there for ornament or for vſe: Finally, he beate in peeces all the Images of Kings. Thus *Scope* in the beginning and firſt fury of the War, hauing not onely aſſaulted Men, but euen the Gods themſelues, returned into *Etolia*, not as a Church-robber, or execrable to the immortall Gods, but he was honoured as a man of merit, D and a good ſeruant to the Common-wealth: and withall he gaue great hope to the *Etoliens* for the time to come. For they conceiued that by this meanes no man durſt preſume to enter as an enemy into their Countrey, and contrariwiſe they might eaſily run and ſpoile not onely *Morea*, as they had beene accuſtomed, but alſo *Theſſaly* and *Macedony*. *Philip* aduertiſed of theſe thing which had beene done in *Macedony*, and ſuffring for the ignorance and couetouſneſſe of the *Epirotes*, held *Ambracia* beſieged: whereas making vſe of all Engins of Battery, he tooke

Ambracia taken by *Philip*.

it

it within forty daies, where leauing a garriſon, hauing firſt taken the oath he ſatisfied the will of the *Epirotes*, to whom *Ambracia* was deliuered.

After theſe things he raiſeth his Campe, and marcheth directly by the next valley, making haſte to paſſe the Gulfe of *Ambracia*, the which is very narrow, neere vnto the Temple of *Acarnania*, which they call *Antia*. This Gulfe comes from the Sea of *Sicily* betwixt *Epirus* and *Acarnania*, with a very narrow entry, being ſcarce ſixe hundred paces broad. But when as it dilates it ſelfe towards the Land, it is in a manner a hundred Furlongs broad, and three hundred in length, beginning at the Sea of *Sicily*. It diuides *Epirus* from *Acarnania* the one A lying directly towards the North, and *Acarnania* directly towards the South. Hauing paſt this Gulfe with his Army, and entring into *Acarnania*, he came to a Towne of *Etolia* which they call *Poetia*, leading with him two thouſand Foote, and two hundred Horſe of *Acarnania*. And planting his Campe about the Towne, and giuing many ſharpe aſſaults, he tooke it the third day after his comming by compoſition, and left a Garriſon of *Etoliens* therein taking their Oath. The Night following fifteene hundred *Etoliens* thinking that all things had beene ſafe, came to ſuccour their fellowes. The King aduertiſed of their comming, layed an Ambuſh, and ſlew the greateſt part: The reſt B were taken, except ſome few which eſcaped by flight. After this hee diſtributed Wheat to the Souldiers for a Moneth, for hee had gotten a great quantity in this Towne. Then he marcheth to the Region of the *Stretenſes*, and plants his Campe neere to the Riuer of *Acheloe*, about ten furlongs from the Towne: And from thence ouer-running the Prouince, hee puts all to fire and ſword, for that no man durſt ſhew himſelfe.

The Gulfe of *Ambracia*.

Poetia taken by Compoſition.

Fifteene hundred *Etoliens* defeated by *Philip*.

At the ſame time the *Acheins* more tormented with the Warre then the reſt, and aduertiſed that the King was not farre off, they ſent an Embaſſie vnto him to demand ſuccours. The Embaſſadours met the C King at *Straton*, where acquainting him with their neceſſities according to their charge, they intreate him to giue them ſuccours, and perſwade him by many reaſons, that in paſſing the *Rhie*, he ſhould take his way thorough the Countrey of the *Elsences*. Hauing heard them, the King ſent them backe, promiſing to conſider thereon: who raiſing his Campe, marcht to *Metropolis* and *Conope*. Whereof the *Etoliens* being aduertiſed, they abandoned the Towne, and retired to the Fort. When as *Philip* had ſet fire on the Towne, proceeding in his courſe, he drew to *Conope*. There the *Etolien* Horſe-men had made a head, to D encounter him at the paſſage of a Riuer, twenty Furlongs diſtant from the Towne, to ſtop his paſſage, or to fight with him if he paſt.

Metropolis taken and burnt.

An aſſembly of the *Etoliens* to keepe the paſſage of a Riuer.

Philip aduertiſed of their enterprize, commands thoſe that were armed with Targets to enter the Riuer firſt, and that keeping cloſe together, they ſhould ſtriue to paſſe in Battaile. Hauing obeyed him, the *Etoliens* hauing skirmiſhed in vaine with the firſt Troupe, for that it kept cloſe together, and afterwards with the ſecond and the third, in the end they retired to the Towne, deſpairing of their Enterprize. From that time the *Etoliens* Army kept the Townes: but *Philip* ouer-running the

Ithoria very ſtrong.

the Prouince at his pleaſure, ſpoiled *Ithoria* it ſelfe. It was a place ſeated vpon the paſſage, of great ſtrength both by Nature and Art: the which the Garriſon abandoned vpon his approach. The King razed it to the ground. Finally, he ruined all, reducing vnder his obedience many Townes which were ſtrong by ſcituation and fortification: demolliſhing all the Caſtles, whereof there were a great number in the Countrey. Then abating his fury, he gaue leaue vnto his men to run where they pleaſed for their owne gaine. After which he led his Army full of wealth towards the *Eniades*, and layed Siege to *Peania*, reſoluing to take it by aſſault: The which he did after many attempts, for although the Towne were not very bigge, hauing but a thouſand paces in circuit: yet it was not inferiour to the reſt in the ſtrength of Walles, Towers and Houſes. He razed the Walles to the ground, and ruined the Houſes, commanding to carry away the Timber and Tiles to the *Eniades* by Water.

Peania taken by aſſault.

The *Etoliens* firſt began to fortifie the Fort of the *Ceniades* to defend it, rampring the Walles, making of Ditches, and doing all things neceſſary for the fortification of a Towne. But being aduertiſed of *Philips* approach, they fled for feare. *Philip* taking this Towne without any reſiſtance, led his Army into *Calydonia*, to a certaine Towne which was held very ſtrong, called *Claos*, the which was well rampred with Walles, and all manner of fortifications. *Attalus* had furniſhed the *Etoliens* with munition to defend it. But the *Macedonians* taking it by force, they ouer-ran and ſpoiled all *Calydonia*, and then returned vnto the *Eniades*. Whereas *Philip* conſidering the opportunity of the place, as well for other affaires, as for his paſſage into *Morea*, reſolued to repaire the Walles. For the *Eniades* are *Maritime* oppoſite to *Acarnania* by the Sea which ioynes vnto the *Etoliens*, neere vnto the mouth of the Gulfe of *Corinthe*. It is a Citty ſcituated in *Morea*, right againſt the Bankes of the *Dimeens*, and neighbour to the Countrey neere vnto *Araxis*, diſtant onely a hundred Furlongs. Which things *Philip* conſidering, hee fortified the Fort apart, and ioyned vnto it the Port and Arſenall with a Wall, making vſe of the materials which were brought from *Peania*.

Philip fortifies the Fort of the *Eniades*.

Whileſt that *Philip* was buſie about this worke, hee receiued Letters from *Macedony*, by the which they did aduertiſe him that the *Dardanians* doubting of his Voyage into *Morea*, made haſte to leuie men, and to make preparations for Warre, to fall ſuddainly vpon *Macedony*. After which newes reſoluing to ſuccour it ſpeedily, hee ſent backe the *Acheins* Embaſſadours with this anſwere, that as ſoone as hee had giuen order for his affaires of *Macedony*, hee would haue nothing in ſo great recommendation, as to come to their aide with all his forces. After this hee returned ſpeedily with his Army by thoſe Countries where hee had formerly paſt. And as he paſt the Gulfe of *Ambracia*, parting from *Acarnania* to *Epirus*, *Demetrius* of *Phare* (whom the *Romans* had chaſed out of *Sclauonia*) met him. Whom the King (imbracing him with great courteſie) cauſed to ſaile to *Corinthe*, and from thence to march into *Macedony* by *Theſſaly*. Where drawing to *Epirus*, he

he preſently tranſported himſelfe into *Macedony*, to the Towne of *Pella*. But when the *Dardanians* were aduertiſed by ſome fugitiue *Thracians* of the Kings comming, they preſently diſſolued their Army, being terrified with feare, notwithſtanding they were neere vnto *Macedony*. *Philip* aduertiſed of the retreate of the *Dardanians*, gaue leaue vnto his Souldiers to gather new Corne, and euery man to retire into his Countrey. For his part he went into *Theſſaly*, and ſpent the reſt of the Summer in *Lariſſa*.

The retreate of the *Dardanians* without doing any thing.

A At the ſame time *Paulus Emilius* triumphed at *Rome*, after his returne from *Sclauonia*. *Hannibal* after the taking of *Sagont*, had ſent his Army to winter. The *Romans* aduertiſed of the razing of *Sagont*, ſent an Embaſſie to *Carthage*, demanding *Hannibal*: and made their preparations for Warre, *Publius Cornelius* and *Titus Sempronius* being then created Conſuls: Of which affaires wee haue ſpoken in the precedent Booke. But we now make a briefe repetition, to refreſh the memory: to the end that (as we haue promiſed) all the actions may be preſent to the eyes of the Readers. The firſt yeere of this Olympiade is paſt. And when as the day of the Election which the *Etoliens* make, was come, they made choice of *Dorimache* for Generall of the Warre, *Dorimache* choſen Generall of the *Etoliens*.

B Who being ſeized of the Magiſtracy, he drew together a great number of Souldiers, and falling vpon the high Countrey of *Epirus*, hee made a moſt cruell ſpoile: ſo as it ſeemed, hee did it rather to ruine the *Epirotes*, then for his owne profit. Then paſſing the Temple of *Iupiter Dodonee*; he ſet fire of the Cloiſters, and ruined all its beauty: and finally, he demoliſhed it.

Behold how the *Etoliens* cannot obſerue any meane either in peace or warre, ſo as both in the one and the other they violate the common conuerſation of men, and in a manner the Law of Nature. When as *Dorimache* had committed all theſe miſchiefes and many greater, hee

C returned into his Country. But whileſt that Winter laſted, and that euery man deſpaired of the comming of *Philip* by reaſon of the roughneſſe of the time, and hardneſſe of the Winter, the King taking three thouſand men with Bucklers, and two thouſand with Targets, with three hundred *Candiots*, and about foure hundred Horſe, parted from *Lariſſa*: and taking his way by *Theſſaly*, he came to *Negrepont*: and from thence paſſing by *Beocia* and *Megara*, in the midſt of *December* he ariued at *Corinthe*, making his voyage ſo ſecretly, as no man of *Morea* diſcouered it: then keeping the Gates of *Corinthe* ſhut, and ſetting Watches vpon the wayes, the day following hee ſent to *Si-*

D *cyon* for old *Arate*. He then aduertiſed the Chiefe of the *Acheins* and Townes, of the time and place when they ſhould be ready and in order. Theſe things thus ordered, he continued his voyage as he had reſolued, and ſeated his Campe neere to *Dioſcore*, a Towne of *Philiaſia*.

At the ſame time *Euripides* parting from *Pſophis* accompanied with two Legions of *Eliences*, Pirats at Sea, and ſome voluntaries, ſo as all together made two thouſand two hundred Foote, and about a hundred Horſe, tooke his way by *Phenice* and *Stymphalia*, being ignorant that

that *Philip* was in field, and deſirous to ſpoile the Countrey of the *Sicyoniens*. It fell out the Night that *Philip* camped neere vnto *Dioſcore*, that *Euripides* paſſing further at the breake of day, entred into the Countrey of the *Sicyoniens*, and that ſome *Candiots* which were with *Philip*, abandoning their Enſignes, and going to forrage met him. By whoſe meanes knowing that the *Macedonians* were neere, hee drew his army out of the Countrey, hoping that after he had paſt the Country of *Stymphalia*, he might eaſily defeate the *Macedonians* in places of aduantage. *Phillip* hauing no aduertiſement, raiſed his Campe the next day at the Sun-riſing, as he had reſolued, to take his way vnder *Stymphalia* towards the *Caphires*: for there he had appointed the *Acheins* to meete in Armes.

The retreate of *Euripides* from *Stymphalia*.

When the *Macedonian* Scouts were come to the top of the Mountaine, which the Countrey-men call *Apeaure*, about ten Furlongs diſtant from the *Stymphalins* Towne, it happened by chance that the Scouts of the *Eliences* arriued there alſo. The which *Euripides* perceiuing, and amazed at the diſaduantage of the place and time, hee flies with ſome of them, and recouers *Sophis* by Groues which lay diſpierced. The reſt of the *Eliences* Troupe being amazed, as well for that they were abandoned by their Commander, as for the newneſſe of the accident, were for a time in ſuſpence what they had to doe. But conceiuing afterwards that they were *Megalopolitains*, to ſee the manner of their Harneſſe (for the *Macedonians* carried Helmets) they marcht in Battaile, keeping good order for a time without any deſpaire. But when the *Macedonians* began to approach, (knowing then the truth) they abandoned their Armes, and fled. There were about twelue hundred taken aliue by the Enemy: the reſt were ſlaine, ſome by the *Macedonians* like Sheepe, others falling downe the Rocks, ſo as there eſcaped not a hundred. *Philip* continued his courſe, and ſent the ſpoiles and Priſoners to *Corinthe*. This ſeemed very ſtrange to them of *Morea*, to whom the newes of the Victory, and of *Philips* arriuall came at one inſtant.

The Mountaine of *Apeaure*.

Thy flight of *Euripides*.

A defeate of the *Etoliens*.

When the King had paſt by *Arcadia*, hauing ſuffred much vpon the way by Snow, and the difficulty of the Countrey, hee arriued at mid-night at *Caphies* on the third day. Where after hee had refreſh't himſelfe three daies, and that *Arate* the younger had ioyned with him with his Troupes, ſo as the whole Army conſiſted of ten thouſand men, hee arriued at *Pſophis*, paſſing by *Cliteria*, and made great prouiſion of Darts and Ladders taken out of the Townes where hee paſt. *Pſophis* is a very ancient Towne of the *Arcadians*, ſcituated in the midſt of *Morea*, ioyning to *Arcadia* vpon the Weſt, and neere to the Countrey of the *Eliences*, who at that time had the gouernment. Where *Philip* arriued the third day after his departure from *Caphies*, and ſeated his Campe vpon the Mountaines which are oppoſite, from whence he might diſcouer the Towne and Countrey round about without danger. Where viewing the ſtrength, he was for a time in ſuſpence: for towards the Weſt there ran a ſwift Torrent along the walls: the which for the moſt part of Winter, was not to be waded thorough, ſo as no man

Arate ioynes with *Philip*.

The ſcituation of *Pſophis*.

man enters that way. And vpon the Eaſt it hath the Riuer of *Erimanthe*, which is great and violent: Of which the Poets and Hiſtoriographers tell many tales. Moreouer, the Torrent (whereof we haue ſpoken) defends and aſſures the third part towards the South. In regard of the fourth which lookes towards the North, it hath aboue it a Mountaine which is ſteepe and difficult, and ſerues them for a good Fort. By this meanes the Towne is defended on three ſides by water, and on the fourth by the Mountaine: And moreouer it is enuironed with good walls, made with great Art. Finally, there was a Garriſon of *Elienſes*, with that which *Euripides* had brought with him in his flight. The Riuer of *Erimanthe*.

A All theſe things conſidered, *Philip* was partly diſtaſted to force it, for the difficulty thereof. And partly inflamed to beſiege it, for the opportunity of the place. For hee conſidered that as this Towne was an anoyance to the *Acheins* and *Arcadians* (for that it was an aſſured Fort and ſafe retreate for Warre to the *Elienſes*) ſo if it might bee taken, it would bee to them of great conſequence, and a retreate to the *Arcadians* for the Warre. Wherefore in the end following this aduice, hee ſent vnto the *Macedonians*, that they ſhould bee ready the next day in the morning, and in Armes after they had fed. Then paſ-

B ſing the Bridge of *Erimanthe* without any oppoſition, conſidering the ſtrangeneſſe and greatneſſe of the accident, hee came boldly, and log'd at the foote of the Wall. Whereat *Euripides* and the Chiefe of the Towne were in great doubt what to doe: for they immagined that the *Macedonians* had no conceite to bee able to force this ſtrong Towne, and that they ſhould not bee able to continue the Siege long during that ſeaſon. Wherefore when as they ſaw no likelyhood of any Treaſon within the Towne, the greateſt part run to the walles to defend them.

The Voluntaries of the *Elienſes* made a ſally vpon the Enemy by the A ſally of the *Elienſes*, vpon the *Macedonians*.

C Gate which lookes directly to the Campe. But when as *Philip* had appointed men to ſet vp Ladders in three places, and a ſufficient number of *Macedonians* for either of them, hee gaue warning for the aſſault. Which done, they all fell to fighting with wonderfull fury. The beſieged in the beginning defended themſelues valiantly, and ouerthrew many which laboured to ſcale the walls. But when as their Darts and other munition failed them, as to men which had rũn haſtily to the walls: and withall the *Macedonians* retired not, but after the fall of one, the next aſcended the Ladder, in the end they fled, and retired to the Fort. Then

D the *Macedonians* of the Kings Troupe recouered the wall. On the other ſide the *Candiots* who fought with thoſe which made their ſally from the vpper part of the Towne, forced them in the end to flie, abandoning their Armes baſely: And purſuing them with great fury, they ſlew many vpon the way, and entred the Towne with them: ſo as it was taken in diuers places at one inſtant. All the Burgeſſes retired into the Fort with their Wiues and Children. The like did *Euripides*, with the reſt which had eſcaped the danger. The *Macedonians* being entred, they ſpoyled both publique and priuate houſes, and afterwards kept themſelues quiet within the Towne. They which held the *Pſophis* taken by aſſault.

Fort, being without victuals and other munition, they began to thinke of yeelding, fore-ſeeing the future. Whereupon they ſent a trumpet to the King: and hauing obtained a paſſe-port for an Embaſſie, they ſent the Princes of the Towne with *Euripides* to *Philip*, who compounded with the King, that in yeelding him the place, the Burgeſſes and ſtrangers might retire in ſafety. This done, they returned againe to the Fort according to the Kings command, not to depart before hee had retired his Army out of the Towne, leſt falling into the Souldiers hands, they might bee ſpoiled. The King ſtayed ſome dayes there by reaſon of the roughneſſe of the weather: during the which hee calls together the *Acheins* which were in the Army, and made a long ſpeech vnto them of the ſcituation of the Town, and of its opportunity for the preſent War, putting them in mind of the loue he bare them: Finally, he gaue them the Towne, to the end they ſhould know plainely, that hee was reſolued to pleaſe them in all things, and not to forget the affection and diligence which was requiſite in their affaires.

A compoſition made betweene the Cittizens of *Pſophis* and *Philip*.

A

After which Speech, when as the *Acheins* had giuen him thanks for his loue and good-will, *Philip* leaues the Company, and drawing his Army preſently together, he marcht directly to *Laſſion*. The *Pſophiens* leauing the Fort, came into the Towne, and euery man returned to his houſe. *Euripides* retired with his men firſt to *Corinthe*, and afterwards into *Etolia*. The Chiefe of the *Acheins* which were there preſent, gaue the guard of the Fort to *Proſtae* a *Sycionian* with a ſufficient Garriſon, and made *Pythias Pellenenſe* Gouernour of the Towne. And this was the end of the *Pſophiens* Warre.

Philip giues forces to the *Acheins*.

B

When the Garriſon of *Laſſion* which conſiſted of *Elienſes*, being (formerly aduertiſed of that which had happened at *Pſophis*) ſaw the *Macedonians*, they abandoned the Towne, as amazed at ſo ſtrange an accident. So as *Philip* tooke it as ſoone as hee ſaw it. The which he likewiſe gaue to the *Acheins*, according to the loue and affection which hee bare them. Hee likewiſe gaue *Straton* to the *Telpuſſiens*, which the *Elienſes* had taken. This done, the fift day after hee arriued at *Olympia*: where after he had ſacrificed to the Gods, and made a ſolemne Banquet to all the Captaines, and refreſht his men for the ſpace of three dayes, hee marcht, and entring the Countrey of the *Elienſes*, hee abandoned it to his Souldiers: Then planting his Campe neere to *Artimiſea*, hee returned ſoone after to *Dioſcoria*, bringing a great Booty from thence. Then making many Roads into the Countrey, there were a great number of men taken. Many alſo retired into the neighbour Townes, and into places of ſtrength: For the Region of the *Elienſes* is very fertile amongſt the reſt of *Morea*, in people and abundance of wealth: for that the greateſt part of the Countrey people are giuen to tillage, imploying their time in labour, vnto the ſecond and third generation: And although they bee otherwiſe rich, yet they enter not into Townes. The which happens, for that the principall of the Townes haue the Labourers in recommendation, and are very carefull that they may not be oppreſſed with the want of any thing of that which is requiſite and neceſſary for them.

Laſſion taken.

Straton.

C

D

and

and that no man ſhould do them wrong. In my opinion the ancients haue ſo ordained it, for that in old time the multitude was commonly giuen to tillage; or rather for that they led a holy and religious life, when as with the conſent of all the *Grecians*, they liued in ſafety, free from all inconueniences and trouble of Warre, for the Combate which was made at the Olympicke Games. But when by the controuerſie of the *Arcadians*, concerning *Laſſion* and *Piſa*, they were forced to vndertake War for the defence of their Countrey, and to leaue their firſt manner of liuing, they cared no more to reſume that ancient and hereditary liberty giuen them by the *Grecians*, remaining in the ſame eſtate, and making a bad diſcourſe of the time to come. For if any may haue from the *Grecians* (in obſeruing right and iuſtice) peace and quietneſſe for euer, which is a thing which wee all demand of the immortall Gods, and for the which wee endure any thing, and which all the world confeſſeth to bee an vndoubted good, and yet they contemne it, and doe not eſteeme it, or hold ſome other thing in greater recommendation, are not they to be held fooles and mad men? But ſome one will ſay vnto mee, that they which ſhall hold this courſe of life, ſhall not be able to defend themſelues, when they ſhall be oppreſt with War, or ſome other outrage. This without doubt happens ſeldome, and if it doth, they may be defended and relieued by all the *Grecians*. And if it be a particular offence it will be no difficult thing to leuie men with the money which they haue gathered together by long peace and reſt. But now fearing that which happens ſeldome, and beyond all humane conſideration, they conſume themſelues and their Countrey in continuall Warre and troubles. Wee haue thought good to relate theſe things of the *Elienſes*; for there was neuer time, when as a greater opportunity was offred, to recouer this liberty from all the *Grecians*, then at this day. The people then as wee haue ſaid, dwelt in all aſſurance. Wherefore there were taken by the *Macedonians* a great number of men, although that many were retired in ſtrong places. For there was aſſembled a great multitude of men and Cattell, with other wealth in a neere Burrough, which they call *Thalame*: for that the Countrey about it is very ſtreight, the approach is difficult, and the Burrough very ſteepy, and in a manner inacceſſible. *Philip* aduertiſed of this great aſſembly, and being loath to leaue any thing which hee would not vndertake, recouers the places of aduantage, to enter it with his Mercenaries: and marcheth in perſon by the ſtreights of the Countrey with the men which bare Targets, and were lightly armed, leauing the Baggage, and the greateſt part of his Army in the Campe, and came vnto the Burrough finding no reſiſtance.

Thalame.

They which were therein, amazed at the greatneſſe of this accident, and ill furniſhed for the war, and without experience: hauing moreouer many vnprofitable perſons for their age, yeelded preſently: Among the which were two hundred Souldiers of diuers nations, whereof *Amphidamus* Chiefe of the *Elienſes* had the charge. *Philip* hauing made booty of all things, as of fiue thouſand men, and of an infinite number of Cattell, returned preſently to the Campe. And when as afterwards

Thalame yeelds.

the Souldiers seemed vnprofitable vnto him for the Warre, being thus laden with spoiles, he raised his Campe and returned to *Olympia*.

Appelles Tutor to *Philip*.

Appelles was one of the Tutors which was left to *Philip* in his infancy by *Antigonus*, and had then great authority and fauour with the King. Who beginning to practise with himselfe, by what meanes hee might reduce the Nation of the *Acheins*, to the same estate wherein the *Thessalians* were, he bethought himselfe of a notable villany. You must vnderstand that the *Thessalians* seemed to liue vnder their owne Lawes, and to differ much from the *Macedonians*, onely they endured all things like vnto them, and obeyed the will of the King. Where- A

The malicious policy of *Appellis*.

fore *Appelles* tending hereunto, began to try the hearts of those that were in the Campe. And at the first hee commanded the *Macedonians*, that if by chance the *Acheins* should take any place before them, they should alwayes chase them away, and strip them of their Booty. Afterwards he caused some to be whipt by the hangman for small offences: And if any one questioned this kind of outrage, or did succour them that were beaten, they were put in prison, hoping by this meanes to accustome the *Acheins* to endure patiently what should please the King. Finally, when as some young men *Acheins* were assembled and come to *Arate*, relating vnto him the practise of *Appelles*. *Arate* considering that B this must be preuented in the beginning, he came to *Philip*, and accompanied with these young men, deliuered all things in order. Who being heard, *Philip* wisht him to take no further care, and that hereafter they should not be so intreated. He giues charge to *Appelles* not to decree any things against the *Acheins* without the aduice of their Commander.

The Nature of *Philip*.

Philip was held excellent in Eloquence and sweetnes of speech to perswade his Souldiers, and of great wisedome and courage in the profession of Armes, not onely in the iudgement of Souldiers, but of all *Morea*: neither was it easie to finde a King which had so many gifts of Nature. He was a man of great diligence, memory, and of a good aspect, and held C him worthy of an Empire, in whom there was a royall power, a great force, and an incredible courage in actions of Warre, and as he layd the foundation of his Empire by so many great virtues, it is hard to say for what reason he was in the end so peruerted, and made an execrable and wicked Tyrant of a good and iust King. Wherefore leauing this to another season, we will returne to our discourse.

Philip parting from *Olympia* with his Army, came first to *Pharia*, then to *Erea*, where the Booty was sold, whereof wee haue spoken. Hee made a Bridge vpon *Alphia*, meaning to passe from thence into *Triphalia*. At the same time *Dorimache* chiefe of the *Etoliens*, sent D

Succours sent to the *Elienses* by *Dorimache*.

succours vnto the *Elienses* at their request, whilest they ruined their Countrey: being about sixe hundred *Etoliens* vnder the command of *Philides*, who passing by the Countrey of the *Elienses*, after that he had taken about fiue hundred voluntaries of theirs, and a thousand men of the City with the *Tarentines*, he came into *Triphalia* to succour the Allies. It is scituated in *Morea*, betwixt the Regions of the *Elienses*

The scituation of *Triphalia* and its Townes

and *Messeniens*, hauing drawne its name from *Triphalia* in *Arcadia*. Finally, it lookes towards the Sea of *Lybia* ioyning to *Acheia*

vnto

vpon the Weſt. Wherein are comprehended the Townes of *Samicon*, *Lepres*, *Hygianne*, *Typanea*, *Pyrgon*, *Epion*, *Bolac*, *Tylangion*, and *Phrixe*. The which as the *Elyenes* held before, ſo as they had alſo taken the Towne of the *Alphirences*, which formerly did belong to *Arcadia*, by the meanes of *Alliades* the *Megalopolitaine*, who deliuered it vnto them in exchange, at ſuch time as hee was King. As ſoone as *Phylides* was entred into *Triphalia*, he ſent the *Elyences* to *Lepreon*, and the *Mercenaries* to *Alphira*: and he remained at *Tipanea*, hauing the *Etoliens* with him.

A *Philip* leauing the Baggage, hauing paſt the Bridge of *Alphia*, which runs along the walls of *Erea*, he came to *Alphira*, which is ſeated vpon a certaine Mountaine full of Caues and Pits round about it, and hath aboue ten Furlongs in aſcent. Finally, it hath a Fort vpon the top of it, and the Image of *Minerua* made of Copper, much differing from others in greatneſſe and beauty: The people of the Countrey know not who made it, nor at whoſe charge, nor at what time it hath beene erected. All the World holds for certaine, that it is the moſt excellent worke among all thoſe which *Hecatodorus* and *Soſtrates* haue made. The next Morning being cleare and bright, *Philip* commands many B Ladders to be brought, before the which he had Troupes of aduenturers, and then the *Macedonians*, commanding them all at the Sun-riſing, to make haſte to creepe vp the Mountaines, and to aſſaile the Towne. Which being performed, the *Alphirenſes* ran all to a place where they ſaw the *Macedonians* vſe the greateſt force. In the meane time *Philip* hauing with him the choice of all the Troupes, was come ſecretly to the wall by a difficult Countrey. And when as the Souldiers aſſaild the Towne of all ſides, and ſcaled it, *Philip* commanded to doe the like vnto the Fort which was neere the Fortreſſe: the which hee tooke ſuddainly being vnfurniſhed of Souldiers. When as the *Alphirenſes* ſaw it on fire from their walles, they were terrified with this new C danger, fearing that if the *Macedonians* ſhould take the Fortreſſe, there were no meanes of ſafety, they retired ſuddainly, abandoning the walls, the *Macedonians* tooke preſently with the Towne. Afterwards they which held the Fortreſſe, yeelded it to *Philip*, to haue their liues ſaued, according to the Compoſition which they had made with him.

The ſcituation of *Alphira*.

The Image of *Minerua*.

Philip aſſailes *Alphira*.

After theſe actions, the people of *Triphalia* being amazed, were careſull of their ſafeties: *Philides* alſo parting from *Typanea*, after he had ranſack'd and ſpoil'd ſome houſes, retired to *Lopira*. Behold the recompence which the *Etoliens* at that time made vnto their Allies: ſo as they D not onely abandoned them in their greateſt extremity, but made them ſuffer things which were ſcarce fit to be endured by an Enemy. The *Typaneates* yeelded the Towne preſently to *Philip*: the which they of *Hippane* did in like manner. In the meane time the *Phialences* hauing newes of that which paſt in *Triphalia*, being in Armes, tooke a place neere vnto *Polimarche*, deteſting the alliance of the *Etolens*. The *Etolien* Pirates who by chance were in that Towne in regard of the *Meſſeniens*, laboured in the beginning to reſiſt the *Phialences*. But when they were aduertiſed that the whole Towne was of one accord, they gaue

The *Typaneates* yeelde vnto *Philip*.

ouer their enterprize, and truſſing vp their Baggage, departed. The
The Phialences yeeld to Philip. *Phialences* ſent an Embaſſie to *Philip*, and ſubmitted themſelues and their Towne vnder his obedience. This being done, the *Lepreates* gaining a place of aduantage within their Towne, reſolued to chaſe away the Garriſon of *Elienses*, *Etoliens*, and *Lacedemonians*. *Philides* in the beginning was nothing moued herewith, but continued ſtill within the Towne. But when the King had ſent *Taurion* with a part of his Army againſt him, and comming in perſon with the reſt to *Lepreon*, *Philides* and his Company hearing the newes, began to faint. Contrariwiſe the *Lepreates* growing more reſolute, did an act worthy of memory: For hauing within their Towne a thouſand *Elienses*, fifteene hundred *Etoliens*, and two hundred *Lacedemonians*, Voluntaries, holding moreouer the Fort, yet their courage was ſo great, as they reſolued not to forget the ſafety of their Countrey in ſo great a danger.

The reuolte of the *Lepreates* againſt the *Etoliens*. A

But when as *Philides* ſaw the *Lepreates* to proſecute what they had begun with ſuch courage, and the *Macedonians* to approach neere vnto the Towne, he fled with the *Elienſes* and *Lacedemonians*, hauing no more hope of ſafety. So as the *Lacedemonians* taking their way by *Meſſena*, returned to their houſes, and the *Etoliens* went to *Samice* with their Commander *Philides*. The *Lepreates* being Maſters of the
Lepreon yeelded to *Philip*. B Towne, ſent an Embaſſie to the King to yeeld it vnto him. Who being heard, the King ſent part of his Army thither, and purſuing *Philides* for a time, with thoſe that were lightly armed, hee tooke all the Baggage, and *Philides* ſaued himſelfe within a Caſtle. There the King planted his Campe, and made ſhew to beſiege the Towne, cauſing the reſt of his Army to come from *Lepreon*: wherewith the *Etoliens* and *Elienſes* being amazed, as hauing nothing wherewith to defend the Siege but their hands, began to parley for their ſafeties. Who going forth vpon the Kings word, retired to *Elis*. The King was preſently Lord of *Samice*. Afterwards diuers others came to ſubmit themſelues, ſo as he tooke *Phrixe*, *Tylangion*, *Epiron*, *Bolac*, *Pyrgon* and
Townes which yeeld to *Philip*. C *Epicalion*. After which he returned to *Lepreon*, hauing in ſixe dayes made all *Tryphalia* ſubiect. There he made remonſtrances to the *Lepreates* according to the time, and put a ſufficient Garriſon into the Fort, he led his Army to *Erea*, leauing *Ladix* of *Acarnania*, Gouernour of *Tryphalia*. Being arriued there, he diuided the ſpoile among the Souldiers, and hauing made prouiſion of victuals, he tooke his way to *Megalopolis* in the heart of Winter.

Chylon. When as *Philip* was in *Tryphalia*, *Chylon* the *Lacedemonian* immagining that the Crowne of the City belonged vnto him, and being D diſcontented at the inſolency of the Magiſtrates in chooſing *Lycurgus*, he began to plot an enterprize of reuolte. Hoping therefore to gaine the loue and fauour of the people, if doing like vnto *Cleomenes*, he put them in hope to diuide the Lands againe, hee doth his indeauour to bring it to effect. And communicating his practice to his Friends, he had 200. Confederates of his enterprize. But knowing that *Lycurgus* and the Magiſtrates which had made him King, would make a great oppoſition, he ſtudied firſt how to preuent it. When as by chance all the Magiſtrates

ſupt

ſupt together, he aſſailes them by ſurprize, and kills them cruelly. Behold how Fortune prepared a puniſhment worthy the deedes which they had committed. Beleeue me, there is not any man but will ſay that they had well deſerued to be puniſhed by him, and for the cauſe for which they ſuffered. As ſoone as *Chylon* had done this Execution, he tranſports himſelfe to *Lycurgus* houſe: And although he were there, yet he could not come at him; for hee was preſerued by his Houſhold Seruants and by his neighbours, and retired vnto *Pellene* by vnknowne wayes. *Chylon* fruſtrated of ſo great an opportunity, being wonderfully diſcontented, was forced to doe that which neceſſity required; and tranſporting himſelfe to the place, he ſeazed vpon all his enemies, and gaue courage to his friends, labouring to induce the reſt to reuolt. But when as he ſaw no man to like of it, and that the Citty was in mutiny againſt him, fearing what might happen, ſteales away from thence, and comes into *Acheia* alone, being chaſed out of his Countrey. The *Lacedemonians* fearing the deſcent of King *Philip*, retired with whatſoeuer they had in the fields into their Townes: and fortified them with men and all ſorts of munition, razing to the ground *Athenee* of the *Megalopolitains*: For that it ſeemed a very conuenient place for the enemy.

The *Lacedemonian* Magiſtrats ſlaine by *Chylon*.

It is certaine that whileſt the *Lacedemonians* maintained their good gouernment, according to the Lawes of *Lycurgus*, they were growne very great vnto the Warre of *Leuctres*. Since which time they beganne to feele the croſſes of Fortune, and their gouernment grew worſe, being full of many diſcommodities and inteſtine Seditions, with Baniſhments and ruines vntill the Tyranny of *Nabydane*: whoſe name they could not endure. Theſe are things which haue beene related by many and are well knowne, ſince that *Cleomenes* ruined the gouernement of the Country, whereof wee will ſpeake heereafter when opportunity ſhall require. *Philip* paſſing by *Megalopolis* with his Army, drew to *Argos* by the Country of *Tegeatane*, and there paſt the remainder of the Winter: purchaſing a wonderfull renowne of all the World, aſwell for his courſe of life, as for the things which he had done in this Warre, beyond the ſtrength of his age. *Appelles* who (notwithſtanding the Kings Commaundment) deſiſted not from his deſſigne, laboured by little and little to make the *Acheins* ſubiect. And when he found that *Arate* and the reſt that were with him, were oppoſite vnto his ends, and that the King had them in great Reputation, eſpecially olde *Arate*, for that he was in great Authority among the *Acheins* and *Antigonus*, and was moreouer a good and diſcreete man, he beganne to Traduce him with iniuries. Then hee inquires what men there were in *Acheia* of a contrary faction to *Arate*, and drawes them vnto him. To whom hee giues a curteous and gracious reception, drawing them by perſwaſions to his friendſhip, and afterwards recommended them in perticular to the King, he gaue him to vnderſtand that if hee fauoured the party of *Arate*, hee ſhould enioy the *Acheins*, according to the Contract of the League: But if vſing his Councell he receiued the others into friendſhip, hee ſhould diſpoſe of all *Morea* at his pleaſure.

The *Lacedemonians* were vnfortunate after they had left the Lawes of *Licurgus*.

Appelles perſiſts in his enterprize.

Moreouer the time of the Election approaching, hee had an intent to cauſe one of the other Faction to be choſen. Wherefore hee beganne to ſolicite the King to be at *Egia* at the Common Aſſembly of the *Acheins*, as if he meant to goe from thence into the *Elienſes* Countrey. The King perſwaded by his Words, came vnto *Egia* at the prefixed time: Where *Appelles* amazing the aduerſe party, in the end preuailed with great difficulty. By this meanes *Eeprate* was choſen Chiefe of the *Acheins*, and *Tymoxenes* quite reiected, whom *Arate* had named.

Eperate choſen chiefe of the *Acheins*.

After theſe things *Philip* drawing his Army from *Egira*, and marching by *Patres* and *Dimes*, hee went to a Caſtle, which the Countrey-men call *Mur*, ſcituated in the *Dimenſes* Country, and lately taken by *Euripides*, as wee haue formerly ſaid. As hee haſted with great heate to yeild it to the *Dimenſes*, hauing his Army ready in Battaile, the Garriſon of *Elienſes* was ſo amazed, as they preſently yeided themſelues and the Caſtle, the which is not great in Circuit, but very ſtrong by Scituation and Walles: For it had but two furlongs in Compaſſe, but the VValls had not leſſe then ſeauen Fathomes and a halfe in height. *Philip* deliuering it to the *Dimenſes* preſently, hee ouer-ranne the Prouince to ſpoile it: After which he put all to fire and Sword, and returned to *Dime*, laden with great ſpoiles. *Apelles* ſuppoſed that hee had effected part of his deſigne, for that the chiefe had beene choſen according to his deſire, hee chargeth *Arate* againe, deſiring to him into diſgrace with the King; and raiſeth a ſlander vpon him vpon theſe cauſes.

The Caſtle of *Mur* yeilded to *Philip*.

Amphidamus Chiefe of the *Elienſes* in the Burrough which they call *Thalame*, being taken and ſent with the other Priſoners, came to *Olympia*: And there hee beganne to ſeeke (by the meanes of ſome) to ſpeake vnto the King: To whom when hee was brought, hee told him that it was in his power to make the *Elienſes* imbrace his Alliance and Friendſhip. The King perſwaded with his Words, let him goe without ranſome, with a Charge to tell the *Elienſes*, that if they would entertaine his Alliance, hee would deliuer all their Priſoners without ranſome, and that hee would preſerue their Prouince from danger, ſuffering them moreouer to liue in liberty, and that hee would giue them no Garriſons, nor pretend any Tribute, but would ſuffer them to leuie mercenary men where their Affaires required. The *Elienſes* hearing theſe offers, would not accept of them, although they were great and profitable.

Appelles making this the occaſion of his ſlander, goes to *Philip*, telling him that *Arate* and his Confederates kept no true Friendſhippe with the *Macedonians*, nor entertained the League ſincerely: For it was c r.aine they had beene the cauſe that the *Elienſes* had not accepted the Conditions of the Alliance which had beene offered them: For at that time when as hee ſent *Amphidamus* to *Olympia*, they had vſed ſpeeches ſecretly vnto him, that it was not for the good and benefit of *Morea*, that *Philip* ſhould be Lord of the *Elienſes*; and by this meanes the *Elienſes*, diſdayning the conditions of Peace, obſerued their League

The ſlander of *Appelles*.

with

with the *Etolians*, and indured the *Macedonians* Warre. This Speech being ended, *Philip* cauſed *Arate* with the *Acheins* to be called, and Commaunds *Appelles* to ſpeake the ſame Words in their Preſence, the which hee performed boldly and without bluſhing: Finally, the King ſpeaking not any thing, hee ſaid moreouer vnto them: And for that *Arate* the King hath found you ingratefull and deceitfull, hee hath reſolued to returne into *Macedony*, hauing firſt called the *Acheins*, and acquainted them with the occaſion. Whereunto *Arate* anſwered: The King, ſayd hee, ought not to beleeue lightly; but to conſider well of the buſineſſe, when they ſpeake any thing againſt his Allies and Friends, before hee giue credite to a ſlander. This is proper for a King, and very profitable in all things. And therefore in this ſlander you muſt call them that heard the VVords, and let *Appelles* enter with them, and omit nothing that may bee neceſſary to diſcouer the Truth, before it be reuealed to the Aſſembly of the *Acheins*. This anſwere was pleaſing vnto the King, ſaying, That he would diligently ſearch out the trueth, they then departed.

The accuſation of *Appelles* againſt *Arate* & the *Acheins*.

The Anſwere of *Arate*.

But within few dayes after, when as *Appelles* could not finde any proofe of thoſe things which hee had obiected, there was by chance a great teſtimony found of *Arate* his innocency: For whilſt that *Philip* ruined the Prouince, the *Elienſes* hauing ſome ſuſpition of *Amphidamus*, had reſolued to take him, and to ſend him bound into *Etolia*. The which *Amphidamus* diſcouering, hee ſteales away ſecretly, and comes firſt to *Olympia*: But hauing certayne newes that *Philip* ſtayed at *Dyme* to diuide the Spoile, he went ſpeedily vnto him. As ſoone as *Arate* had newes of the baniſhment of *Amphidamus* from his owne Countrey, hee was wonderfull ioyfull, knowing that hee had not committed any thing againſt the *Macedonians*, and goes vnto the King, intreating him to call *Amphidamus*: For hee was the man that could giue beſt ſatisfaction in thoſe things wherewith hee was charged, to whom the Words had beene ſpoken: And that moreouer he would willingly deliuer the trueth, ſeeing that for the loue of *Philip* hee had beene Baniſhed his Natiue Countrey, and that all his hope conſiſted in him onely.

At whoſe words the King was mooued, and calling for *Amphidamus* hee found that *Appelles* had falſly ſlandered him. Wherefore after that day hee held *Arate* in greater eſteeme and fauour, but diſliked the practiſe of *Appelles*; although hee were forced to indure this and many other things for the great Authority which hee held. But *Appelles* changed not his humour: Hee depriued *Taurion* of the gouernement of *Morea*, not taxing him with any offence, but commending and holding him worthy to bee in the Campe about the King, for that hee deſired to put another in his place. Behold a new inuention of ſlander to wrong any one, not in blaming him but in commending him. There is alſo found (but principally among Courtiers) a malicious diligence accompanied with Enuy and fraud, by a mutuall Iealouſie and extreame Auarice.

Taurion diſpoſſeſt of the gouernment of *Morea*.

The condicions of Courtiers.

Hee did likewiſe indeauour to diſappoynt *Alexander* the Chamberlaine, *Alexander* Chamberlaine to King *Antigonus*.

laine, and affected the care of the Kings Perſon for himſelfe, and finally to breake all the Order which *Antigonus* had left. Who had duly performed his duty in the Gouernment of his Realme and Sonne during his life: And dying hee prouided wiſely for the future: For he left a Will, by the which hee ſet downe an order what the *Macedonians* ſhould doe, and what charges they ſhould execute, labouring to take away all occaſions of Ambition and Diſcord, which might riſe in Court. Hee appointed *Appelles* to be Tutour to his Sonne, who had beene at the Warre with him: And hee made *Leonce* Chiefe of the Souldiers which carried Targets, and *Megalee* Chancellor, and *Taurion* Gouernour of *Morea*.

It is true, that *Appelles* at that time held *Leonce* and *Megalee* in his Subiection, and was reſolued to chaſe away *Alexander* and *Taurion*: To the end hee might ſupply their places in Perſon, or by his Creatures. The which vndoubtedly hee had done, if *Arate* had not preuented it. But now hee ſuffers the paine of his folly and Couetouſneſſe: For within a ſhort time after hee ſuffered that, which hee laboured with all his power to doe vnto others. But wee will forbeare at this preſent to deliuer the cauſes, making an end of this Booke, and we will endeauour in the following Booke to ſet downe euery thing in its place.

After this *Philip* came to *Argos*, where hee paſt the remainder of the Winter with his friends, and ſent backe his Army into *Macedony*.

The *end of the* Fourth *Booke of* Polybius.

The

THE FIFTH BOOKE OF the Hiſtory of POLYBIVS.

THE Yeare of *Arate* his Gouernment being ended about *May* (for ſo the *Acheins* meaſure the time) he left it, and *Epirate* tooke it: And *Dorimache* was then Chiefe of the *Etoliens*. At the ſame time Summer beginning, *Hannibal* was parted from *Carthage* with his Army, for that the Warre grew hote betwixt the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians*, and made haſt (paſſing *Ebro*) to goe into *Italy*. Then the *Romans* ſent *Titus Sempronius* with an Army into *Affricke*, and *Publius Cornelius* into *Spaine*. *Antiochus* and *Ptolomy* hauing no more hope to decide their Controuerſie concerning *Syria*, neither by Embaſſies nor meetings, had begunne the Warre. And then King *Philip* preſt with want of Victuals and money for his Army, cauſed the *Acheins* to aſſemble by their Magiſtrates. But when as the people were met at *Egia*, according to the cuſtome of the Countrey, the King ſeeing *Arate* much diſcontented for the affront which hee had receiued from *Appelles*, at the time of the Election, and that *Eperate* was diſdained of them all, as a man ſimple by Nature and ſloathfull, and was helde as a ſcorne, knowing alſo the treachery of *Appelles* and *Leonce*, he beganne againe to turne his affection to *Arate*. And after that hee had perſwaded the Magiſtrates to referre their Diet to *Sicyon*, hee ſpake curteouſly to olde and young *Arate*, and perſwaded them to continue in their

Eperate Chiefe of the *Acheins* and *Dorimache* of the *Etolians*.

their firſt affection, charging *Appelles* with all that had beene done. Whereunto they conſenting, hee preſently after his entry into the Aſſembly, obtained by their fauour whatſoeuer was neceſſary for his preſent affaires: for it was ordred by the *Acheins* that they ſhould pay vnto the King thirty thouſand Crownes: That is to ſay, three moneths pay for the Souldiers; and threeſcore and eleauen mines of Wheate, (euery mine being valued at fiue Quarters, a Combe and a Buſhell of *London* meaſure) and withall as long as *Philip* ſhould remaine in *Morea*, he ſhould haue ſixe thouſand two hundred Crownes monethly. Which being done. the *Acheins* returned euery man to his Towne. But winter being paſt, and the Troupes returned, the King thought it beſt to aſſaile the enemy by Sea: for hee ſaw well that by this meanes hee might enter their Countrey, and ſurprize them on either ſide, and that they ſhould not bee able to ſuccour one another, aſwell for the diſtance that is betwixt them, and for the newneſſe of the Warre by Sea, as alſo for that they ſhould bee amazed at the ſuddaine deſcent of their Enemies: for at that time hee made Warre againſt the *Etoliens*, *Lacedemonians*, and *Elienſes*.

Mony & Corne deliuered to *Philip* by the *Acheins*.

After this reſolution, hee drew together the *Acheins* Veſſels and his owne at *Leche*, a Port of *Corinthe*: Commaunding that in the meane time, they ſhould inure the Souldiers to the Oare, wherein the *Macedonians* did him great ſeruice. You muſt vnderſtand that they are excellent men at Land in a pitcht field, and ready at Sea in Combates of Surprize. Moreouer, they haue not their equalls to Rampire and Fortifie: and they complaine not of their paines in ſuch affaires: Finally, they are like vnto the *Eacides*, whom *Heſiodus* brings in reioycing more for Warre then a Banquet. The King ſtayed at *Corinthe* with the *Macedonians*, being buſie in the preparation of the Sea Army. *Appelles* who could not alter the Kings humour and diſpoſition, nor ſuffer any abatement in his credite, being full of diſdaine, hee made a Conſpiracy with *Leonce* and *Megalee*, which was, that they being preſent, ſhould hinder the Kings enterprizes, when opportunity did ſerue; and that for his part he would goe to *Chalcis* to ſtoppe the Victualls that ſhould come to the Kings Army. When he had plotted this, hee went preſently thither, to put it in practiſe againſt the King: wherein hee kept his Promiſe, and forced him to ingage his plate and all the reſt of his mooueables.

The nature of the *Macedonians*.

The Conſpiracy of *Appelles* and *Leonce*.

When as the Army at Sea was drawne together, and the *Macedonians* accuſtomed to the Oare, and that the Souldiers had receiued Corne and Money, *Philip* ſet Saile to *Corinthe*, and arriued three dayes after, hauing ſixe thouſand *Macedonians*, and twelue Hundred Mercenaries. At what time *Dorimache* Chiefe of the *Etoliens* ſent *Agelaus* and *Scope* vnto the *Elienſes* with twelue Hundred *Candyots* newly leuied. The *Elienſes* fearing that *Philip* would come and beſiege *Cyllene*, leuied Voluntaries with all ſpeede, and likewiſe made a leuy of men within the Citty, doing their indeauours to fortifie *Cyllene*. *Philip* aduertiſed hereof, hee left at *Dime* the Mercenaries of the *Acheins*, and the *Candyots* which hee had with him, and ſome Horſe-men *Gaules*, and about

The forces which *Philip* left at *Dyme*.

about two thouſand foote of the choice of the *Acheins*, for the guard and ſafety of the place againſt the aſſaults and attempts of the *Elienſes*. And as a little before he had Written vnto the *Meſſeniens*, *Epirotes*, *Acarnaniens* and to *Scerdilaide*, to meete him in *Cephalenia* with their Equipage by Sea, hee parts preſently from *Patres*, and ſailes directly into *Cephalenia* to the Burrough of *Prones*. But when he ſaw it difficult to beſiege, and the Countrey ſtreight, hee paſt on with his whole Army, and came to *Palea*: Where ſeeing the Region fertile in Corne, and in all other manner of munition, and fit to feede his Army, he landed his men, and planted his Campe neere vnto the Towne Wals. He alſo drew his ſhippes a ſhore, and inuironed them with deepe Ditches and ſtrong Palliſadoes, fitting for their defence. Hee likewiſe ſent the *Macedonians* to forrage, and himſelfe went to view the Towne: and reſolued to ſet vp his Engines, and to make all neceſſary preparations to force it, meaning to attend the ſuccours of friends and Allies, and to make the Towne ſubiect to his obedience: As well to depriue the *Elienſes* of the greateſt benefite and commodity they had by Sea (for without doubt they ſailed into *Morea* by night, with the *Cephalenian* ſhippes, and ſpoiled the Sea Coaſts of the *Epirotes* and *Acarnaniens*) as alſo to prepare this Towne for his Allies, as a retreate in the enemies Country.

Now for the Scituation of *Cephalenia*, it lyes within the ſhore of the *Corinthian* Gulfe, looking towards the Sea of *Sycily*, and bends towards the parts of *Morea*, which turne towards the North and Weſt, and likewiſe towards the Prouince of the *Elienſes*, and the parts of *Epirus*, *Etolia*, and *Acarnania*, which haue their aſpect towards the South and Eaſt. VVherefore he reſolued to do what poſſibly hee might, to Conquer this Iland, for the place was very conuenient to aſſemble the Allies, and well ſeated to offend the enemies Townes, and for the defence of thoſe of the League. And when hee ſaw that all the Quarters of the Towne were inuironed, partly with the Sea, and partly with ſteepy Rockes, and that there was onely a little plaine which lookes towards *Zacinthe*, hee was fully reſolued to plant his Battery there, and to prepare and make all things neceſſary for the ſiege. The ſcituation of *Cephalenia*.

In the meane time there arriued fifteene ſhippes of VVarre ſent by *Scerdilaide*, ſaying, that for the preſent hee could not furniſh and make ready any more, by reaſon of ſome mutinies and diſſentions which had lately happened in *Sclauonia*. There alſo arriued ſuccours and ſupplies from the *Epirotes*, *Acarnaniens*, and *Meſſeniens*, as he had ordained: For the *Meſſeniens* maintained the reſt of the VVarre freely, after the taking of the Citty of *Phigalee*. VVhen as the King had prepared and made things neceſſary for the ſiege, and the Engines of Battery were appointed in conuenient places, hee approaches them to the Towne incouraging and giuing heart to his men: By whoſe meanes after they had mined, they preſently opened a Quarter of the VVall, the which was vnderpropt with great peeces of Timber, ſo great is the experience & knowledge of the *Macedonians* in ſuch affaires.

Then *Philip* approaching neerer vnto the Wall, hee beganne to ſummon the beſieged to yeilde. But vpon their refuſall, they ſuddainely ſet fire on that part of the Wall, and ouer-threw it. This beeing done hee ſent the Souldiers which carried Targets to make the point, being vnder the Charge of *Leonce*, commanding them to aſſaile it and enter that way.

Leonce a Traytour to *Philip*.

Leonce remembring his Conſpiracy, and finding an opportunity to put it in execution, perſwaded three young men of his followers, which marcht before all his Troupes to the aſſault of the Towne, that they ſhould hinder the taking thereof, winning the Captaines of their acquaintance, and Charging very faintly as if they were affraide. By this meanes they were ſhamefully repulſ'd and beaten off from the aſſault hauing many Wounded and ſoare hurt: Although they might eaſily haue had the Victory, and haue come off with a great deale of honour. The King ſeeing the feare of the Captaines, and the multitude that were Wounded, raiſed the ſiege. And from that time hee aſſembled his Friends and Allies, holding a Councell of that which hee had to doe for the future.

Embaſſadours ſent to *Philip* from the *Meſſenians* and *Acarnaniens*.

In the meane time *Lycurgus* entred into *Meſſenia* with an Army: And *Dorimache* with halfe the *Etoliens*, fals into *Theſſaly*: Wherefore Embaſſadours come vnto the King from the *Acarnaniens* and *Meſſeniens*. He of the *Acarnaniens* intreated him to make a Deſcent into the *Etoliens* Country, to the end hee might draw *Dorimache* from his Enterprize, and that he would ſpoile and conſume all the Enemies Countries. He of the *Meſſeniens* demaunded Succours, ſhewing that it was but a dayes iourney from *Cephalenia* vnto *Meſſena*, a Northerly Winde blowing: And therefore *Gorgon* ſayd that the Voyage would be ſuddaine and of great profite and gaine. *Leonce* remembring his Conſpiracy, helde for *Gorgon*, ſeeing plainely that by this meanes, *Philip* ſhould ſpend all the Spring in doing nothing: For the Voyage from thence to *Meſſena* was eaſie, but the returne impoſſible; for the Winds blew ſtill Northerly.

Wherefore it was apparent that if *Philip* paſt with his Army thither, hee ſhould conſume the reſt of the Spring idlely, and in the meane time the *Etoliens* ouer-running *Theſſaly* and *Epirus*, would put all to fire and Sword. This was the reaſon why hee Councelled this and ſuch like things. But *Arate* was of a contrary minde and opinion: For hee was of aduice that they ſhould ſayle into *Etolia*, and to make Warre firſt there: For hee immagined that the time was very fitting and conuenient to ſpoyle and ruine the Prouince, for that the *Etoliens* were gone to the Warre with *Dorimache*. The King followed no more the Councell of *Leonce* in any thing, both for that the affaires ſucceeded ill in the laſt ſiege, as for that hee was reſolued to imbrace that of *Arate*, conſidering the long experience and practiſe he had of his Wiſedome. Wherefore hee wrote vnto *Eperate* Chiefe of the *Achæins* that in holding the Legions ſuddainely ready, hee ſhould ſuccour and ayde the *Meſſeniens*. And in the meane time he parts from *Cephalenia*, and two dayes after arriues in the middle of the

the night with his Army by Sea at *Leucade*: And from thence holding his course a long the Sea of *Ambracia*, the which as wee haue formerly sayd, parting from that of *Sycily*, extends it selfe into *Etolia*. And when hee was come vnto the Marshes, hee stayed there a little before day, and causeth his men to feede and refresh their weary bodies, commanding them to be ready without any Baggage. Then he called his guides and inquires of the places and Townes, and of all things else that were necessary.

At the same time *Aristophanes* arriued with a good Troupe of *Acarnaniens*, hauing a great desire to reuenge the great and many outA rages, which the *Etoliens* had done them in former times. Wherefore receiuing the *Macedonians* willingly, they drewe to Armes, not they onely which were bound by the Law, but euen many olde men. The *Epirotes* had no lesse desire to doe the like for many reasons: But they could not assemble in time for the great extent of the Prouince, and the suddaine comming of *Philip*. *Dorimache*, as wee haue formerly sayd, had halfe the *Etoliens* with him, and left the rest in seuerall parts of the Countrey to be ready, if any new accident should happen.

B The King parting after noone from the Fenns, and hauing left sufficient force to guard the Baggage, when hee had marcht about three score Furlongs, he planted his Campe. Where after hee had stayed some certaine space, and had caused his Souldiers to feede, and refresh themselues being formerly wearied, he continued his course: So as marching all night, he arriued before day at the Riuer of *Acheloe*, betwixt *Conope* and *Strate*, seeking to surprize *Therme* by a way which they did not regard. *Leonce* and *Megalee* fore-saw for two reasons that the King would preuaile in his enterprize, and that the *Etoliens* would haue the worst. The one was, that the *Macedonians* descent was sudC daine, and much more speedy then they could immagine: The other, that the *Etoliens* fearing not that *Philip* passing by those rough and difficult Countries, would be vnprouided. Wherefore considering these things, and mindfull of their Conspiracy, they aduised *Philip* that in seating of his Campe neere to the Riuer of *Acheloe*, he should refresh his Army for the last nights labour: Hoping that by this meanes the *Etoliens* should haue time to seeke for succours, from their friends and Allies.

The Riuer of *Acheloe*.

But *Arate* holding the time very precious to effect the Kings Resolution, and that *Leonce* and *Megalee* like Traytors sought how to stop D and preuent his passage, hee intreates *Philip* not to loose so faire an opportunity. Following whose aduise, the King beginning to bee discontented with *Leonce* and *Megalee*, hee proceeded in his iourney: And passing the Riuer of *Acheloe* hee marcht directly vnto *Therme* with his whole Army, putting all to fire and Sword: On the left hand hee left the Townes of *Strate*, *Agrinia*, and *Tessia*: And vppon the right hand he left *Conope*, *Lysimachia*, *Tryconia*, and *Phitea*. Beeing come to the Towne of *Methape*, which lyes betwixt *Tryconia* and the Fenns, about threescore furlongs distant from *Therme*, the *Etoliens* fled.

Methape taken by *Philip.*

Wherefore hee tooke it, and put into it a Garrison of fiue hundred men, to the end he might make vse of it for a Retreate, aswell in his passage as in his returne by those streights: For the Countrey especially about the Fennes is Mountainous, difficult, and inuironed with thicke Forrests.

By this meanes the way is very troublesome, and in a manner inaccessible. Then he put the Voluntaries in the foreward, and after them the *Sclauonians*: Then followed the Targeteers and the Leginaries, and in this manner hee marcht thorough the streights, hauing the *Candyots* in the Reare, and the *Thracians* on the right Wing for a support. In regard of the left side, the Fennes did fortifie them about thirty Furlongs in length or rather more. When hee had speedily past the streights, and taken the Burrough of *Pamphia*, and had put a Garrison into it, he proceeded towards *Therme*, which is not onely difficult and inaccessible, but hath also deep Vallies round about it: so as in some places the way is dangerous and narrow, with an Assent about thirty furlongs high. The which hauing soone past, for that the *Macedonians* had carried themselues like braue men, hee came in the dead of the night vnto *Therme*, a very rich and likewise a faire Towne: Where planting his Campe, hee abandoned the Countrey and the Houses of *Therme* to the spoile of the Souldiers, the which were furnished not onely with Corne, and all other manner of munition, but with the richest mooueables of the *Etolians*: For euery man carried thither the richest stuffe hee had, for that yearely they kept Faires and Feasts there, and they made their Election: And withall they held this place for the safest and most surest of all the rest, whereunto no man durst approach; being such by Nature, as it seemed to be the Fort of all *Etolia*.

The order which *Philip* held to passe the streights of *Therme.*

Therme spoyled by the *Macedonians.*

Wherefore the Houses (considering their long peace) were full of all Wealth, not onely those that were neere vnto the Temple, but in all other places. They rested this night within the Towne, being inricht with spoiles. The next day they made choyse of the best, and set fire of the rest. They also tooke the best Armes, which hung vp in their Cloysters or Galleries, and changed some, setting fire of the rest, being aboue fifteene thousand. You must vnderstand that hitherto they managed the Warre iustly, and according to its Lawes. But I know not what to say of that which followes: For they ruined all the Cloysters and stately Houses, and ouer-threw all the ornaments which had beene made with great care and Charge, calling to minde that which the *Etolians* had done, at the Temple of *Iupiter Dodonet*. They not onely consumed the building by fire, but they ruined all the Walles †. And withall they ouer-threw and beate in peeces aboue two thousand Images, yet they would not touch those which had the figure or inscription of one God. They had grauen vppon the Walles, when as the dexterity of *Same*, the sonne of *Chrisogone* (who had beene nurst with the same milke that the King) beganne to shew it selfe, This vulgar Verse:

Thou

Thou ſeeſt the God, which will terrifie him with his Dart.

The King and his Friends thought they had done well, and that by meanes they had reuenged with the like recompence the execration which the *Etolians* had made vnto God. But for my owne part, I am of another opinion; and euery man may iudge whither I haue reaſon, calling vnto minde the example of Kings of the ſame Line, and not of other Races. When as *Antigonus* had chaſed away *Cleomenes* King of the *Lacedemonians* and was Lord of *Sparta*, hee forbare to vſe any outrage or cruelty to the *Lacedemonians*, and carried himſelfe not onely like a moderate and temperate man, but was alſo gracious vnto his Enemies: And returned into his Countrey leauing the *Lacedemonians* in their full liberty, doing them many fauours, both in generall and perticular. So as they not onely tearmed him at that time their Benefactor, but likewiſe after his Death they called him their Sauiour: So as hee not onely purchaſed Prayſe and immortall glory with the *Lacedemonians*, but likewiſe withall other Nations. Moreouer *Philip* who firſt inlarged the Realme of *Macedony*, and made the name of his Race great, hee did not winne the *Athenians* (after that hee had Vanquiſhed them in *Cheronea*) ſo much by Armes, as by his milde courſe of liuing, and the ſweetneſſe and gentleneſſe of his Nature.

The prudente of *Antigonus* towards the *Lacedemonians*.

It is true, that hee Vanquiſhed thoſe that came againſt him to Battaile: and had wonne the *Athenians* and their Citty: Not by a continuance of his Choller and indignation againſt the Vanquiſhed, but in fighting with his Enemies vntill occaſion were offered to ſhew his mildneſſe and Vertue: For hee ſent vnto the *Athenians* (who had done him many wrongs) their Priſoners free, and cauſed ſuch as had beene ſlaine in the Battaile to bee interred, ſoliciting the *Athenians* afterwards, to carry away the bones vnto the Sepulchers of their Auncestors. And afterwards ſending backe the ſayd bones, and many ſlaues freed, being lightly attired with *Antipater*, hee decided a great buſineſſe by his induſtry: So as the vntamed hearts of the *Athenians*, being Vanquiſhed by his magnanimity, they were alwaies after obedient vnto him, and ready to ſatisfie his deſires. What did *Alexander*, whoſe Choller was ſo great againſt the *Thebanes*, as hee made all the Citizens ſlaues: and razed their Citty vnto the ground, reducing ſome of their Princes into ſeruitude, ſending others into Baniſhment, and taking all their Wealth? Yet his rage and fury did not ſo farre exceede, as to force and violate the Temples of the immortall Gods, vſing all poſſible diligence, to keepe his men from committing any diſorder and villany. And when hee paſt into *Aſia*, to reuenge the outrages which the *Perſians* had done vnto the *Grecians*, hee puniſhed the men which had committed them, according to their deſerts: but hee touched not the Temples: Although the *Perſians* had moſt wronged the *Grecians* therein.

The curteſie of *Philip* the father of *Alexander* to the *Athenians*.

Alexander the Great.

This *Philip* ſhould haue conſidered, to the end hee ſhould not bee ſo much

The blame of *Philip*.

much eſteemed, the Heire of the afore-ſayd Kings in their Soueraignty, as in life and Conuerſation. Hee did what poſſibly hee could in his life time, to ſhewe himſelfe to bee of the blood of *Alexander* and *Philip*: But hee did not care to imitate them, nor to doe as they had done. Wherefore leading another courſe of life, hee alſo left another opinion of him with all Nations. For as hee laboured to yeeld the like vnto the *Etoliens* for their outrages, and to purge euill by euill, he thought not to offend. Calling to minde the outrages which *Scope* and *Dorimache* had done vnto the Temple of *Iupiter Dodonee*, hee did not perceiue that he committed the like errour, ſtraying wonderfully from reaſon. It is true that the Lawes of Warre, permit to vſe cruelty againſt enemies, and to ruine and ſpoile their Caſtles, and Gardens, Townes, and Burroughes, Shippes, Fruites, and ſuch like: To the end that their forces may be weakned, and his owne fortified and augmented. But it is the Act of a furious and mad man, to ruine thoſe things that are neither any way profitable or commodious vnto himſelfe, nor hurtfull vnto his enemy: As Temples, Cloiſters, Images, and ſuch like.

A

The Lawes of Warre.

It is not fitting that a good and vertuous man, ſhould perſecute his Enemy to his totall ruine. It ſufficeth onely that the faultes of Delinquents may be purged and Corrected; and not to ruine with the vniuſt thoſe things which haue not offended, nor to ſeeke to deſtroy and pull downe with the Enemy that which hath committed no outrage. It is the practiſe of a cruell Tyrant, to Raigne in doing euill, forcing his people thorough feare, and liuing in mutuall hatred with his Subiects. But the duty of a King is to doe good vnto all men, gouerning his people without feare, with bounty and Clemency: And liuing with his Citizens in mutuall loue and friendſhippe. But wee ſhall ſee more plainely the great errour which *Philip* committed, if wee ſhall truely conſider the opinion which the *Etoliens* might haue had of him, if hee had not ruined the Cloiſters and Images, nor carried away the Ornaments of the Temple. I conceiue that beeing culpable of the things, which had beene committed at the Temple of *Iupiter Dodonee*, they might haue ſeene plainely that *Philip* could haue done the like, and yet it had beene cruelty, the which notwithſtanding in ſhewe hee had done with reaſon: And that hee would not imitate and follow their Wickedneſſe in regard of his Bounty and Magnanimity, they would vndoubtedly haue condemned themſelues for their faultes, in commending and approouing *Philip* with great admiration, for that like a magnanimous King, hee had carried a reſpect vnto the Gods, and executed his Choller vpon them.

B

The practiſe of a Tyrant.

The Duty of a King.

C

D

To vanquiſh an enemy by mildneſſe.

There is no doubt, but it is better to vanquiſh an Enemy by mildneſſe and Clemency, then by force and might: For by Armes neceſſity forceth men to obedience; but mildneſſe drawes them to it willingly. By the one faults are corrected with loſſe: And by the other offenders amend and reforme themſelues without damage. Moreouer in the one the Souldiers attribute vnto themſelues the greateſt part of the glory, which is a great matter: But in curteſie, gentleneſſe, and mild-

mildneſſe, all the Victory is giuen vnto the Commander. So as happily conſidering his age, they will not attribute to *Philip* the greateſt part of thoſe things which he had done, but to thoſe that were in the Warre with him, of which number were *Arate* and *Demetrius* of *Phare*. The which would be eaſie to ſay vnto him, although he had not beene there preſent, and that this outrage done vnto the Gods, had beene by the aduice of one of them. It is true, that this was done contrary to the courſe of *Arates* life, during the which hee neuer did any thing raſhly, nor without conſideration: whereas *Demetrius* did alwayes the contrary. There are likewiſe particular preſumptions thereof, whereof we
A will ſpeake when it ſhall be fit.

Philip then (returning to our diſcourſe) parts from *Therme*, laden with all ſpoiles: and returnes the ſame way he came, cauſing the Baggage to goe before, with thoſe that were beſt armed: and placing the *Acarnanians* in Rearward with the Mercenaries, he made haſte to paſſe the ſtreights. He feared that the Enemies relying vpon the aduantage of the place, might charge him in the Reare. The which was preſently put in practiſe, for that the *Etolians* hauing drawne together three thouſand men, neuer approaching neere vnto *Philip*, whileſt hee held
B the high Countrey, made their Ambuſhes in ſcattred places vnder the command of *Alexander*. But when the Rearward began to march, they entred into *Therme*, charging them vpon the Taile. When as the alarum was giuen, the *Etolians* relying much vpon the aduantage of places, purſued them with great courage. But *Philip* hauing wiſely prouided for the future, had left the *Sclauonians* in Ambuſh vnder a certaine Hill, with many others that were armed with Targets. Who ſeeing the purſuite of the *Etolians*, they marcht againſt him with great fury, and preſently ſlew ſixe or ſeauen ſcore, and tooke as many: the reſt ſaued themſelues by infamous and ſhamefull flight.

The Etolians charge Philips Rearward.

C The *Acarnanians* and Mercenaries, after they had gotten the victory, they preſently ſet fire on *Paphia*: and when they had paſt the ſtreights with great ſpeed, they found the *Macedonians*. *Phillip* ſeated his Campe neere vnto *Methape*, ſtaying for his men. And parting from thence after he had razed it, he comes to a Towne called *Atres*. Then continuing his way for three dayes together, hee waſted the whole Countrey: The day following he planted his Campe neere vnto *Conope*, where he ſtayed the next day. After which hee march't at the breake of day towards *Strate*, where hee paſt the Riuer of *Acheloe*, and lodged within a Bowes ſhoote of the Towne, drawing the Inhabitants
D often to skirmiſh. For he had beene aduertiſed, that there were three thouſand *Etolian* foote within it, and about foure hundred Horſe, with fiue hundred *Candiots*. When as no man durſt come forth, hee raiſed his Campe againe, and at the firſt tooke his way towards the Fenns, to recouer his ſhips. But when as the Reare of his Army began to paſſe the Towne, a number of *Etolian* Horſe-men make a ſally and charge them. They were preſently followed by a Troupe of *Candiots*, and many *Etolians* came to ſuccour their Horſe-men, the *Acarnanians* being in danger, turned head againſt the Enemy, and the Combate began

Paphia burnt.

Methape razed by Philip.

The Etolians made a ſally out of Strate.

betwixt them. The Victory was long in ſuſpence: Finally, *Philip* ſent the *Sclauonians* to ſuccour the Mercenaries. Wherefore the *Etoliens* being vanquiſhed, fled of all ſides. Thoſe which the King had ſent, purſued the greateſt part of them to the Gates and walls of the Towne, whereof there were a hundred ſlaine in the chaſe: the reſt durſt no more ſhew themſelues in Field. By this meanes the Kings Army retired without danger to their ſhips.

After which *Philip* planted his Campe, and gaue thankes vnto the Gods for the good fortune which he had obtained according to his deſire: And making a Banquet, he inuited all the Captaines. It ſeemed A
true, that he had paſt by dangerous places, into the which no man before him durſt lead an Army. But he not onely paſt them, but did what he would, and returned without loſſe or danger. Moreouer, *Megalee* and *Leonce* (diſcontented at the Kings good fortune hauing ſworne to *Appelles* to hinder all his enterprizes: which they could not effect, for that all things ſucceeded happily to *Philip*) were preſent at this Supper ſad and penſiue: ſo as they diſcouered eaſily vnto the King, and to the other aſſiſtants what their hearts were. But when the Tables were taken away, and they were well inflamed with their free drinking, they returned to their Tents, ſeeking for *Arate*. Whom when they met B
vpon the way, they vſed many iniurious ſpeeches againſt him, and began to aſſault him with ſtones. But for that much people came of either ſide to ſuccour them, there grew a great mutiny in the Campe. *Philip* hearing the Trumpet, ſent men to inquire, and to pacifie this tumult. To whom *Arate* declaring the buſineſſe as it had paſt, and referring himſelfe to the teſtimony of thoſe that were preſent, hee returned preſently vnto his Tent. *Leonce* retired ſecretly out of the preſſe. *Philip* cauſeth *Megalee* and *Crinon* to be called, with whom he was much offended. And when as they anſwered him proudly, that they would neuer ceaſe vntill they had beene reuenged of *Arate*: The King incen- C
ſed therewith, condemned them preſently in twelue thouſand Crownes, and to bee committed to Priſon. Three dayes after he calls for *Arate*, and intreates him not to care, promiſing him to giue order for all things when as opportunity ſhall ſerue. *Leonce* aduertiſed of the impriſonment of *Megalee*, came with force to the Kings Tent: immagining that *Philip* (conſidering his youth) would alter his ſentence for feare. Being come before the King, he demanded what man was ſo hardy to lay hand on *Megalee*, and who had committed him to Priſon. But when as the King anſwered boldly, that hee had done it, *Leonce* went away amazed, and in a manner ſighing. D

Philip ſetting ſayle with his Fleete, came preſently to *Leucade*: where after he had appointed men to diuide the ſpoile, he called all his friends to iudge *Megalee*. There *Arate* laied before them the outrages of *Leonce*, the great wrongs he ſuffred in the time of *Antigonus*, the Conſpiracy he made with *Appelles*, and the hinderance he gaue at *Palee*: To all which things he produced witneſſes. Whereunto when *Megalee* nor *Crinon* could not anſwere any thing, they were condemned by all the aſſembly. Whereupon *Crinon* remained a Priſoner: But *Megalee*

Megalee and *Leonce* doe outrage to *Arate*.

Megalee and *Crinon* condemned by the King in 12000. Crownes.

The condemnation of *Megalee* and *Crinon*.

Megalee was deliuered vpon *Licurgus* caution. This was the estate of *Appellas* and his Confederates: whose Fortune was not such as they expected: For hoping to terrifie *Aratus*, and to doe what they would with the King, and by this meanes to preuaile in their wills, all things succeeded contrary.

In the meane time *Licurgus* retires out of the *Messenians* Countrey, hauing done nothing worthy of memory. Afterwards parting from *Lacedemon* with an Army, he tooke the Towne of *Elea*, and besieged the Fort, whereinto the Cittizens were retired: where after hee had stayed there some time, and seeing his labour lost, he returned againe to *Sparta*. And when as the *Illyrians* ouer-ran the Countrey of the *Dimenses*, some Horse men which were in Ambush, and come to succour them, put them easily to flight, and slew a good number of *Gaules*, taking Prisoners those of the Townes of *Polymede* of *Egia*, *Agrippolis* and *Diede* of *Dime*. *Dorimache* was gone in the beginning with an Army onely of *Etolians*, thinking that he might safely ouer-run *Thessaly*, and by this meanes draw *Philip* to raise his Siege from *Palea*. But being aduertised of the preparation of *Chrysogones* and *Petrea* to come and fight with him, he durst not enter into the Plaine, but alwayes kept the top of the Mountaines with his Army. And when he had newes of the comming of the *Macedonians* into *Etolia*, he leaues *Thessaly* presently to goe and succour his Countrey: where being aduertised of the Kings retreat, not knowing what to doe, and disappointed in all his enterprizes, he remained sad and discontented.

Licurgus takes the Towne of *Elea*.

The King at his departure from *Leucade* with his Fleete, hauing spoiled and wasted the Sea-coasts, landed at *Corinthe* with his Army, leauing his ships at *Lechee*. Then he sent Letters to all the allied Townes of *Morea*, to aduertise them of the day when they should come in Armes to *Tegee*. Which things being thus ordered, without making any long stay at *Corinthe*, he parted with his Army: and passing by the Countrey of *Argos*, three dayes after his departure, he came to *Tegee*: whereas after he had receiued the *Achæans* which were there assembled, he proceeded in his course, passing secretly by the Mountaines, he laboured to enter the Countrey of *Sparta*, before the *Lacedemonians* should be aduertised. Where hauing marched foure dayes by the Desarts of the Mountaines, he came to those which were right against the City: Then leauing *Menelaie* on the right hand, he drew to *Amycle*. The *Lacedemonians* seeing the Army passe by their Citty, they wondred at this strange accident, and being terrified with this suddaine feare, they knew not what to doe: For they were amazed at the valiant exploits which they sayd *Philip* had lately done at *Therme*, and throughout all *Etolia*. And there was a certaine bruite amongst them, that *Licurgus* was sent to succour the *Etoliens*. As for *Philips* suddaine descent into the Countrey of *Sparta*, no man had euer thought of it, and the rather for that his age seemed worthy of some contempt. Wherefore matters succeeding contrary to all hope, the world had reason to feare: for *Philip* mannaging the Warre with greater courage and policy then his age did beare, he terrified his Enemies. And namely (as we haue sayd)

Philip comes to *Corinthe*.

Menelaie.
Amycle.

The great diligence of *Philip*.

sayd) he parted from *Etolia*, and passing the Gulfe of *Ambracia* in one night, he came to *Leucade*, where staying two dayes, and parting the third early in the morning, he arriued two dayes after at *Corinthe*; hauing spoiled the Sea-coasts of *Etolia*, and from thence continuing his course, he came within nine dayes to the Mountaines which are right against *Sparta*, neere vnto *Menelaie*: so as they could hardly beleeue it when they saw him. The *Lacedemonians* then terrified with the greatnesse and newnesse of this accident, knew not what Councell to take, nor to whom to haue recourse.

The day following *Philip* campes neere vnto *Amycle*. It is a place A
The situation of *Amycle*. in the *Spartains* Countrey, abounding with all sorts of Trees and wealth,
The Temple of *Apollo*. twenty Furlongs from *Lacedemon*: Where the Temple of *Apollo* stands, being the most excellent of all the rest of the Prouince, as well for Art as wealth, being seated in that part of the Towne which looks towards the Sea. Three dayes after when he had spoiled the whole Country, he went to the Castle of *Pyrhus*, where he stayed two dayes, and wasting the whole Countrey, he put all to fire and sword, and planted his Campe neere vnto *Carnia*. From whence he suddainly marcht to *Assina*, from whence (after he had attempted in vaine to take it by assault) he raised the Siege, and wasted all the rest of the Countrey, marching B directly to *Tenare*: From thence turning his way, hee drawes to the
The Port of *Gythia*. *Lacedemonians* Hauen, which they call *Gythia*: where there is a safe Port, about thirty Furlongs from the Citty. Then leauing it on the right hand, he planted his Campe neere to *Elea*: which is (if we consider it well) the greatest and best Countrey of the *Spartains*: The which he abandoned to the Souldiers, who put it to fire and sword. Hee also spoiled the *Acriens* and *Lenques*, and the whole Countrey of the *Boies*.

The *Messenians* hauing receiued Letters from *Philip*, were no lesse C diligent then the other Allies, who leuied men presently within their Townes, and sent the most able vnto the King, to the number of two thousand Foote and two hundred Horse. But the length of the way was the cause they came not to *Tegee* before the Kings departure. And therefore doubting in the beginning what they should doe, fearing likewise that it would seeme, they had willingly made this delay for the suspition they had of them in the beginning, they resolued to enter the *Spartains* Countrey, to the end they might ioyne speedily with the
The Castle of *Olympes*. King. Being come vnto the Castle of *Olympes*, which is seated neere vnto the Mountaines of the *Argiues* and *Lacedemonians*, and had set themselues downe foolishly and without consideration: for they did D not fortifie themselues neither with Ditches nor Pallisadoes, neither did they choose a conuenient place: But relying on the good-will of the Inhabitants, they lodged simply neere vnto the Walls. *Licurgus* aduertised of their comming, takes the Mercenaries, and part of the *Lacedemonians*, and goes directly to the Enemy. Where arriuing at the breake of day, he marcheth in Battaile against the *Messenians*: who
The *Messenians* surprized by *Licurgus*. perceiuing him, abandoned all, and fled by heapes into this Castle. *Licurgus* recouered the greatest part of their Horses and Baggage, but hee

he tooke not a man: he onely ſlew eight Horſe-men. The *Meſſeniens* after this defeate returned by the *Argiues* Countrey. *Lycurgus* proud of this good fortune, being returned to *Sparta*, vſeth all ſpeed to leuie men, and to prepare all things neceſſary for the Warre, labouring that *Philip* might not returne by the *Spartains* Countrey without a Battaile or danger. The King parts with his Army from *Elia*, ſpoiling all as he paſſeth, and brought all backe on the fourth day to *Amycle*. *Licurgus* hauing reſolued with his Friends and Captaines to giue Battaile to the *Macedonians*, goes out of the Citty, and recouers the places about *Philip* parts from *Elia* ſpoiling all as he paſſeth.

A *Menelaie* with about two thouſand Foote, commanding them of the Citty to be watchfull, and when they ſhould ſee a ſigne, they ſhould ſpeedily make ſallies by diuers places, taking their way towards *Eurota*, which is a Riuer neere vnto the Citty. Theſe were the actions of *Licurgus* and the *Lacedemonians* at that time.

But to the end that what wee ſay, may not ſeeme obſcure by the ignorance of places, wee muſt declare the nature and ſcituation: The which we will indeauour to doe throughout our whole worke, alwaies ioynin gplaces knowne to the vnknowne: For the difference of Countryes doe many times deceiue in Warre, as well by Sea as Land. Our

B deſire is, that all men ſhould know not onely the things, but how they were done. And therefore the deſcription of places is neceſſary in all things, but eſpecially in Warre: neither may we blame the vſe of Fens, Seas, and Ilands for ſignes: and ſometimes of Temples, Mountaines, Townes, and certaine Countries: nor finally the difference of circumſtances: For theſe are things common to all men. It is alſo the meanes to aduertiſe the Reader of things vnknowne, as we haue ſayd. The ſcituation of places whereof we ſpeake is this. Although that *Lacedemon* ſeemes to ſtand in a plaine, yet it hath here and there rough and hilly places: Neere vnto which towards the Eaſt, paſſeth this Riuer which

C they call *Erota*, the which for the moſt part of the yeere is not to be waded thorough, by reaſon of its great depth. The Mountaines wherein *Menelaie* ſtands, are on the other ſide of the Riuer towards the Citty, which looke towards the Winters Eaſt: the which are rough and difficult and wonderfull high: And bend ouer the Plaine which lies betwixt the Riuer and the Citty, by the which it takes its courſe along the foote of the Mountaines. The King was of neceſſity to paſſe that way, hauing the Citty on the left hand, and the *Lacedemonians* ready and in Armes: And on the right hand the Riuer, and thoſe which were in the Mountaines with *Licurgus*. The Riuer of *Erota*.

Matters ſtanding in this eſtate, the *Lacedemonians* bethought themD ſelues of a ſtratagem, by the which in breaking of a Damme, they ſhould drowne all the Plaine betwixt the Citty and the foot of the Mountains, ſo as neither Horſe nor Foote ſhould be able to paſſe. By this meanes they ſaw the King ſhould bee forced to lead his Army by the foote of the Mountaines: the which he could not doe without great danger: for that he ſhould be forced to extend his Army in length, and not vnited and cloſe, and to march a ſlow pace. *Philip* ſeeing this, aſſembles his Friends, and was of opinion, that he muſt firſt chaſe away *Licurgus*

from

from the places which hee held. Wherefore he takes in his company the Mercenaries, the Targeteers, and the *Sclauonians*, and began to march directly towards the Mountaines to paſſe the Riuer. *Licurgus* vnderſtanding of the Kings reſolution, put his men in Battaile, and perſwades them to doe their duties in fighting, and withall hee makes a ſigne to them of the Citty, as he had promiſed. Which done, the Souldiers preſently ſally forth, putting the Horſe-men on the right wing. When *Philip* came neere vnto *Licurgus*, he ſent the Mercenaries to giue the firſt charge, of whom the *Lacedemonians* had the better at the firſt, by reaſon of the aduantage of the place and the manner of their Armes. But when as he had ſent the Targeteers with the *Sclauonians* to ſuccour the Mercenaries, there was ſo great an alteration, as the Mercenaries ſeemed to haue the victory in their hands: And the *Lacedemonians* amazed at the fury of them that were well armed, fled preſently, as deſpairing of their ſafety. There died about a hundred men: and ſome few more taken: the reſt recouered the Citty.

The flight of the *Lacidemonians*.

Licurgus taking his way by inacceſſible woods, arriued the night following at the Citty. When as *Philip* had put a ſufficient ſtrength of *Sclauonians* into the Mountaines, he returned with them that were lightly armed, and the Targeteers to his Army. At the ſame time *Arate* bringing back the Army from *Amycle*, was not far from the City: with whom the King (paſſing the Riuer) ioyned, and appointed them that were well armed to make head againſt the Horſe-men at the foot of the Mountaine. When as the *Lacedemonian* Horſe-men had charged the *Macedonians*, and the targeteers had fought valiantly, and withal the King had performed his duty well, they were in the end repuls'd ſhamefully to the gates of the City. Afterwards the King paſt *Eurota* ſafely, and was forced to ſettle his Campe in the night, at his comming forth of the ſtreights, in a place which was very ſtrong by nature. Finally, the King had an humour to ouer-run the Countrey neere to *Lacedemon*. In the beginning of the ſaid ſtreights vpon the approaches from *Tegea* by the firme Land to *Lacedemon*, there is a place about two Furlongs diſtant from the Citty, vnder the which the Riuer hath its courſe: the which imbraceth the Citty and the ſide of the Riuer, with a ſteepe and inacceſſible Mountaine. The foote of this Mountaine is a ſlimy and watery Plaine, as well for the entry as the going forth of an Army: ſo as whoſoeuer plants his Campe there, in ſeazing vpon the Hill, ſeemes to campe ſafely, and to be in a ſure place, in regard of the Towne which is oppoſite, hauing vnder its power the entry and iſſue of the ſtreights. *Philip* hauing ſeated his Campe there, he cauſeth the Baggage to march the next day, and drawes his Army into the Plaine, in view of the Towne. Where after he had ſtayed ſome time, hee wheeles about like a Bowe, and takes his way towards *Tegea*. And when hee came into the Countrey where that famous Battaile was fought betwixt *Antigonus* and *Cleomenes*, he planted his Campe there.

Three dayes after when the places were well viewed, and the Sacrifices performed in two Mountaines, whereof the one is called *Olympe*, and the other *Eua*, he went on his way, and came to *Tegea*, where he

he ſtayed ſome time to diuide the ſpoile : Then ſuddainly hee returned to *Corinthe* with his Army. Thither came Embaſſadours from *Rhodes* and *Chios* to the King, to mediate a peace betwixt him and the *Etoliens*. To whom the King giuing a gracious reception, he told them that he had long, and at that preſent was ready to imbrace a peace, if the *Etoliens* held it fit, and that they ſhould goe vnto them, and conſider of the meanes therof. From thence he went to *Leche*, and prepared himſelfe to imbarke, deſiring to decide ſome preſſing affaires at *Phocis*.

Embaſſadours from *Rhodes* to *Chios*.

A At the ſame time *Leonce*, *Megalee*, and *Ptolomy* thinking yet to terrifie the King, and by that meanes to repaire their errours, calls the Targeteers, and thoſe whom the *Macedonians* terme, the Kings Troupe: whom they informe that they are dayly in great danger without any recompence, or any ſhare in the ſpoile, according to the ancient cuſtome approued by all men. By meanes whereof they perſwade theſe young men to aſſaile and ſpoile the Lodgings of the Kings principall Minions, and that falling vpon the Kings owne Lodging, they ſhould ouerthrow the Gates and couering. The which when they had done, there grew a great mutiny in the Towne. *Philip* hearing the noiſe, makes haſte to returne from the Port : And drawing the *Macedonians* together, he pacifieth them partly with words, and blaming B them for the things which they had done. And when as the fury increaſed, and that ſome were of opinion to chaſe out of the Towne thoſe that had beene the cauſe of the mutiny, others ſaying that this fury of the Commons ought to bee pacified without any greater puniſhment, the King diſſembled his conceite for the preſent : And being as it were perſwaded by them, hee returned to the Hauen, after hee had giuen them many admonitions, knowing well the heads of this villany : But hee thought good to deferre it to a more conuenient time. *Leonce* and his Faction deſpairing, for that none of their enterprizes ſucceeded, retired to *Appelles*, and cauſed him to come from *Calcis*, giuing him to C vnderſtand that they could not doe any thing without him, for that the King croſt them in all things. *Appelles* had carried himſelfe in *Calcis* with greater liberty then was fit: for he gaue them to vnderſtand that the King was young, vnder his Guard and without any power, terming himſelfe Lord, and ſole Gouernour of all things. Wherefore all the Princes of *Macedony* and *Theſſaly* adreſt themſelues to him in all affaires. Within a ſhort time likewiſe all the Cities of *Greece* had forgotten the King in their elections, honours, and offices : Onely *Appelles* mannaged all affaires. The King being long before aduertiſed thereof, was much diſcontented and incenſed : whereunto *Arate* ſpurd him on continually, D although he diſſembled his conceite ſo well, as no man could diſcouer it. *Appelles* ignorant of the Kings reſolution, and thinking to obtaine any thing when he ſhould preſent himſelfe vnto him, came from *Calcis* to *Corinthe*. When he came neere the Towne, *Leonce*, *Ptolomy*, and *Megalee* Chiefe of the Targeteers, and other Souldiers that were beſt armed, gaue him a great reception, perſwading the youth to goe and meete him. He came then to the Kings lodging in pompe, being attended on by the Captaines and Souldiers. When as he ſought (as he was wont) to

A mutiny againſt *Philip* and his men.

Leonce and his Faction retired to *Appelles*.

enter ſuddainly, a certaine Vſher told him, that he muſt haue patience, for that the King was buſie for the preſent. *Appelles* wondring at this new manner of proceeding, remained penſiue for a time, after which he departed diſcontented, and without iudgement: all the reſt likewiſe abandoned him, ſo as hee returned alone to his lodging, hauing no other Company but his owne Family. O how ſuddainly are men aduanced to great honours, and in as ſhort time reduced to greater miſeries: eſpecially ſuch as frequent Princes Courts. They are like vnto Lots, which they vſually giue in publique Councells. For as thoſe which a little before were were giuen in Copper, are ſuddainly turned into Gold, according to the will of thoſe that diſpoſe of them: So they which follow the Courts of Princes, are according to the Kings will and pleaſure, happy one day, and miſerable the next. When *Megalee* knew that he had ſought the aſſiſtance of *Appelles* in vaine, he trembled for feare, and intended to flye. After that day *Appelles* was called to Banquets and other honours that were done: but he neuer entred into the priuy Councell, nor aſſiſted at the ordinary reſolutions which were taken for affaires.

The miſery of Courtiers.

Soone after the King returned to *Phocis*, leading *Appelles* with him: Whereas hauing ſpeedily effected his will, he returned againe to *Elatia*. During this, *Megalee* flies to *Athens*, leauing *Leonce* caution for him for twelue thouſand Crownes. And when as the Chiefe of the *Atheniens* would not receiue him, he returned to *Thebes*. The King being parted from the Countrey which lies about *Circe*, hee ſayled to the Port of *Sicyonia* with the Targeteers and his Guard. From whence comming ſuddainly to the Towne, he preferred the lodging of *Arate* before the other Princes, making his continuall abode with him, commanding *Appelles* to ſayle to *Corinthe*. When as newes came in the meane time of the flight of *Megalee*, hee ſent *Taurion* with the Targeteers whom *Leonce* had vnder his charge to *Triphalia*, as if hee had beene forced thereunto by ſome great affaires. After whoſe departure, hee cauſeth *Leonce* to be apprehended. The Targeteers aduertiſed hereof, ſent an Embaſſie to the King to intreate him that if *Leonce* had beene taken for any other thing then for the caution, that the iudgement might not be giuen before their returne: Otherwiſe they ſhould thinke themſelues contemned, and in diſgrace with the King. The King prickt forward by the importunity of the Souldiers, he put *Leonce* to death ſooner then he had reſolued.

The flight of *Megalee*.

The taking of *Leonce*.

During the which, the Embaſſadours of *Rhodes* and *Chios* returned from *Etolia*, hauing agreed vpon a Moneths truce: and ſaying that the *Etoliens* were ready to treate a peace with the King, appointing moreouer a day when he ſhould meete with them neere vnto *Rhie*: Being confident that they would doe whatſoeuer he pleaſed to haue a peace. The The King accepting the truce, ſent Letters to the Allies, willing them to ſend Embaſſadours to *Patres*, to conferre with him on the conditions of the peace. Then hee parts from *Leche*, and arriues two dayes after at *Patres*. At the ſame time they bring vnto him Letters from *Phocis*, which *Megalee* himſelfe had written vnto the *Etoliens*: by

by the which he solicits them to maintaine the Warre couragiously, for that the King could not long continue it for want of victualsand other munition. Moreouer,they contained many scandalous and opprobrious speeches against the King. The which being read,the King conceiuing that *Appelles* had beene the cause and the beginning of these practises, causeth him to be taken and brought to *Corinthe*, with his Sonne and Concubine: And hee sent *Alexander* to *Thebes*, giuing him charge to bring *Megalee*, to the end his caution might be discharged. But when as *Alexander* thought to execute his charge, *Megalee* preuented him, and slew himselfe. In a manner at the same time, *Appelles*, his Sonne, and his Concubine were put to death, receiuing the worthy punishment of their wicked liues, and namely for the outrage done by them to *Arate*.

Appelles taken Prisoner.

Megalee kills himselfe.

The death of *Appelles* and his Sonne.

Although the *Etoliens* desired peace, being discontented with the long Warre, and seeing their affaires to succeed otherwise then they expected: for that conceiuing they had to deale with a Child (considering that the King had neither age nor experience) they found him by his deeds to bee a man excellent in Councell and Execution, and themselues to bee Children, as well in their particular as publique affaires: Yet aduertised of the mutiny of the Targeteers, and of the death of *Appelles*, from whom they expected some great alteration in the Kings Court, they came not to *Rhie* at the day appointed. *Philip* holding this a good occasion to entertaine the Warre, solicites the Embassadours of the Allies which were there assembled, not vnto peace (for the which they had beene called) but to Warre. Then parting from thence with his Fleete, hee came to *Corinthe*, and sent all the *Macedonians* to winter in their houses. Parting from *Corinthe*, hee sailed by the *Euripe* to *Demetriade*: there hee put *Ptolomy* to death, (who onely remained of the Conspiracy of *Appelles* and *Leonce*) by the iudgement of the *Macedonians*.

Philip sailes to *Corinthe*.

At the same time *Hannibal* had past the *Alpes*, and was in *Italy*, and had planted his Campe neere to the Riuer of *Poe*, not farre from that of the *Romans*. *Antiochus* after hee had conquered many places in *Syrria*, had brought backe his Army to winter. *Licurgus* King of the *Lacedemonians* fearing the Magistrates, had fled into *Etolia*: for the Magistrates hearing a false report, that hee would attempt some reuolte, came in the Night to his house with a Troupe of Youth: whereof being formerly aduertised, he fled with his seruants. When as *Philip* in the depth of Winter had retired into *Macedony*, and that *Eperate* Chiefe of the *Acheins* was made a scorne to the Youth of the Towne, and to the Mercenaries, and was not obeyed, nor made any preparation for the defence of the Countrey, *Pyrrhee* (whom the *Etoliens* had sent to the *Elienses* for their Captaine, accompanied with thirteene hundred *Etoliens*, and a thousand Foote, as well Souldiers as Burgesses of the *Elienses*, and with two hundred Horse, being in all about three thousand men) aduertised thereof, spoiled not onely the Countries of the *Dimenses* and *Pharenses*, but also of *Patres*: Finally, he pitched his Campe neere vnto the Mountaine *Panachaique*.

The flight of *Licurgus* into *Etolia*.

The Mountain *Panachaique*.

which lookes towards *Patres*, and waſted all the neighbour Region. The Townes thus vexed, being no was ſuccour'd, they payed the Taxe and charge vnwillingly: The Souldiers would not be drawne to ſuccour them, for that their pay was delayed. By this mutuall trouble the *Acheins* affaires were in bad caſe: And the Mercenaries retired by little and little: the which happened by the negligence of the Commander. And when the affaires of *Acheia* ſtood in this eſtate, and that the time of the Election was come, *Eperate* left the gouernment, and the *Acheins* in the Spring made choiſe of old *Arate*. Thus paſt the Affaires in *Europe*.

Old *Arate* made Chiefe of the *Acheins*.

But ſeeing that in the diſtinction of times, and the order of actions, we haue found a conuenient place for this Subiect, let vs paſſe to the Warres of *Aſia* vnder the ſame Olympiade: Relating firſt (as we haue promiſed in the beginning of our worke) the Warre of *Syrria*, which was betwixt *Antiochus* and *Ptolomy*. And for that I know well that this Warre was not ended at ſuch time as I left to treate of the Actions of *Greece*, and being reſolued to follow this perfection and diſtribution, to the end the Readers may not be deceiued in the true knowledge of euery time: I hope to leaue a ſufficient inſtruction for thoſe which deſire to know it, in ſetting downe at what time in this preſent Olympiade, and of the deeds of the *Grecians*, the beginning and ending of other actions happened: Moreouer, wee eſteeme nothing better nor more honourable in this Olympiade, then not to confound things, to the end the diſcourſe of the Hiſtory may be plaine and eaſie: And that diſtinguiſhing matters by order as much as may be poſſible, vntill that comming to other Olympiades, wee may yeeld to euery yeere its actions according to order. And for that we haue not reſolued to write them all, nor the actions of all places, and that wee haue vndertaken with greater affection to write Hiſtories then our predeceſſours haue done; it is fitting wee ſhould be carefull to expreſſe them in order, and that the generall worke of the Hiſtory may with its parts be plaine and apparent. Wherefore we will now write the Reignes of *Antiochus* and *Ptolomy*, reducing things from farre, and purſuing our diſcourſe from a beginning which may bee notorious, and which ſquares with that which wee haue to ſay.

The Authours good intention

For thoſe ancients which haue ſayd, that the beginning is a moiety of the whole, they haue vndoubtedly taught vs, that in all things wee ſhould vſe great diligence, that the beginnings may be well ordered. And although ſome thinke they haue vſed a high Stile, yet in my opinion they doe not ſeeme to ſpeake with truth. Without doubt you may boldly ſay, that the beginning is not onely a moiety of the whole, but hath alſo a regard to the end. Tell mee, how canſt thou make a good beginning, if thou haſt not firſt comprehended in thy vnderſtanding the end of thy Enterprize? And if thou knoweſt not in what part, to what purpoſe, and the cauſe why thou wilt make it? For how can a Hiſtory haue order, if at the beginning or entrance thou doeſt not deliuer plainely, from whence, and how, or wherefore thou art come vnto the relation which thou doeſt preſently

An order required in all things.

preſently make of actions ? Wherefore they which will haue things heard and vnderſtood fully, thinke that the beginnings doe not onely ſerue for the one halfe, but alſo for the end: wherein they imploy themſelues with great care and induſtry: the which I will carefully indeauour to doe. Although that I am certaine that many of the ancient Hiſtoriographers haue bin confident to haue done the like, when as they pretended to write all generally, and to haue written a longer Hiſtory then their predeceſſours: of whom I will forbeare to ſpeake much, or to name them: Among the which I excuſe *Ephorus*, the firſt and onely man which hath attempted to write a generall Hiſtory. But I will vſe no longer diſcourſe, nor name any of the reſt: But I will ſay that ſome Hiſtoriographers of our time, comprehending the Warre betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, in three or foure ſmall Pages, brag publiquely that they haue written all. It is certaine that for as much as there hath beene many and great exploits performed in *Spaine*, *Affricke*, *Sicily* and *Italy*, and that the Warre of *Hannibal* hath beene the greateſt and longeſt, except that of *Sicily*. We muſt alſo vnderſtand, that the excellency of this warre hath beene the cauſe that wee haue all caſt our eyes vpon it: and the rather for that wee were in doubt of the end. This is a Warre which euery man (be hee neuer ſo dull and ſimple) knowes. Yet ſome of thoſe which haue handled the Hiſtory, writing onely ſuperficially the actions of ſome times, yet they imagine they haue comprehended the deeds of the *Grecians* and *Barbarians*. Whereof the cauſe is, for that it is an eaſie thing to promiſe many great things by mouth, but it is not eaſie to bring a great enterprize to an end. And therefore this other is common, and (as a man may ſay) in the hands of all men, ſo as they haue courage: But the laſt is rare, and few men attaine vnto it. Finally, the arrogancy of ſome, which glorifie themſelues too much, and commend their Writings, hath cauſed mee to make this digreſſion. But now I returne vnto my enterprize.

When *Ptolomy*, ſurnamed *Philopater*, had ſeized vpon the Empire of *Egypt*, after the death of his Father, and had made away his Brother with his adherents, (thinking there was no more cauſe of feare in his Family, for the afore-ſaid crime:) and that for ſtrangers, Fortune had in good time aſſured all things, conſidering the death of *Antigonus* and *Seleucus*: to whoſe Realmes *Antiochus* and *Philip* had ſucceeded, who were ſcarce eighteene yeeres old) he abandoned himſelfe to pleaſures, whoſe example the whole Countrey followed. For this cauſe his owne people made no eſteeme of him. And not onely his ſubiects, but alſo the reſt which mannaged the affaires both within and without *Egypt*. The Lords of the lower *Syrria*, and of *Cypres*, haue made Warre againſt the Kings of *Syria*, as well by Sea as Land. They alſo which hold the chiefe Cities, places, and Ports which are along the Sea-coaſts, from *Pamphilia* vnto *Helleſpont*, and the Country of *Lyſimachia*, confined with the Principalities of *Aſia* and the Ilands. And as for *Thracia* and *Macedony*, the Princes of *Enos* and *Maronia*, and of Townes that were more remote, had alwayes an eye ouer them. Wherefore imploying

Ptolomy King of *Egypt*.

their forces, to aſſaile forreine Princes, farre from their Realmes, they were not troubled for the Empire of *Egypt*. Their chiefe care then was for the Warres of forreine Countries. In regard of this King of whom wee ſpeake, there were many in a ſhort time, who for his infamous loues, and ordinary exceſſe in drinking, had an eye vpon him and his Realme. Amongſt the which *Cleomenes* of *Lacedemon* was the first. He made no alteration whileſt that the other King liued, who was ſurnamed *Benefactor*: as if he were perſwaded, that during his life he ſhould want no meanes to reconquer his Realme.

The enterprize of *Cleomenes* vpon *Ptolomy*.

But when as after his death, the affaires required his preſence, *Antigonus* being alſo dead: And that the *Achæins* with the *Macedonians* made Warre againſt the *Lacedemonians*, which they maintaine according vnto that which hee had aduiſed them in the beginning, being allied to the *Etoliens*: Then hee was forced to thinke of his departure from *Alexandria*. Wherefore hee firſt ſolicited the King to ſend them backe with an Army and ſufficient munition. And when as the King would not giue eare vnto it, he intreated him at the leaſt to ſuffer him to depart with his family, for the time was now come, when as great opportunities were offred to recouer his Fathers Realme. The King neither conſidering the preſent, nor fore-ſeeing the future, for the cauſes aboue ſpecified, like an ouer-weening man, and without iudgement, neuer made any eſteeme of *Cleomenes*. But *Soſibius* (who chiefely gouerned all the affaires of the Kingdome at that preſent) holding a Councell with his Friends, was not of aduice to ſuffer *Cleomenes* to goe with an Army at Sea, and munition, diſdaining forreine affaires, and holding this charge loſt, conſidering the death of *Antigonus*: fearing likewiſe that this death being ſo freſh, the way might be made eaſie to ſtirre vp ſome Warre: And there being no man found to reſiſt *Cleomenes*, he would ſoone make himſelfe Lord of all the Cities in *Greece*. Finally, they feared he would become their Enemy, conſidering the preſent: in regard of the Kings manner of life, which was well knowne vnto them. With this diſaduantage, that *Soſibius* ſaw the Prouinces of the Realme to lie one farre from another, and to haue great opportunities of reuolte. For there was neere vnto *Samos* a good number of Veſſels, and great Troupes of Souldiers neere vnto *Epheſus*. Wherefore he did not hold it fit to ſend backe *Cleomenes* with an Army for the afore-ſayd reaſons. But when they conſidered that it would not be profitable for their Common-wealth, to let goe ſo great a perſonage, who afterwards might proue their open Enemy, there was no preuention but to retaine him by force. The which notwithſtanding the reſt diſliked, conceiuing that there would be great danger to keepe the Lyon and Sheepe in one fold. *Soſibius* was of the ſame opinion for that or the like cauſe.

An Army neere vnto *Epheſus*.

A B C D

Mega. *Beronice*.

At ſuch time as they reſolued to take *Mega* and *Beronice*, and that they feared to bring their enterprize to a good end, in regard of the fierceneſſe of *Beronice*, they were forced to drawe together all thoſe which followed the Court, and to make them great promiſes if they preuailed. Then *Soſibius* knowing that *Cleomenes* wanted the Kings ſuccours to recouer his fathers Realme, and that he had found him by experience

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to be wiſe and politicke in great affaires, he diſcouered his whole ſecrets vnto him, propounding vnto him great hopes. *Cleomenes* ſeeing him penſiue, and fearing the ſtrangers and Mercenaries, perſwaded him not to care: promiſing him that the Souldiers ſhould not trouble him, and that moreouer they ſhould giue him great aſſiſtance to bring his enterprize to an end. And when as the other ſtood in admiration, doeſt thou not ſee ſayd *Cleomenes*, that there are about three thouſand men of *Morea*, and a thouſand *Candyots*, all which will bring vs where we pleaſe? Hauing theſe, whom elſe doeſt thou feare? What? The
A Companions of the Warre of *Syria* and *Caria*? And when as *Soſibius* liked of his words, hee entred more boldly into the Action. And afterwards conſidering of the Kings foolery and negligence, hee often called to minde this Speech, and had alwayes before his eyes the Courage of *Cleomenes*, and the affection the Souldiers bare him. Wherefore conſidering this, at the ſame time hee gaue the King and his other familiars to vnderſtand, that hee muſt ſeaze vpon him, and keepe him cloſe and priuate. For the working and effecting whereof, hee vſed this meanes.

There was one *Nicagorus* a *Meſſenien*, a friend to the father of *Ar-*
B *chidamus*, King of the *Lacedemonians*, betwixt whom there had formerly beene ſome friendſhip. But at ſuch time as *Archidamus* was chaſed from *Sparta* for feare of *Cleomenes*, and fled to *Meſſena*, hee not onely gaue him a good reception into his Houſe with his friends at his firſt comming, but hee alwayes liued with him afterwards during his flight, ſo as there grew a great and ſtrict familiarity betwixt them. When as after theſe things *Cleomenes* made ſhewe of ſome hope of reconciliation with *Archidamus*, *Nicagorus* beganne to treate of the Conditions of peace. VVhen the accord had beene made, and that *Nicagorus* had taken the faith of *Cleomenes*, *Archidamus* returned to
C *Sparta*, aſſuring himſelfe of the conuentions of *Nicagorus*, whom *Cleomenes* meeting vpon the way ſlew, ſuffering *Nicagorus* and his company to paſſe away. In regard of *Nicagorus*, he carried the countenance of a very thankfull man, for that he had ſaued his life: But hee was vexed in his Soule, and incenſed for the deede, for that hee ſeemed to haue giuen the occaſion. *Archidamus ſlayne by Cleomenes.*

This *Nicagorus* had ſailed vnto *Alexandria* ſome little time before with Horſes: whereas going out of the ſhip, hee met with *Cleomenes*, *Panthee*, and *Hippite*, walking vpon the ſtrande: whom *Cleomenes* perceiuing, ſaluted curteouſly, demaunding what buſineſſe had brought him thither: To whom he anſwered, that he had brought Horſes. I
D had rather ſayd *Cleomenes*, thou hadſt brought Concubines and Bawdes; for theſe are the things wherein the King at this day takes his chiefe delight. Then *Nicagores* held his peace ſmiling. VVhen as within few dayes after he diſcourſed by chance with *Soſibius* by reaſon of the Horſes, he related vnto him that which *Cleomenes* had arrogantly ſpoken of the King. And ſeeing *Soſibius* to heare him willingly, he acquainted him with the cauſe of the ſpleene he bare him. VVhen as *Soſibius* knew him to be wonderfully incenſed againſt *Cleomenes*, hee did *Nicagorus accuſeth Cleomenes.*

him great curteſies for the preſent, and promiſed him great fauours hereafter : Finally hee wrought ſo, that imbarquing he left Letters concerning *Cleomenes*, which a ſeruant of his brought after his departure, as ſent from him. The which *Nicagorus* performing, the ſeruant vſed ſpeed to go vnto the King, aſſuring him that *Nicagorus* had giuen him the Letters to carry to *Soſibius*. The Tenour whereof was, That if *Cleomenes* were not ſoone diſpatcht with an Army at Sea and munition, he would raiſe ſome troubles within the Realme. *Soſibius* imbracing this occaſion, gaue the King and his Councell to vnder-

Cleomenes taken Priſoner, and put in Guard.

ſtand, that this muſt not be heard with a deafe eare, and that he muſt A ſeaze vpon *Cleomenes* and giue him a Guard. The which being put in execution, they gaue him a ſpacious Houſe, where hee liued with Guards, differing therein from other Priſoners, for that hee had a larger Priſon.

Cleomenes conſidering this, and hauing little hope for the future, reſolued to hazard all, and yet without hope to effect any thing, and being in extreame deſpaire, but deſiring to make an honourable Death, and not to ſuffer any thing that might ſeeme vnfitting for the greatneſſe of his Courage. I immagine likewiſe that hee had an humour, and had propounded to himſelfe that, which commonly great Spirits doe B in theſe Tearmes :

That in diſhonour I doe not baſely fall,
Courage my heart, let's bravely venture all.

The bold enterprize of *Cleomenes*.

When as hee had obſerued the Voyage which the King made to the Towne of *Canope*, hee cauſed it to be bruited among his Guards, that hee ſhould bee ſoone ſet at liberty. Wherefore he made a Banquet to his people, and ſent offering and Garlands of Flowers to the Guards. And moreouer ſtore of Wine. Whileſt they made good cheere, and C were all drunke, hee goes out of the Houſe with his Friends and Seruants, their Swords in their hands in the open day, the which the Guard neuer perceiued. And when as marching in this manner, they

Ptolomy ſlayne by *Cleomenes*.

met with *Ptolomy* in the Market place, they ouer-threw him from his Chariot and ſlew him : Whereat all thoſe that did accompany him were amazed at the greatneſſe of the fact. Finally they beganne to cry Liberty vnto the people. But when as no man ſtirred, conſidering the greatneſſe of the Crime, they turned head and aſſailed the Fortreſſe, as if the Gate had beene ouer-throwne by the Treaſon of the Souldiers, and that they ſhould preſently take it. But for that the Guards (foreſeeing the danger,) had Rampred vp the Gate : in the end they ſlew D themſelues being fruſtrated of their hope, and dyed an honourable Death, worthy of a *Spartaine* Courage. Behold the end of *Cleomenes* a man of great Eloquence in ſpeaking, and of great Reſolution in Warre : Who it ſeemes wanted nothing that did ſauour of a King but a Realme.

After *Cleomenes*, *Theodote* borne in *Etolia*, and Gouernour of baſe *Syria*, ſoone after reſolued to haue intelligence with *Antiochus*, and

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to deliuer him the Townes of his gouernment: For that hee partly contemned the King for his negligence and idleneſſe, and partly the Courtiers, growing diſtruſtfull, for that a little before hee had propounded a good aduice vnto the King, aſwell for other things as to reſiſt *Antigonus*, ſeeking to make Warre againſt *Syrria*: Wherein hee was not onely diſtaſtfull, but they cauſed him to come to *Alexandria*, where he was in danger of his life. *Antiochus* accepting this offer gladly, the matter came to effect. But to the end we may withall declare this Race, ſeeking out the Empire of *Antiochus*, let vs make our entry ſummarily from thoſe times, to come vnto the Warre whereof we meane to Treate. *Theodot.*

You muſt vnderſtand that *Antiochus* the younger was Sonne vnto *Seleucus* ſurnamed *Callinice*. Who after the death of his Father, when the Realme fell to *Seleucus* his elder Brother, liued in the beginning priuately in his Houſe, in the high Countrey of the Realme: But his Brother being ſlaine in Treaſon (as wee haue ſayd) after hee had paſt Mount *Tauris* with an Army, he tooke the Empire and Raigned, giuing the gouernement of all the Prouince, which lyes on this ſide *Tauris*, to *Acheus* and *Molon*: And to his brother *Alexander*, the high Countries of his Realme: So as *Molon* ſhould haue *Media*, and his brother *Perſida*. Theſe contemning the King for his Age (for he was ſcarce fifteene yeares old) and hoping to draw *Acheus* to their Conſpiracy, fearing moreouer the cruelty and Treachery of *Hermes*, who then had the Gouernment of the whole Realme, reſolued to abandon the King, and to change the Eſtate of the Prouinces which they helde. *Hermes* was borne in *Caria*, to whom *Seleucus* the Kings brother had giuen the gouernment of the Realme, relying in him from the time they paſt Mount *Tauris*. Wherefore being aduanced to this ſupreame Authority, he enuied all thoſe which had any power in Court, being outragious and cruell by Nature, condemning innocents at his pleaſure: and fauouring wicked men and Lyers. *Antiochus* Son to *Seleucus*.

Finally, he was cruell and rough in his iudgements. But among other things he watcht an opportunity to kill *Epigene*, who was Lieutenant Generall of *Seleucus* his Army: For that he found him a man of great Eloquence and great execution, hauing fauour and Authority in the Army. And although he plotted this in his minde continually, yet hee kept it ſecret, ſeeking ſome occaſion to effect his enterprize. Finally when as the Councell was aſſembled to conferre vpon *Molons* Rebellion, and that the King had commaunded euery man to deliuer his opinion, and that *Epigene* beginning firſt had ſayd, that this buſineſſe was not to be held of ſmall importance, and that it was neceſſary the King ſhould approach the Countrey, holding himſelfe ready when time ſhould require, and that by this meanes *Molon* would giue ouer his enterprize, the King being neere with a great Army, or if hee did perſiſt in that which hee had begunne, the people would deliuer all the Traytors into the Kings hands. Then *Hermes* enraged, ſayd vnto him: *Epigene* hauing long concealed thy Treaſon, thy diſloyalty hath in the end beene diſcouered in this Councell: Labouring to deliuer the Kings perſon The Speech of *Hermes* againſt *Epigene*.

perſon into the hands of Traytors. Hauing ſpoken thus, and in ſome ſort ſhewed his ſlander, hee left *Epigene*. Finally ſhewing a counte-nance rather of importune indignation, then of any manifeſt hatred, hee perſiſted in his opinion not to leade an Army againſt *Molon*, fearing the danger: For that the Souldiers were not invred to Warre, and that they ſhould vſe all diligence to make Warre againſt *Ptolomy*, hol-ding that ſure by reaſon of the Kings negligence and idleneſſe. By this meanes when hee had ſtopt the mouthes of all that were in the Aſſem-bly for feare, he ſent *Xenon*, *Theodote*, and *Hermioly* with an Army againſt *Molon*: Giuing King *Antiochus* to vnderſtand, that hee ſhould A preſently vndertake the Warre of *Syrria*: Thinking by this meanes, that if the King were roundly beſet with Warre, hee ſhould neuer be puniſhed for the offences which hee had formerly committed: Neither ſhould hee looſe his Authority for the neceſſity and continuall dangers wherein the King ſhould be daily.

Wherefore in the end hee brought a counterfeite Letter, as ſent from *Acheus* to the King. The Tenour whereof was, that *Ptolomy* had ſolicited him to enter into Warre, to get the Principallity, and that hee would furniſh him with money and munition, if he would take the Crowne vpon him, and that it was apparent to all the World that hee B pretended to be a King: The which in trueth hee ſeemed to be, but he did not yet enioy the name of a King, nor weare a Crowne, for the enuy which Fortune procured him. *Antiochus* giuing credite to theſe Letters, reſolued to make a deſcent into *Syrria*: But whileſt hee ſtayed in *Seleucia*, and was carefull to bring his enterprize vnto a good end; *Diogues* Chiefe of the Army at Sea, arriued from *Cappadocia*, which is neere vnto the *Euxine* Sea, bringing with him *Laodicea*, the Daughter of *Methridates*, who was promiſed to *Antiochus*. This is that *Methridates*, who bragg'd that hee was deſcended from one of the ſeauen Wiſe men of *Perſia*. She was receiued with royall pompe, C and *Antiochus* married her preſently: From thence he went to *Antio-chus*, leauing the Queene Regent of the Realme: and applied himſelfe wholy to rayſe his Army.

Antiochus marries *Laodicea*.

At that time *Molon* ſeeing the people ready to doe what hee pleaſed, aſwell for the hope of the gaine which hee propounded vnto them, as for that their Commaunders were terrified by the Kings falſe and coun-terfeite Letters: Hauing alſo his brother *Alexander* for a Companion in this Warre: After that hee had gotten all the neighbour Townes by the corruption of their Gouernours, hee goes to field with a great Army, and plants himſelfe neere vnto the Campe of the Kings Lieu-tenants. At whoſe comming *Xenon*, and *Theodote* being terrified, they D retired to the next Townes. *Molon* beeing Lord of all the plaine of *Appolonia*, and running where he pleaſed, the whole Prouince brought him great ſtore of Victuals and munition. Hee was before terrible in regard of his great power: Neyther had he any will to looſe the occa-ſion, for that that all the Kings Races for Horſes were in *Media*, with infinite ſtore of Wheate and Cattle. In regard of the force, height, and Wealth of that Region, wee cannot ſpeake ſufficient. *Media* lyes

Molon goes to field with an Army.

abour

about the midſt of a *Aſia*: It excels in greatneſſe and height all the other Regions about it. It is very powerfull in people, being diſcouered towards the Eaſt, by the Deſart Countries, which lye betwixt *Perſida* and *Paraſia*. It ioynes and commands the Ports of the *Caſpien* Sea: So doth it in the Mountaines called *Tapyreins*, which are not farre from the *Hyrcanien* Sea. But as for the Southerne Regions, it lookes to *Meſſopotamia*, and *Appolonia*, ioyning vnto *Perſida*, which lyes before Mount *Sagre*, which hath a paſſage of a hundred Furlongs long: The which hauing many incloſures, is diuided by Vallies and
A certaine Plaines, with the *Coſſees*, *Corbrenes*, *Carchins*, with diuers other Barbarous Nations inhabite, being excellent in matters of War. Finally it ioynes to the *Satrapiens* vpon the Weſt, who differ not much from thoſe which inhabite *Pontus Euxinus*. And as for the part towards the North, it hath the *Elimees*, *Ariaraces*, then the *Caduſiens* and *Mantianes*. Finally, it is ſcituated aboue the Countries which neere vnto the Blacke Sea ioyne to *Pontus*. It is ſeparated from *Nuſia* by a multitude of Mountaines vpon the Weſt: and yet there is a playne well furniſhed with Townes and Burroughes. The Scituation of *Media*.

When as *Molon* was Lord of this Region, hauing a kinde of a
B Realme, and was terrible euen before this Rebellion, in regard of the great power of the Countrey, he ſhewed himſelfe then more intollerable towards the *Aſiens*: For that at his arriuall the Kings Lieutenants had abandoned their Campe, and that matters did not ſucceede in the beginning according to their hopes. Wherefore in paſſing *Tygris*, *Molon* indeauoured to beſiege *Seleucia*. But when as *Zeuxis* had ſtopt the Paſſage, by ſtaying all the Boates, hee retyred: The Army being at *Cteſiphon*, hee made prouiſion of all things neceſſary to paſſe the winter. The King aduertiſed of *Molons* Army, and of the flight of his Lieutenants, reſolued to lead his Army againſt him, leauing *Ptolomy*.
C But *Hermes* remembring his enterprize, ſent *Xenoete* an *Achaian*, with an Army againſt *Molon*, ſaying that Lieutenants muſt fight with Rebels, and the King with Kings in perſon. Keeping the King thus in awe by reaſon of his Age, hee went to *Apamia*: where hee drew together an Army, and from thence marcht ſuddainly to *Laodicea*. From whence the King parting with all his Troupes, and hauing paſt a Deſart, hee came into a place which the Inhabitants of the Countrey called *Marſia*, ſeated betwixt the two Promontories of *Liban* and *Antiliban*, which reſtrayne it, and in the narroweſt ſtreight is miry and mooriſh: where alſo grow the Arromaticall Canes. *Liban*. *Antiliban*.

Moreouer there ioynes to the one ſide of the ſayd ſtreights a Towne, The Towne of *Broches*.
D which they call *Broches*, and on the other that of *Gerre*: Betwixt the which there is a rough and difficult way. The King marching for ſome dayes by theſe ſtreights, came in the end to *Gerre*: Whereas when he ſaw that *Theodote* of *Etolia* had taken it, and *Broches*, and that hee had fortified all that part of the ſtreights, which were neere vnto the Fens, with Ditches, and Palliſadoes, and men for the defence thereof, hee laboured at the firſt to aſſayle them. But when it ſeemed he loſt more then hee got, by reaſon of the diſaduantage of the place, and that

Theodote

Theodote made a ſhew to be of *Ptolomies* party, hee gaue ouer the enterprize. And when he had newes of the retreate of *Xenoete*, and of the attempt of *Molon*, he reſolued to part from thence, and to giue order for his owne affaires.

Xenoete being (as wee haue ſayd) ſent Generall againſt *Molon*, hee had a greater power then was immagined, and vſed his friends with great arrogancy, and his enemies with too much cruelty. When hee tooke his way to *Seleucia* with his Army, calling vnto him *Diogene* Gouernour of the Countrey of *Suſian*, and *Pythias* of the red Sea, hee marcht againſt the enemies, and planted his Campe neere vnto theirs, A the Riuer of *Tygris* being betwixt them. During the which there were many came ſwimming from *Molons* Campe, aduertiſing him that the greateſt part of his Army would yeild vnto him, if he paſt the Riuer, for that they hated him, and loued and affected the King. *Xenoete* perſwaded by their words, prepares himſelfe to paſſe *Tygris*; and making ſhew that hee would make his paſſage at a certaine place, where as the Water makes an Iland, hee made no ſhewe of any preparation. Whereupon whileſt that *Molon* made no account of his enterprize, hee prepared Boates ſpeedily, and taking the beſt of his Horſe-men, and the Chiefe of all the Foot-men of his Army, he left *Zeuxis* and *Pythias* for the Guard of the Campe; and paſt his Army ſafely in the night B by Boate foureſcore furlongs beneath *Molons* Campe: During the which he ſeated his Campe in a ſafe place, which was inuironed by the Riuer for the greateſt part, and the reſt aſſured by Fens and Moores adioyning.

When as *Molon* was aduertiſed hereof, hee ſent his Horſe-men before to hinder their paſſage, or to defeate them that were paſt. Who approaching neere to *Xenoete*, they annoyed themſelues more (for that they knew not the places) then they did the enemy: For entring into thoſe Mooriſh Fens, they could doe no ſeruice, and many periſhed. C *Xenoete* hoping that if hee approached neere vnto *Molon*, hee ſhould draw many of his men vnto him, marcht a ſlow pace a long the riuer ſide, ſetting downe neere vnto the enemy. At what time *Molon* leauing his Baggage in the Campe, retired by night, doing it eyther by policy or for ſome diſtruſt hee had of his men: and takes his way towards *Media*. *Xenoete* thinking the enemy had beene fled, terrified with his comming, and ill aſſured of his Souldiers, gaines firſt the enemies Campe, and cals vnto him all his Horſe-men, and the reſt which he had left with *Zeuxis*. Then calling them all together, hee perſwades them to be of good hope for the future, conſidering the flight D and deſpaire of *Molon*.

The Retreate of *Molon*.

This propoſe ended, hee commaunded them to go to their Repaſt, and to be ready in morning to purſue their enemies: But all the ſouldiers hearts puffed vp with the preſent ſucceſſe, and ſtuffed with all ſorts of Booty, betooke themſelues wholy to gormundizing and drunkennes, and in the ſame ſort of ſloathfulneſſe and negligence, that by cuſtome begets ſuch things, paſſed the night. Now as *Molon* had gayned an aduantagious place, and that he had refreſhed his men alſo, he aduanced

ced againſt the enemies, and finding them ouer come and ſeazed on by ſleepe and Wine, he aſſaulted their Campe with extreame fury, euen in the breake of day.

Xenoete aſtoniſht with ſo great and vnlookt for a buſineſſe, could by no meanes awake his people for their drunkenneſſe, but they were killed by the enemies reſiſting by ſmall Companies; and ſo the greateſt part were defeated within the Campe drowned in ſleepe, the reſt throwing themſelues into the Riuer, ſtriuing to paſſe it by ſwimming: but the moſt of them periſhed for all that in the end. It was a pittifull thing to
A ſee men ſo affrighted, for all without any regard or conſideration throwing themſelues into the mercy of the Waues, and to paſſe therein, and driue afore them the Carriages and Baggage, as if they thought by the ayde of the Water, they could gaine or ſaue their Campe, but it came to paſſe that in one ſelfe ſame time, Sumpter horſes, Armes, and dead bodies were borne by the Riuer, as if alſo a Vanquiſher, a thing both fearefull to relate, and alſo horrible to behold.

Xenoete his Army defeated and ſpoyled.

After that *Molon* had thus ſuddainly gayned the Campe of the enemies, and had paſſed the Riuer without danger, becauſe there was none to hinder his paſſage, and that *Zeuxis* had taken flight, as it were,
B before the enemies approached, hee tooke alſo the Fort which was there on the Riuer. After this good fortune, hee came into *Seleucia* with his Army: the which hee tooke ſuddainly, in reſpect that thoſe who were with *Zeuxis* were aſtoniſhed at his comming, hauing abandoned the Towne with *Diomedon* Gouernour of *Seleucia*: And after hauing ranne ouer all the Prouince, hee brought vnder his obedience all the Townes of the high Country without finding reſiſtance: and from thence hauing Conquered the Empire of all the Countrey of *Babylon*, and all the Countrey about the Red Sea, hee arriued vnto *Suſa*, taking the Towne vpon his firſt arriuall, and after he had giuen many aſſaults
C to the Fortreſſe becauſe *Diogene* was there retyred, and that hee could not force it, he deſiſted from his enterprize and rayſed the ſiege, hee returned into *Seleucia* with his Army: and there, after he had Garriſon'd his men of Warre for ſome time, and had encouraged them vnto the Warres, hee with a great heart vndertooke to lead them out of the Countrey, and to Conquer in a ſmall time all the Prouince that is from *Tygris* vnto the Towne of *Europe* and *Meſopotamia*, euen vnto *Dura*.

Antioch hauing (as wee haue heretofore ſayd) theſe newes, were in fantaſie to leaue the Warre in *Syria*, and to prouide for this other Countrey with an extreame diligence: they Aſſembled therefore thoſe
D of their Counſell, and as they had commaunded that euery one ſhould freely giue his aduice touching the Warre of *Molon*, and that *Epigene* ſhould be made fit, ſaying that long ſithence things ſhould haue beene conſidered and looke vnto, becauſe the enemies ſhould not haue their courages ſo great to vndertake ſuch things, becauſe of their good ſucceſſe: To whom neuertheleſſe they ought now to giue order with all their endeauour and ſtudy, for ſome ſpeedy courſe to preuent all future danger.

Then *Hermes* incenſed againe, began to vſe proud and iniurious ſpeeches without reaſon: Hee inuented falſe ſlanders againſt *Epigene*, beſeeching the King not to leaue the Warre of *Syria* ſo inconſiderately. Finally he grew into ſuch a rage, as hee offended many and diſcontented *Antiochus*. They could hardly pacifie his fury, although the King vſed what meanes hee could to reconcile them. In the end when the aduice of *Epigene* ſeemed the beſt vnto the aſſiſtants, it was reſolued in Councell that the Army ſhould march againſt *Molon*, and that there they ſhould make the Warre.

Hermes ſeeming preſently to haue altered his aduice, ſayd that all the A
World muſt obſerue that which the Councell had decreed, and performed his duty to make prouiſion of all neceſſary things for the managing of Warre. When the Troupes were aſſembled at *Apamia*, and
A mutiny in *Antiochus* his Campe. that there was a munity and a great diſcord growne amongſt the common Souldies: *Hermes* finding the King amazed and much troubled, hee aſſured him to pacifie the rage and diſcontent of the Souldiers, and to diuide and ſhare the Corne quietly among them, if hee would promiſe him neuer to carry *Epigene* with him in any exploits of Warre: For that they could not performe any thing of importance in an Army, being at ſo much difference and ſo incenſed one againſt another. And B
although the King diſliked this, and was very much diſcontented at his motion, for that hee knew by experience that *Epigene* was a man of Councell, and actiue in Affaires of Warre, yet to preuent the preſent, he ſent him ſuddainly away: doubting that being circumuented by the promiſes of *Hermes*, hee ſhould not be maſter of himſelfe. Which beeing done, all the reſt of the Kings Councell grew into great feare. The Troupes alſo receiuing what Corne they deſired, changed their affection, and followed *Hermes*, except the *Cyrraſtres*: Who beeing ſixe thouſand men, mutined and abandoned the Kings ſeruice: Who afterwards did him many affronts in his Warre at ſeuerall times. Yet C
in the end they were defeated by a certaine Captaine of the Kings party, and the greateſt part of them ſlaine: the reſt yeilded afterwards vnto the King.

Hermes hauing made the Kings friends his owne by feare, and the Souldiers by his bounty, hee marcht with him and his Army. Hee
The practiſe of *Molon* againſt *Epigene*. layed a plot againſt *Epigene*, with the helpe and conſent of *Alexis*, who at that time was Captaine of *Apamia*; and writing letters, as if they had bin ſent from *Molon* to *Epigene*, hee corrupted one of *Alexis* ſeruants with great promiſes: who went to *Epigene*, to thruſt theſe Letters ſecretly among his other Writings. Which when he had done, *Alexis* D
came ſuddainly to *Epigene*, demanding of him, if he had receiued any Letters from *Molon*: and when hee affirmed no, the other was confident that he would finde ſome. Wherefore entring into the Houſe to ſearch, he found the Letters, and taking this occaſion ſlew him. Theſe things happening thus, the King thought that hee was iuſtly ſlaine. And although the reſt of the Court and of his friends were much grieued at this ſuddaine diſaſter, yet they diſſembled their ſorrow for feare.

When

When as *Antiochus* was come vnto *Euphrates*, he marcht with his army vnto *Antiochia*, and ſtayed at *Michdionia* about the midſt of *December*, deſiring to paſſe the roughneſſe of the Winter there: where ſtaying about forty dayes, hee went vnto *Liba*, where hee called a Councell. And when as they conſulted of the way which they ſhould hold to find *Molon*, and from whence and how they might recouer Victuals, (for at that time hee made his abode in *Babylon*) *Hermes* was of opinion that they ſhould keepe their way vppon this ſide the Riuer of *Tygris*, and along the Bankes; doubting and not a little fearing the Riuers of *Luque* and *Capre*. *Zeuxis* was of another opinion; but hee durſt not
A ſpeake nor declare his minde plainely, remembring ſtill the death of *Epigene*.

But when as the ignorance of *Hermes* ſeemed apparent to all the aſſiſtants, hee with ſome difficulty deliuered his aduice, that they muſt paſſe *Tygris*, aſwell for many other difficulties which are on this ſide, as for that they muſt of neceſſity, after they had paſt certaine places in marching ſixe daies iourney by a Deſart Country, came vnto a Region which they call *Diorex*, where the paſſage was not ſafe, for that the enemy had ſeized thereon: And that moreouer the returne would be dangerous, eſpecially for want of victuals. If the King likewiſe did paſſe *Tygris*, all the people of *Appolonia*, tranſported with ioy would come
B vnto him, who at this day obeyed *Molon*, not for any affection, but through neceſſity and feare: And withall they ſhould haue abundance of victuals, by reaſon of the fertility of the Countrey; and the paſſage of *Media* would be ſhut vp for *Molon*, ſo as of neceſſity he ſhould be forced to come and fight: Or if hee fled, his Troupes would ſoone yeild vnto the King. When the aduice of *Zeuxis* had beene allowed in Councell, they preſently paſt the whole Army with the baggage in three places. And marching from thence vnto *Dure*, they raiſed the ſiege, (for one of *Molons* Captaines had ſome few dayes before beſieged it) and afterwards continuing on their way, and hauing paſt the
C Mountaines which they of the Countrey call *Orie*, in eight daies they came into *Apolonia*.

At the ſame time *Molon* hauing newes of the Kings comming, and not holding himſelfe aſſured of the *Suſians* and *Babilonians*, beeing lately made ſubiect vnto him and by ſurprize, fearing moreouer that the paſſage of *Media* was ſtopt, hee afterwards reſolued to paſſe by the Riuer *Tygris* ſpeedily with his whole Army, making haſte to gaine the Woodes which bend towards the playnes of *Apolonia*, for that he had great confidence in his Slingers, whom they call Cyrtles. When
D hee approached neere theſe places, from the which the King parting with his Army from *Apolonia* was not farre, it happened that the forerunners of eyther ſide, lightly armed, met vppon a Hill, where they skirmiſhed. But vpon the approach of both Armies, they began to retire, and the two Campes lodged within forty furlongs one of another.

When night came, *Molon* conſidering that a battaile by day with the King would bee dangerous for him, not relying much vppon his men,

he reſolued to aſſaile *Antiochus* at mid-night. Wherefore hee made choiſe of the ableſt men of his whole Army, and takes his way by vnknowne places, reſoluing to charge the enemy from the higher part: But being aduertiſed vppon the way, that ten of his Souldiers had ſtollen away in the night, and retired vnto *Antiochus*, hee gaue ouer his enterprize. So as taking another way, hee returned to the Campe at the breake of day, the which was the chiefe cauſe of great trouble in his Army: For they awaking with this ſuddaine and ſhort returne of their Companions, they were ſo terrified and amazed, as they were in a manner ready to flie and abandon their Campe. *Molon* A when the trueth was knowne and well perceiued, pacified this terrour and amazement what hee could, in ſo ſhort a ſpace, although it in ſome part increaſed ſtill.

Antiochus puts his Army in Battaile.

The King being ready to fight, drawes his Army to fielde at the breake of day, and on the right Wing hee ſets the Launces, vnder the Commaund of *Ardis*, a man of great experience in the Warre. To whom hee gaue for a ſupply the *Candyots* his Allies, and after them the *Gaules* and *Rhigoſages*: who were followed by the Souldiers of *Greece*, and finally by a great battalion of Foote-men. In regard of the left Wing, he gaue it to the Allies, which were all on horſe-backe. Hee likewiſe ſet the Elephants in Front betwixt the two Wings, beeing ten B in number. In regard of the ſupplies of Horſe and Foote diſtributed on eyther Wing, hee giues them charge to wheele about, and to compaſſe in the enemy, as ſoone as the Battaile ſhould beginne to charge.

After all this he: encourageth the Souldiers, telling them in few words what was neceſſary for the preſent: And he giues to *Hermes* and *Zeuxis* the leading of the left Wing, and takes the right vnto himſelfe. On the other ſide *Molon* drawes his Army to Field with great difficulty; and puts it but ill in Battaile, by reaſon of the diſorder which had happened in the night. Yet hee diuided his Horſe-men in two wings, C thinking the enemy had done the like, placing the Targetteers and the *Gaules* with others that were of moſt apt courage, great experience and beſt Armed in the middeſt of the Horſe-men: putting the Archers and Slingers vppon the two Wings, without the Troupe of Horſe-men, and in Front were placed all the Carriages and Bill-men. He gaue the leading of the left Wing vnto his brother *Neolaus*, and him ſelfe takes the right.

The order of *Molons* battaile.

This done, the two Armies marcht: *Molons* right Wing was loyall and faithfull vnto him, charging *Zeuxis* with great Courage and fury. But when as the left Wing drew ſomewhat neere vnto the King, it re- D tired to the enemy. This happening, *Molons* Troupes fainted ſuddainely: And the Kings Army grew more ſtout and couragious. But when as *Molon* ſaw and well perceiued himſelfe thus betrayed, and inuironed by the enemy, thinking and immagining of the Torments which hee muſt indure, if hee fell aliue into their hands, hee ſlew himſelfe. The like the reſt did which had beene Traytors vnto the King, who recouering their Houſes by flight, ſlew themſelues.

The death of *Molon*.

When

When as *Neolaus* had eſcaped from the Battaile, and was retired vnto *Alexander* Brother to *Molon* in *Perſis*, hee ſlew the mother of *Molon* and his Children: After whoſe death he ſlew himſelfe, perſwading *Alexander* to doe the like. When as the King had ſpoiled the enemies Campe, hee commaunded that the body of *Molon* ſhould be hanged vpon a Croſſe, in the moſt eminent place of *Media*, the which was ſuddainly performed by them which had the Charge: who after they had carried it to *Callonite*, crucified it neere vnto the Towne of *Zagre*. *Molon* Crucified.

A When he had giuen great admonitions to *Molons* Army, and pardoned them, he ſent men to Conduct them into *Media*, and to giue order for the affaires of that Prouince. As for himſelfe, he retired to *Seleucia*. *Hermes* continuing ſtill in his reſolution, condemned the *Seleucenſes* in ſixe hundred thouſand Crownes for that they had reuolted, baniſhing the *Diganes*: and put many to death in Priſon by the Sword. But the King pacifying his rage, intreated the Burgeſſes curteouſly, and drew from them for a puniſhment of their reuolte, onely foureſcore and ten thouſand Crownes. Theſe things thus pacified, hee made *Diogene* his Lieutenant Generall in *Media*, and *Apolodorus* in the Prouince of *Suſes*; and ſent the Chancellour *Tychon* Lieutenant of his Army, into the ſeB uerall Countries of the Red Sea, there to lye in Garriſon vpon any ſuddaine occaſion which ſhould happen. This was the end of *Molons* reuolte, and of the Warre which followed.

The King glorious of this good fortune, and deſirous to terrifie the Barbarous Princes his Neighbours, to the end they ſhould not preſume hereafter to ſuccour his Rebels with men and Victuals, marches againſt them with his Army: And firſt againſt *Artabazenes*, who was more powerfull then any of the other Princes, and neerer to his Citties. At the ſame time *Hermes* feared to enter into the high Country for the eminent danger, and deſired (as he had from the beginning) to lead the C Army againſt *Ptolomy*. But when as certaine newes came of the birth of the Kings ſonne, hee found this Voyage profitable for him, if *Antiochus* ſhould chance to be ſlaine by the *Barbariains*: For that being left Tutour vnto the ſonne, hee ſhould bee Lord of the whole Realme. All being thus reſolued, they paſt Mount *Zagre*, and ouerranne the Prouince of *Artabazanes*, which ioynes to *Media*, being ſeperated from it by a Mountaine, and on ſome parts comes to the Pontique Sea on that ſide of the Countrey which is about *Phaſis*: ioyning alſo to the *Hyrcanien* Sea. Moreouer it abounds in all things neceſſary for the Warre. It hapned that the *Perſians* kept this Principality, when D in the time of King *Alexander*, they made no account or eſteeme of it. *Antiochus* goes againſt *Artabazanes*. *Antiochus* hath a Sonne.

Artabazenes being amazed at the Kings comming, and broken with Age, thought good to yeilde vnto Fortune, and to agree with the King, vpon ſuch conditions as he pleaſed When the accord was made, *Apolophanes* the Phyſitian, whom the King loued much, ſeeing *Hermes* abuſe his Authority too arrogantly, was very carefull for the King, and in great feare for thoſe which were about him. *Artabazanes* makes an accord with *Antiochus*.

Apolophanes aduke to *Antiochus.*

Wherefore after he had expected the opportunity of time, he comes to *Antiochus*, and intreates him to preuent the presumption and impudency of *Hermes*, and not to suffer it any longer, least hee fall into his brothers inconuenience: for it was not farre off. Finally, that he should speedily prouide for his safety, and for that of his friends. *Antiochus* liked well of his Counsell, for that he hated and feated *Hermes*. The King thanked him, for that hee had not feared to speake vnto him of things which concerned his safety. *Apolophanes* also seeing that hee had not beene deceiued in the opinion which hee had conceiued of the King, grew afterwards more bold and hardy. For the rest, *Antiochus* A
Counselled him to be aduised for his owne good, and his friends, not onely by words, but also by effect: And as he sayd, he was ready to do all they aduised to that end: He made shew that the King had a great disease in his eyes, and must indure the paine some daies: vntill that time he had gotten leasure to make ready their enterprize. They vsed also power to go and aduise with their friends touching this Affaire, vnder the shaddow of visitation: During which time, they made ready the most apt for the execution, and were willingly obeyed for the hate they bare to *Hermes*, and were ready to execute the Massacre. The Physitians likewise put themselues forward, that it was behouefull that *Antiochus* should goe take the Ayre in the morning to refresh B
himselfe.

Hermes came to the King in the meane time, as hath beene sayd, together with the Allies which were participant of the enterprize, the rest remayned in the Campe, as if they knew nothing of the Voyage. The others drawing then *Antigonus* out of the Campe, they led him into some by place, where at his onely signe they killed *Hermes*. Behold now how he dyed, of whom alwayes the punishment was neuer sufficient for his wickednesse. The King returned to his Lodging, deliuered from a great distresse and feare, with a prayse reaching to the Heauens by all the Prouince, of his Counsell and of his workes, especially C
when they heard newes of the death of *Hermes*. In the same time, the Women of *Apamia* killed his Wife, and the Children, his. After that *Antiochus* was arriued in his lodging, hee sent his Army to winter in the Garrisons, and an Embassadour to *Achæus*, and first complayning of that, that he had taken the Crowne, and likewise durst accept the name of King: And that on the other side, hee durst openly declare himselfe to hold the party of *Ptolomy*. Now we must vnderstand, that in the time the King led the Warre to *Artabazenes*, *Achæus* thinking that hee should dye in the Country there, or if he dyed not, that hee should without any hindrance draw the Warre into *Syria*, before D
his returne. Seeing and well perceiuing the longnesse of the way, and the Conquering of the Kingdome, suddainly by the ayde of *Cyrrastes*, that not long since had abandoned the King, and parted from *Lydia* with a great Army.

And as he was arriued in *Laodicea*, which is in *Phrigia*; he seazed on the Crowne, taking also the ambition to be called King, and to write to the Townes to doe so, being earnestly solicited by a Fugitiue, called *Synires*.

Syrres. And as he then continued his voyage, and was not farre from *Lycaonia*, the Men of Warre began to mutiny againſt him, being ſorry that they led an Army againſt the firſt King: Wherefore *Achæus* ſeeing their fancies, turned him from the way he had begun, as if hee would make them vnderſtand, that he drew not in the beginning to *Syria*; but turned his way to *Piſidique*, pillaging all the Countrey, and diſtributing to the Men of War a maruailous booty; ſo he gained them, and returned to his houſe: The King then well aduertiſed of all theſe things, ſent (as we haue ſayd) an Embaſſadour to *Achæus*, making
A ready in the meane while all that ſeemed to bee neceſſary, to bring the Warre vpon *Ptolomy*. And after that all the Army was neere to *Apamia*, in the beginning of the Spring, he called his Friends to Councell, requiring of euery one their aduice what they thought fit to be done for the Warre. When as many had counſelled him diuers things concerning the places and preparation, and to make an Army by Sea, *Apolophanes* (of whom wee haue ſpoken) being borne in *Seleucia*, ſtood vp and ouerthrew all the Opinions which had beene formerly giuen, ſaying, that it was a folly to drawe the Warre into baſe *Syrria*, and to ſuffer *Ptolomy* to hold *Seleucia*, for that it was the ſourſe and cauſe of
B their Principality: That beſides the diſgrace hee ſhould doe vnto his Reigne, (conſidering that the force of the Kings of *Egypt* had alwaies kept it) it had moreouer great commodities for the mannaging of the Warre. For whileſt the Enemies ſhall hold it, it would be very preiudiciall to all his Enterprizes. For there muſt be no leſſe care vſed to defend himſelfe from this City, then to aſſaile the Enemy. And if hee held it, he ſhould not onely be able to preſerue his owne with ſafety, but alſo to vndertake ſome good action both by Sea and Land, for the great opportunity of the place.

Apolophanes aduice to *Antiochus.*

The whole Aſſembly allowed of *Apolophanes* aduice, and reſolued
C to take the Citty firſt, for then *Seleucia* was held by the Kings of *Egypt*, from the time that *Ptolomy* reigned, who was ſurnamed the *Benefactor*. Hee conquered it at ſuch time, that for the ruine of *Beronice*, and the rage he had conceiued in his heart, hee made a deſcent into baſe *Syrria* with an Army. *Antiochus* after *Apolophanes* aduice was approued, hee commanded *Diogene* Generall of the Army at Sea, to ſayle ſpeedily to *Seleucia*. And in the meane time parting from *Apamia* with his Army, he lodgeth within fiue Furlongs of *Hippodrome*. Hee likewiſe ſends away *Theodote Hermioly* with a ſufficient Army for *Syrria*, to the end he might gaine the ſtreights, and prouide for the affaires of that Prouince.

Ptolomy the Benefactor.

D This is the ſcituation of *Seleucia*, and the places about it; that as the Citty is ſeated vpon the Sea-ſhoare, betwixt *Cilicia* and *Phenicia*, ſo it hath vnder it a wonderful great Mountaine, which they call *Coryphee*, whoſe ſide towards the Weſt, is waſhed with the Sea, which is betwixt *Cipres* and *Phenicia*, and the other which lookes to the Eaſt, ioynes to the Regions of the *Antiochiens* and *Seleuceuſes*. *Seleucia* ſcituated on the South, and ſeperated by a deepe and inacceſſible Valley, which extends to the Sea, being enuironed with great Rockes and Caues: And

The ſcituation of *Seleucia.*

on that side which lookes to the Sea, it hath steps and Suburbs inclosed with walls. The Citty also is fortified with a good wall, and beautified with Temples, and faire buildings. It hath but one approach towards the sea, the which is difficult, and made by hand: for they must ascend vnto it by Ladders. The riuer of *Oronte* enters into the Sea neere vnto it, taking its sourse and beginning at *Liban* and *Antiliban*, and passeth by *Antiochia*: whereas running continually, it carries away by its swift course all the filth of the people. Finally, it enters into the Sea neere vnto *Seleucia*. *Antiochus* in the beginning sent to the Gouernours of the Citty, offering them money with great hopes, if without fighting they would deliuer it vnto him. But when he could not winne them, he corrupts some of the inferiour Captaines: with whom hauing agreed, he puts his men in Battaile, as if he meant to assaile the Towne with his Army at Sea, and at Land on that side which lookes towards *Epirus*. Diuiding then his Army in three, after that hee had inflamed the hearts of the Souldiers, promising them great rewards, hee appointed *Zeuxis* with his Company to bee at the Gate which goes to *Antiochia*, and he gaue to *Hermogenes* the places by which they goe to *Dioscoria*, and giues charge to *Ardis* and *Diogene* to assaile the Suburbs and Arsenall: for it had beene so agreed with the Traytors, that as soone as the Suburbs were taken, they should deliuer him the Citty. When as the King had giuen the signe for an assault, they all did their indeauours. But among the rest they which were with *Ardis* and *Diogene*, carried themselues valiantly: For they could not assault nor scale the other places. But in regard of the Arsenall and Suburbs, they might assault and scale them.

Antiochus corrupts the Captaines of *Seleucia*.

Seleucia assaulted.

Wherefore whilest that the Army at Sea fell vpon the Arsenall, and *Ardis* Troupes vpon the Suburbs, scaling the Walls, and that they of the Towne could not succour them, for that they were enuironed on all sides by the Enemy, it fell out that the Suburbe was suddainly taken. Which done, the petty Captaines corrupted by the King, ran to *Leonce*, who at that time was Gouernour of the Citty, perswading him to send to *Antiochus* before the City were forced. And although that *Leonce* were ignorant of the Treason, he sent presently to *Antiochus*, (being troubled with the amazement of his people) to yeeld them the Citty vpon condition to haue the liues of all the Inhabitants saued. The King accepting the condition, promised to saue the liues of all Free-men, which were about sixe thousand: But when hee was entred, he not onely pardoned the Burgesses, but also called home the banished men of *Seleucia*, and restored vnto them the gouernment of their publique affaires, and all their goods, and put a good Garrison into the Hauen and Port.

Whilest *Antiochus* stayed at *Seleucia*, hee receiued Letters from *Theodote*, by the which he solicited him to goe speedily into base *Syria*. The King was long in suspence what councell he should take, and was pensiue and troubled with the course he should take in this action. you must vnderstand, that *Theodote* borne in *Etolia*, had done great services for the Realme of *Ptolomy*, (whereof wee haue formerly made mention)

mention) and many times put his life in danger. At ſuch time as *Antiochus* made Warre againſt *Melon*, hee tooke in perſon (diſdaining the King, and diſtruſting his Courtiers) *Ptolemais* and *Tyrus* by *Paneteole*, and ſuddainly called in *Antiochus*. The King hauing taken *Acheus* to heart, and laying aſide all other affaires, he returnes with his Army the ſame way he came. When he was come to a place which the Countrey people call *Marſia*, hee camped neere the ſtreights which are about *Gerre*, which is not farre from the Fens, lying in the midſt of that Countrey. There being aduertiſed that *Nicholas* Lieutenant Generall
A to *Ptolomy*, held *Ptolemais* beſieged, in the which *Theodote* was, hee left thoſe that were beſt armed, and gaue charge to beſiege the Towne of *Broches*, lying vpon the Fenns, making haſte to goe and raiſe the Siege. The Towne of *Broches* beſieged.

Nicholas aduertiſed by his Spies of the Kings comming, retired, and ſent *Lagore* of *Candy*, and *Dorimene* of *Etolia*, to gaine the ſtreights which are neere vnto *Beryta*: Where the King planted his Campe, after that he had fought with them, and put them to flight. And when hee had drawne together the reſt of his Army in the ſame place, he makes an Oration to his Souldiers, and marcheth away with great courage.
B There *Theodote* and *Paneteole* met with him with their Friends, to whom he gaue a good and gracious reception, and he tooke *Tyrus* and *Ptolemais* with all their preparation of Warre. There were in theſe Townes forty ſhips, whereof twenty were for the Warre, well armed and furniſhed with all things neceſſary, all which were Quinqueremes or Quadriremes: the reſt were Triremes, Biremes, and of one banke. All which hee gaue to *Diogene*, Captaine of the Sea-army. When as newes came vnto him of the ſecret flight of *Ptolomy* to *Caire*, and that his whole Army aſſembled together at *Damiette*, and that they ſought to cut off the waters from him, hee gaue ouer his enterprize to aſſaile
C *Damiette*: and ouer-running the Countrey, hee laboured to winne the Townes partly by force, partly by loue. Whereof ſome being deſtitute of Garriſons, and fearing the Kings power, yeelded ſuddainly to the Enemy: Others relying vpon their ſtrength or their ſcituation, maintained his aſſaults. *Tyrus* and *Ptolemais* taken.

As for *Ptolomy* being ſo apparently betraide, hee did not indeauour by reaſon of his weakneſſe, to giue that ſpeedy order to his affaires that was fitting, ſo little accompt he had made of that which concernes the preparations of Warre. Wherefore *Agathocles* and *Soſibius* (who at that time gouerned all the affaires of the Kingdome) bethought themſelues (as much as poſſibly they might) of that which was moſt neceſ-
D ſary. They reſolued to prepare for the Warre, ſending in the meane time an Embaſſie to intreate *Antiochus*, by way of diſſembling, to debate *Ptolomy's* right: who as not daring to make Warre, and hauing aduertiſed and perſwaded his Friends, was retired into baſe *Syria*. When as *Agathocles* and *Soſibius* had thus reſolued, and giuen order according to their power, they ſpeedily ſent Embaſſadours to *Antiochus*, and likewiſe to the *Rhodiens*, *Conſtantinopolitains*, *Cizicins*, and *Etoliens*, to perſwade them to ſend Embaſſies to *Antiochus* to mediate a peace. The policy of *Agathocles* and *Soſibius*.

When

When as theſe had ſent to both the Kings, they gaue them great meanes to prouide in the meane time things neceſſary for the Warre, for *Ptolomy* receiuing the Embaſſadours gratiouſly, with thoſe of *Antiochus*, in the meane time he drew together the Mercenary Souldiers to *Alexandria*, which lay diſperſed in other Townes, and ſent others to leuie men without the Prouince, making prouiſion of victuals. Finally, he was carefull day and night to prepare for the Warre. For the which he ſent continually men to *Alexandria*, to giue order there ſhould not be any thing wanting that was neceſſary. Hee had alſo giuen charge to *Echecrate* of *Theſſaly*, and to *Phoxide* of *Mil*, to make prouiſion of Armes, and to chooſe men, and to muſter them: The like he did to *Eurilochus Magnes*, and to *Socrates* of *Beocia*: with whom alſo was *Cnopias Alorite*. For hee held them for men of iudgement in ſuch affaires: For that he eſteemed them of great experience in the Warre, hauing ſerued long vnder *Demetrius* and *Antigonus*.

An Army raiſed by *Ptolomy*.

A

These drew many ſouldiers together, prouiding wiſely, and like honeſt men for all things. Firſt they deliuered Armes to the Companions according to their faſhion and age, diſtributing to euery one thoſe which hee could beſt mannage, and diſliking thoſe which they had formerly vſed. Then they inſtructed them in particular for the future, and trained them continually, not by words onely, but accuſtoming them to Combats made for pleaſure. After that they drew them together, and by remonſtrances and perſwaſions put courage into them for the War to come. Wherein *Andromachus Aſpondin*, and *Polycrates* the *Argiue*, who were lately come from *Argos*, were very powerfull. Theſe were men accuſtomed to the Warre, and much eſteemed by reaſon of their Countrey, and the excellency of their liues: eſpecially *Polycrates*, for the antiquity of his race, and the glory of his Father *Mnaſias*. Theſe inſtructing the Bands publiquely and in priuate, gaue courage to the Souldiers for the future War. Moreouer, euery one had his particular charge in the Army according to their experience. *Eurilochus Magnes* had the command of three thouſand men, which the Kings call the furious Troupe. *Socrates* of *Beocia*, was Chiefe of two thouſand armed with Targets. *Phoxide* the *Achaian*, and *Ptolomy* of *Thraſes*, and with them *Andromachus Aſpondin*, led the great Battaillion, and the Mercenaries: So as *Adromachus* and *Ptolomy* were Captaines of the great Battaillion, and *Phoxide* of the Mercenaries. The *Phalange* or great Battaillion contained about fiue and twenty thouſand men. The Mercenaries were eight thouſand. *Polycrates* had trained and inſtructed the Gentlemen of the Kings houſe, being ſeuen hundred Horſe, ouer whom hee was Captaine, and likewiſe of thoſe which were come for *Lybia*, and had beene leuied in the Prouince. All which made the number of three thouſand men.

B

The diſtribution of *Ptolomes* Army to his Captaines.

C

D

In regard of the *Grecian* Cauallery, and thoſe which were in pay, *Echecrates* of *Theſſaly*, a man of ſeruice, inſtructed them carefully, to the number of two thouſand: being as diligent as any other to haue a care of the Souldiers. *Cnopy* had the command of all the *Candiots*, being three thouſand in number: Among the which there was a thouſand Souldiers

Souldiers newly leuied, of which he gaue the charge to *Philon* of *Gnoſie*. There were moreouer three thouſand *Affricans*, armed after the the *Macedonian* manner, ouer whom *Ammonius Barcee* was Captaine. There were alſo about two thouſand *Egyptians* vnder the command of *Soſibius* Finally, foure thouſand *Thraces* and *Gaules*, which had long ſerued in the Warre: and two thouſand newly leuied, whereof *Denis* of *Thrace* had the charge. This was *Ptolomes* Army at that ſame time.

When as *Antiochus* had beſieged the Towne of *Dure*, and ſaw that hee could not preuaile, as well for its fortification, as for the defence of
A *Nicholas*: in the beginning of Winter hee concluded a truce with *Ptolomes* Embaſſadour, and promiſed him willingly and freely, to goe out of the Prouince, and to doe him all the pleaſure hee could, although he had another intent: for hee made haſte to leade his Army to winter in *Seleucia*, for that *Acheus* made ſhew to bee of his ſide, although in truth he held *Ptolomes* party. After the truce concluded, *Antiochus* ſent preſently an Embaſſadour, giuing him charge to aduertiſe him ſpeedily of *Ptolomes* intention; and that hee ſhould come vnto him to *Seleucia*. Then leauing ſufficient Garriſon in neceſſary places, and the charge of all to *Theodote*, hee led his Army to *Se-*
B *leucia*: from whence he ſent them to winter in Garriſons, and from that time hee began to neglect all care in exerciſing his Souldiers, thinking hee ſhould haue no more occaſion of fighting: For that hee held many places in baſe *Syrria* and *Phenicea*, hoping that the reſt would be ſoone reduced to his obedience: conſidering that *Ptolomy* durſt not come to fight. His Embaſſadours thought no leſſe, for that *Soſibius* had giuen them faire and courteous words at *Caire*: And not any one of thoſe which had beene ſent to *Antiochus*, knew the preparation of Warre which was made in *Alexandria*: ſo as *Soſibius* diſmiſſing the Embaſſadours, was continually carefull of the Warre. It is
C true, that *Antiochus* vſed great care to make his iuſt quarrell knowne to the Embaſſadours, when they ſhould enter into diſcourſe.

An Embaſſie ſent from *Antiochus* to *Ptolomy*.

Finally, being come to *Seleucia*, and falling into priuate ſpeech of the peace, according vnto that which *Soſibius* had giuen them in charge, the King did not hold the outrage which he had done by open Warre, in ſeazing vpon the places of baſe *Syrria* to bee vniuſt or vnreaſonable: and that he had done nothing but by a iuſt title. For he ſayd, that *Antigonus* with one eye, and *Seleucus*, who firſt had conquered thoſe places, were the true and lawfull Lords. Wherefore the Realme of baſe *Syrria* belonged vnto him, as it were by right of inheritance, and not to
D *Ptolomy*: For that *Ptolomy* had fought againſt *Antigonus*, not for his owne right, but to conquer thoſe Countries for *Seleucus*. Moreouer, he propounded the mutuall accord betwixt the Kings, for at ſuch time as *Antigonus* was defeated, when as *Caſſander*, *Lyſimachus* and *Seleucus* would diuide the Realme betwixt them, they adiudged all *Syrria* to *Seleucus*. This was all that *Antiochus* alledged. Contrariwiſe *Ptolomes* Embaſſadours laboured to produce their reaſons, making this preſent outrage far greater then it had bin: ſaying that the accord had bin broken as wel by the

Reaſons of the warre propounded by *Antiochus*.

The anſwer of *Ptolomes* Embaſſadours to *Antiochus*.

the treaſon of *Theodote*, as by the deſcent which *Antiochus* had made with an Army into *Syria*. Moreouer, they pretended *Ptolomes* poſſeſſion, ſaying, that he had made Warre with *Seleucus* againſt *Antigonus*, to the end he might conquer all the Empire of *Aſia* for *Seleucus*, and make *Syria* and *Phenicea* his owne. Theſe difficulties with diuers others, were many times debated betwixt them: but they could not conclude any thing, although matters were ſolicited by their common Friends: for that the party of *Acheus* bred a great controuerſie and debate betwixt them: For that *Ptolomy* ſought to comprehend him in the accord, and *Antiochus* would not heare him A ſpoken of: holding it a ſtrange thing, that *Ptolomy* ſhould preſume to make mention of thoſe who through Treaſon abandoned their King. Finally, the Embaſſadours departed without any effect.

A leuie of Armies by *Antiochus* and *Ptolomy*.

In the Spring *Antiochus* vſeth all diligence to leuie men, with an intent to aſſaile *Syria* both by Sea and Land, and to make ſubiect all the other Countries of that Prouince. But *Ptolomy* did no leſſe to reenforce the Army of *Nicholas*: ſo as hee ſent him ſtore of victuals out of the Countries neere vnto *Gaza*, furniſhing him moreouer with Souldiers both by Sea and Land, with other things neceſſary. By meanes whereof *Nicholas* reſuming courage, went boldly to Field with the helpe of *Perigene*, Commander of the Army at Sea, being B ſent by *Ptolomy* with thirty ſhips of Warre, and about foure hundred Merchants Veſſels. This *Nicholas* was borne in *Etolia*, as able and reſolute a Souldier as any that ſerued *Ptolomy*: who after he had formerly gotten with a part of his Army, the ſtreights which lie neere vnto *Platane*, and marching with the reſt to *Porphirrion*, he ſhut vp the paſſage of the Prouince from the King with the helpe of the Sea-army.

Embaſſadours from the *Arcadians* to *Antiochus*.

Antiochus being come to *Marache*, and Embaſſadours arriuing from the *Arcadians*, to conferre of the conditions of their Alliance, he not onely receiued them courteouſly, but freed the diſcord which had beene long betwixt them, in reconciling the *Arcadians* which dwelt C in the Iland, with thoſe that liued in *Epirus*. This done hee comes to *Berite*, entring into the Prouince by a place which the Countrey-men call, the Face of God: in paſſing hee tooke the Towne of *Botre*, ſetting fire vpon *Triere* and *Calame*. From thence he ſent *Nicarche* and *Theodote* before, giuing them charge to gaine the ſtreights which are neere vnto the Riuer of *Dyce*: And with the reſt of his Army he plants himſelfe neere vnto the Riuer of *Damure*, from whence *Diogene* Chiefe of the Army at Sea, was not farre.

Then againe he takes thoſe that were lightly armed, whom hee had ſent before with *Nicarche* and *Theodote*, and goes to diſcouer the D ſtreights which *Nicholas* had formerly taken: ſo as after hee had well viewed the places, hee returned to his Campe. Where the next day hee left thoſe that were beſt armed, vnder the charge of *Nicarche*, and marched with the reſt againſt the Enemy. And for that Mount *Liban* doth much reſtraine thoſe places towards the Sea-ſhoare, the way muſt of neceſſity be narrow, difficult, and almoſt inacceſſible: leauing a ſtreight and ſhort paſſage towards the Sea. Whereas *Nicholas* hauing

then

then built his Fort, hee did hope he ſhould be well able to repulſe *Antiochus*: For that he had put him ſelfe into it with a good number of Souldiers: and had alſo fortified it with Engines and other defences.

Antiochus his Army diuided into three.

The King diuided his Army into three Troupes, whereof hee gaue the leading of the one to *Theodote*, giuing him charge to fall vpon the Enemies which defended the way of the Mountaine. Hee gaue another to *Menedemus*, whom hee commanded to ſtriue to get vp the Mountaine: And the third he placed on the Sea-ſhoare, vnder the leading of *Diocles*. Hee put himſelfe among the Baggage to ſee all, and
A to ſuccour where neede ſhould require. At the ſame time *Diogenes* and *Perigene* began to fight at Sea, approaching as neere to Land as poſſibly they could: ſo as they might ſee the Combats by Land and Sea with one view. The Trumpets ſounding to the charge, the fight was long equall at Sea: ſo as the Victory inclined to neither ſide: for that the two Armies were equall in number of men and preparation of Warre. In regard of the fight at Land, *Nicholas* had the better in the beginning, for that hee had the aduantage of the place. But when as they which were with *Theodote*, came vpon them from the top of the Mountaine, and charged them with great fury, *Nicholas* and his men fled ſhamefully. There were two thouſand ſlaine in the chaſe: the reſt ſaued themſelues
B in *Sydon*. And although that *Perigene* in ſhew had good hope of the fight at Sea, yet ſeeing the defeate of the Army at Land, he retired. *Antiochus* drew his men together, and went and planted his Campe neare vnto *Sydon*: yet hee did not hold it fit to attempt the taking thereof at that time, as well for the abundance of munition and victuals that were in it, as for the multitude of men, as well Inhabitants, as ſuch as were retired into it after the Battaile. Wherefore he diſlodged, and went to *Philotere*, ſending word to *Diogenes*, Chiefe of the Army at Sea, to ſayle to *Tyre*. You muſt vnderſtand, that *Philotere* is ſeated neare vnto a Fenne, into the which the Riuer which they call *Iordan*, paſſeth: then takes its
C courſe by the Countrey of that Towne which is called *Scithes*. After the ſuddaine taking of theſe two Townes, he enters into great hope for the future, for that their Fields were ſufficient to furniſh his Army with all kind of victuals, and other munitions for the war. There he placed ſufficient Garriſons, and paſſing the Mountaines, he came to the Towne of *Atabyre*, ſcituated vpon the Mountaine of *Maſtodia*, which hath fifteene Furlongs in aſcent. There laying an Ambuſh neare the Towne, he began to draw the Inhabitants forth to fight, who following his men who ſeemed to retire, were in a manner all ſlaine, they turning head: And for that the Ambuſh charged them in the Reare, he purſued the reſt, and tooke
D them and their Towne. At the ſame time *Ceree* being one of *Ptolomes* Commander, left it. By the meanes whereof *Antiochus* gained many other Captaines. For ſoone after *Hippolochus* of *Theſſaly* came to yeeld himſelfe to him with three hundred horſe. And when he had put a Garriſon into *Atabyre*, he proceeded in his iourney, purſuing his enterprize, and in paſſing the Country, tooke *Pelle*, *Came*, & *Gepre*. In the meanetime the people of of *Arabia* agreeing together, followed his party. *Antiochus* growing into greater hope, & drawing victuals from them, went farther

Diuers Townes taken by *Antiochus*.

A Combat at Sea and Land.

into the Country: and preſently tooke *Gallate* with the Garriſon of the *Abillatins*, of whom *Nicie* a Kinſman and Allie to *Nemne*, was Commander. And although that *Gadare*, which at that time ſeemed impregnable for its ſcituation, held out, yet hee tooke it ſuddainly in beſieging it, and ſetting vp his Engines. And hauing newes afterwards that a good number of Enemies were drawne together into *Rabatamaſſane* a Towne of *Arabia*, and ſpoyled all the *Arabians* Countrey which held his party, he went ſuddainly thither with his Army, and planted his Campe neere vnto the Mountaines among the which the Towne is ſcituated. And when vpon a view he had diſcouered that it was not to A be forced but in two places, he ſet vp his Engines, and other things neceſſary to force a Towne, whereof he gaue the charge to *Nicarchus* and *Theodote*: and in the meane time attends his other affaires.

Theſe men carefull of the Battery, ſtriued with emulation who ſhould firſt ouerthrow the Wall, whereupon a great part fell ſooner then they could imagine. This done, they fought continually day and night, ſtriuing to loſe no time. And although the Siege continued long, yet they could not preuaile, in regard of the multitude of men which defended it: vntill that a Priſoner ſhewed them a little Riuer, where the beſieged fetch their water, the which they ſtopt vp with Palliſadoes, B ſtones, and ſuch like things. Then being out of hope of water, they yeelded to the Enemies. By this meanes the King hauing it in his hands, he gaue it in guard to *Nicarchus* with a ſufficient ſtrength: and he ſent *Hippolichus* and *Ceree* (who as we haue ſayd, had abandoned *Ptolomy*) into the Countrey of *Samaria*, with fiue thouſand Foote: giuing them charge to continue there for the defence thereof, and to preſerue all the people which were vnder his obedience. From thence he parts with his whole Army, and comes to *Ptolomais* to paſſe the Winter there.

Rabatamaſſana yeelded to Antiochus.

When the *Pedneliſſenſes* had beene the ſame Summer beſieged by the *Selgenſes*, and were in great danger; they ſent to demand ſuccours from *Acheus*. When he had heard them willingly, and promiſed to doe C it, they endured the Siege with great courage, growing more reſolute by the hope of ſuccours. Finally, *Acheus* ſent *Garſyere* with ſixe thouſand Foot, and fiue hundred Horſe: giuing him charge to vſe all diligence to ſuccour the *Pedneliſſenſes*. The *Selgenſes* aduertiſed by the Spies of his comming, recouered the ſtreights which are about a place which they call, *Eſchelle*, with the greateſt part of their Army, and ſtop vp all the paſſages. *Garſyere* entring by force into *Myliade*, and planting his Campe neare vnto a Towne called *Candois*, he vſed this ſtratagem, ſeeing that he could not paſſe, for that the *Selgenſes* kept all the paſſages. He began to raiſe his Campe, and to retire, making ſhew that it was impoſſible D for him to ſuccour the *Pedneliſſenſes*: for that the ſtreights of the Country were held by the Enemy.

The Pedneliſſenſes beſieged.

The *Selgenſes* thinking they had beene gone, as men deſpairing to be able to ſuccour them, retired, ſome to the Campe, the reſt returned to the Citty to recouer Victuals. But *Garſyere* comes ſuddainly backe to the ſtreights, whereas finding them abandoned, he ſet men to guard them vnder the command of Captaine *Phayle*: and from thence hee comes

The policy of Garſyere.

comes with his forces to *Perge*, whereas ſtaying ſome time, hee ſent Embaſſadours to *Pamphilia*, and the other Townes, to acquaint them with the inſolency of the *Selgenſes*, and to ſolicite them to enter into league with *Achæus*, and to ſuccour the *Pednelisſenſes*. The *Selgenſes* at the ſame time ſent a Captaine with an Army, hoping to chaſe *Phayle* from the ſtreights. But for that matters ſucceeded otherwiſe then they expected, and loſt many of their men in fighting, they gaue ouer their Enterprize: yet for all this they did not raiſe their Siege, but were more attentiue then before, to ſet vp their Engines.

A In the meane time the *Etſenenſes* which inhabite the Mountaines aboue *Syde*, ſent eight thouſand men armed to *Garſyere*: and the *Aſpendiens* foure thouſand. The *Sydetes* made no ſhew to ſend any ſuccours: for that they were Friends to *Antiochus*, and hated the *Aſpendiens*. *Garſyere* came to *edneliſſe*, accompanied with the Troupes of the Allies, thinking at his comming to raiſe the Siege. But when he ſaw that the *Selgenſes* were nothing amazed, he ſet himſelfe downe neere vnto them. The *Pednelisſenſes* were ſo oppreſt with want of Victuals, as they could no longer endure the hunger, wherefore *Garſyere* ſeeing it neceſſary to vſe diligence, prepared two thouſand men, euery one laden with a Mine of Wheat, and ſent them by night to the Towne. The B *Selgenſes* aduertiſed hereof, charged them preſently, and ſlew the greateſt part of them, and tooke all the Wheate. Wherewith they grew ſo glorious, as they not onely beſieged the Towne, but they attempted the Enemies Campe. It is the cuſtome of the *Selgenſes* to bee alwaies bold and audatious. Wherefore in leauing ſufficient forces in their Campe, they ſuddainly aſſailed the Enemy in diuers place. And when the Alarum grew hot, ſo as the Campe was forced in ſome places, *Garſyere* amazed at this great and ſuddaine accident, and hauing no great hope, hee cauſed the Horſe-men to goe forth by a certaine place which was not guarded: whom the *Selgenſes* (thinking they had fled for feare of C being defeated) did not purſue, nor made any accompt of them. Theſe Horſe-men turning a little about, charged the Enemy ſuddainly in the Reare, fighting with great fury. Then *Garſyeres* Foot-men, who ſeemed to wauer, turned head, being re-united, and fell vpon the Enemy. By this meanes the *Selgenſes* being thus enuironed, in the end fled. The *Pednelisſenſes* taking courage hereat, made a ſally, and beate them out of the Campe which had the guard. In the chaſe *Garſyere* made a great ſlaughter: for there were aboue ten thouſand men ſlaine: of thoſe which remained, the Allies retired to their houſes, and the *Selgenſes* to their Countrey, taking their way by the Mountaines.

A Mine is about two of our Buſhels, weighing an hundred and ten pounds.

The Victory of *Garſyere* againſt the Selgenſes.

D The next day *Garſyere* parts with his Army, and makes haſte to paſſe the Mountaines, and to approach the Towne, before that the *Selgenſes* (being amazed with this freſh flight) ſhould prouide for any thing. Who being full of heauineſſe and feare, as well for the little hope they had of ſuccours from their Allies, conſidering the loſſe they had made with them, & amazed with this freſh misfortune, were in great doubt of ſafety, either for themſelues or their Countrey. Wherefore they aſſembled the Counſell, to reſolue to ſend one of their Cittizens called *Logbaſe*, in

Logbaſe ſent Embaſſadour by the *Selgenſes*.

in Embaſſie: who had had great Friendſhip and familiarity with *Antiochus*, which died in *Thrace*: And moreouer he had bred vp *Laodicea* the wife of *Acheus*, and his owne Daughter, whom they had giuen him in her infancy to inſtruct. They ſent him therefore as their Embaſſadour, thinking him ſufficient for that buſineſſe. But being come to *Garſyere*, he was ſo farre from doing that which hee had in charge, and which the duty of a good Cittizen required, that contrariwiſe he ſolicited him to write to *Acheus*, that he promiſed to deliuer him the Towne.

Garſyere giuing a willing eare vpon hope of taking it, ſent men to *Acheus* to ſolicite him, and to let him vnderſtand how matters had paſt. A

A truce made with the *Selgenſes*.

Finally hee makes a truce with the *Selgenſes*, delaying ſtill to make an abſolute accord with him, vnder colour that he would conſider better thereon, to the end that in the meane time hee might expect *Acheus*, and giue *Logbaſe* opportunity to finiſh the Enterprize. But whileſt they in the meane time conferred together, the Souldiers by a kind of familiarity, went freely into the Towne to fetch Victuals, which is many times the cauſe of a great Defeate. So as in my opinion there is not any Creature amongſt all the reſt, more ſimple then man, or that hath leſſe ſenſe and iudgement: whom notwithſtanding the greateſt part of the World hold for the wiſeſt. But how many Armies? How many Forts? How many and what Cities haue fallen into the Enemies hands thereby? And although theſe be things which daily happen, and that all the world ſees, yet wee ſhew our ſelues (I know not how) new and Apprentizes. This happens, for that wee doe not conſider the fortunes which haue happened to our Anceſtors in former times: and that we buſie our ſelues with toile and charge, to make prouiſion of Corne, Siluer, Fortifications, and Armes. Moreouer, wee make no eſteeme of that which is of great profit in great dangers, but diſdaine it, although it be in our power to learne it in the time of peace, by the Hiſtories and Commentaries of former actions, and as it were to practiſe them. But to the end we may returne to the diſcourſe from whence we parted, *Acheus* came at the day appointed. The *Selgenſes* going to meet him, had great hope and confidenee in his bounty. B C

Communication with an Enemy is dangerous.

In the meane time *Logbaſe* hauing drawne into his houſe a good number of thoſe which came into the Citty for Victuals, hee began to perſwade the Cittizens, not to loſe any time: and that conſidering the good-will which *Acheus* bare them, they ſhould thinke of their affaires, and that in aſſembling the people, they ſhould conſider of the conditions of peace. Theſe things being propounded, they preſently aſſembled, to conferre of their preſent affaires, calling thoſe which were deputed for the guard of the Citty. *Logbaſe* making a ſigne vnto the Enemy, as he had promiſed; ſuddainly armes all thoſe which were in his houſe, doing the like himſelfe with his Children, to vndergoe the danger. On the other ſide *Acheus* came to the Towne with halfe the army. *Garſyere* marcht with the reſt to *Ceſbedia*. This is a Temple of *Iupiter*, ſo well ſcituated aboue the Towne, as it ſeemes like a Fort. D

When as by chance ſome one ſaw the Enemy approach, hee ran ſuddainly to acquaint the Aſſembly, whereupon there was ſo great an

an amazement among the peole, as leauing the Company, ſome ran to *Ceſbedia*, others to the places where they were ſet in Guard, and the Commons ran to the houſe of *Logbaſe*: where diſcouering the treaſon, ſome in fury got to the houſe-top, others forced the Gate, and ſlew *Logbaſe*, his Children, and all the partners of the Conſpiracy. This done, they proclamed liberty to al Bondmen by the ſound of the Trumpet, and encouraged one another to ſuccour and defend the Citty, running to all places neceſſary. When *Garſyere* ſaw *Ceſbedia* ſeazed on by the Burgeſſes, he changed his reſolution, and *Acheus* ſeeking to force
A the Gates, the *Selgenſes* made a ſally, killing ſeauen hundred of his men, and repuls'd the reſt from the Towne. This done, *Acheus* and *Garſyere* returned to their Campe with ſhame and diſgrace. The *Selgenſes* afterwards fearing the ſedition of the Towne, and the preſence of the Enemy, they ſent their moſt ancient Cittizens to demand a peace. Who being come to *Acheus*, they agreed vpon theſe conditions: that *Acheus* and the *Selgenſes* ſhould liue in peace, and that they ſhould pay vnto him preſently two hundred and forty thouſand Crownes. That they ſhould reſtore the Priſoners of the *Pedneliſſenſes*, and that at a certaine time prefixt, they ſhould pay moreouer nine ſcore thouſand. Thus the *Selgenſes* (who by the Treaſon of *Logbaſe* were in danger of their Country and
B Liberties) defended themſelues valiantly and with great courage: and neither loſt their Liberties, nor that honour which they deriued from the *Lacedemonians*.

Logbaſe and his Children ſlain.

A peace concluded betwixt *Acheus* and the *Selgenſes*.

When as *Acheus* had reduced vnder his obedience the *Meliades*, and the greateſt part of *Pamphilia*, and had brought his Army to *Sardis*, hee made Warre againſt *Attalus*. All the Inhabitants on this ſide *Taurus*, feared him wonderfully. At the ſame time when he made War againſt the *Selgenſes*. *Attalus* accompanied with the *Egoſages*, *Galates*, ouer-ran *Eolia*, and the neighbour Townes, who for feare had yeelded to *Acheus*. Whereof the greateſt part ſubmitted themſelues willingly vnder his
C obedience: the reſt were forced. *Cyme*, *Smirne*, and *Phocea*, were the firſt that yeelded vnto him. Afterwards the *Egenſes* and *Lemnites* fearing a Siege, yeelded in like manner. There came likewiſe Embaſſadours from *Theia* and *Colophon*, ſubmitting themſelues and their Townes vnto him. Which being receiued according to the ancient accord, and hoſtages taken, he made great accompt of the *Smirniens*, for that they had kept their faith beſt. Afterwards continuing his courſe, he paſt the Riuer of *Lyce*, and went firſt to the *Myſiens*, and then to the *Carſees*, whom he terrified: The like he did to the Guards of the double walls, and tooke them and their Garriſons, for that *Themiſtocles* (whom *Acheus* had left
D there for Gouernour) deliuered them vnto him. And parting preſently, ruining the Countrey of *Apia*, he paſt the Mountaine of *Pelecas*, and planted himſelfe neere vnto a great Riuer: where the Moone falling into an Eclipſe, and the *Galates* diſcontented with the tediouſnes of the way, hauing a traine of women and children in their Wagons, obſeruing the Eclipſe, proteſted that they would paſſe no farther. And although that King *Attalus* drew no ſeruice from them, yet fearing that if he left them, as it were in diſdaine, they would retire to *Acheus*, and that thereby hee

ſhould purchaſe an ill fame, as if through ingratitude he had abandoned thoſe who with great affection had followed him into *Aſia*, he intreated them to endure a little toile of the way, and that he would ſoone bring them to a good place, where they ſhould reſt: And withall hee would doe for them whatſoeuer they ſhould deſire according to his power, and as reaſon ſhould require. *Attalus* therefore gaue *Helleſpont* to the *Egoſages* for their abode: and after he had intreated the *Lampſacenes*, the *Alexandrians*, and *Ilienſes* courteouſly, for that they had kept their faith, he went to *Pergamo* with his Army.

The Army of *Ptolomy*.

In the beginning of the Spring, when *Antiochus* and *Ptolomy* had made their preparations for the Warre, they made haſte to draw their Armies to Field. *Ptolomy* parts from *Alexandria* with aboue three ſcore and ten thouſand Foote, and fiue thouſand Horſe, with three ſcore and thirteene Elephants. *Antiochus* hauing newes of their comming, hee ſuddainly drawes his men together. His Army conſiſted of fiue thouſand *Dains*, *Carmaniens*, and *Ciliciens* lightly armed, vnder the leading of *Bittace* a *Macedonian*: and of twenty thouſand men after the *Macedonian* manner, whereof the greateſt part were *Argyraſpides*, who were leuied throughout the Realme, vnder the command of *Theodote* of *Etolia*, who committed the Treaſon. The number of the great Battaillion was about twenty thouſand, of whom *Nicarchus* and *Theodote* ſurnamed *Hemiolia*, had the leading. Moreouer there were two thouſand *Agreens* and *Perſians*, Archers and Slingers: with whom were a thouſand *Thracians*, ouer whom *Menedemus Alabandeus* was Captaine. Moreouer, fiue thouſand *Medians*, *Ciſſiens*, *Cadyſſiens*, and *Carmains*: which *Accius* the *Sonne* of *Aſpaſian* of *Media* had vnder his charge.

The Army of *Antiochus*.

In regard of the *Arabians*, and their neighbours, they were vnder the command of *Zabdibel*, to the number of ten thouſand men or more. On the other ſide *Hippulochus* of *Theſſaly*, had the leading of fiue thouſand *Grecians* Mercenaries: and *Eurilochus* of fifteene hundred *Candyots*. *Zelyſgorgyne* had a thouſand *Candyots* newly leuied, to the which were ioyned fiue hundred *Lydiens* with Slings. *Lyſimachus* the *Gaule*, had a thouſand *Cardaces*. Finally, the whole Cauallery amounted to ſixe thouſand Horſe, of which *Antipater* the Kings Nephew, had the charge of foure thouſand, and *Themiſon* of the reſt. By this meanes *Antiochus* his Army conſiſted of three ſcore and two thouſand Foote, ſixe thouſand Horſe, and a hundred and two Elephants. *Ptolomy* taking his way by *Damietta*, hee made that Towne ſubiect vnto him at his entrance: From whence after a plentifull diſtribution of Corne among the Souldiers, hee parted, and paſſeth *Caſſia* and *Bathra*, comming by the deſert Countries. Being come to *Gaza*, and hauing aſſembled his Army, he marcht ſlowly in the Countrey: planting himſelfe on the fift day, within fifty Furlongs of *Raphia*, which is a Towne ſituated behind *Rhinococure*, and firſt of thoſe of *Syrria* which looks towards *Egypt*.

At the ſame time *Antiochus* armed with his Army, and paſſing that Towne by night, he planted his Army within ten furlongs of his Enemy. In the beginning they kept themſelues diſtant ſo far one from another.

But

But some few daies after, *Antiochus* desiring to get some place of aduantage, and to giue courage to his men, hee lodged neerer vnto the enemy, so as there were but fiue Furlongs betwixt the two Campes: So as going to forrage and to Water, there were many encounters: on the other side, sometimes the Foote-men, and sometimes the Horse-men skirmished betwixt the two Campes, trying the Fortune of the Warre. At the same time *Theodote* shewed the great courage of a true *Etolian*: For being by long experience acquainted with the Kings manner of liuing, hee entred at the breake of day into the enemies Camp, and could not be discouered by his Countenance, for that it was yet darke: Neither did hee differ much from them in his Apparrell, for that they vsed diuers fashions of habits. Having formerly obserued the place where the Kings Tent was planted, for that they had fought often neere vnto the Campe, hee went directly to it. When hee had past vnknowne, and was come secretly to the Tent, in the which the King did vsually eate and drinke: Where casting his lookes carefully about him, he saw him not, (for he was lodged in a place retired behind it) so as hee wounded two that were lodged there, and killing *Andrew* the Kings Phisitian, hee retired without danger to his Campe, bringing his enterprize to an end by his hardy courage: But deceiued in his fore-sight, for that hee had not well obserued the place where as *Ptolomy* did vsually lye.

The hardy attempt of *Theodote*.

Andrew the Kings Phisitian slaine.

When the Kings had continued in Campe fiue daies together, one before the other, they resolued in the end to giue Battaile. *Ptolomy* beginning to draw his Army out of his Fort, *Antiochus* suddainely did the like: And they planted their two chiefe Battalions in Front one against the other, armed after the *Macedonian* manner. Behold the order which *Ptolomy* held for the two Wings: *Polycrates* was in the right Wing, with the Horse-men that were vnder his charge: Betwixt the which and the great Battalion, were the *Candyots* placed neere vnto the Horse-men. After which was the Kings battalion, and subsequently those that were armed with Targets, whereof *Socrates* had the Commaund: And finally the *Lybians* armed after the *Macedonian* manner. Vppon the right Wing was *Echecrates* of *Thessaly*, hauing with him his Troupe of Horses. After which were appointed the *Galates* and *Thracians*; and then *Phoxide* with the Mercenaries of *Greece*, being followed by the great Battalion of the *Egyptians*. Hee had also placed forty Elephants on the left Wing, with the which *Ptolomy* were before the right Wing, neere vnto the horse-men that were hired. *Antiochus* on the other side, placed on the right Wing (with the which hee was resolued to fight in Battaile against *Ptolomy*) threescore Elephants: Of which his companion *Philip* had the Charge. After these hee orders two thousand Horse vnder the leading of *Antipater*, and sets the *Candyots* in Front, neere vnto the Horse-men: Then hee appoints the Mercenaries of *Greece*, and after them were fiue thousand men, who armed after the *Macedonian* manner, had *Bytice* for their Captaine. As for the left Wing, hee placed two thousand horses in Front, vnder the Commaund of *Temison*: Neere vnto which hee sets

The order of *Ptolomes* Army in Battaile.

The order of *Antiochus* his Battaile.

the *Cardaces* and *Lydien* Horſe-men, and after them three Thouſand men lightly armed, vnder the charge of *Menedemus*: in whoſe Reare were the *Ciſſiens*, *Mediens*, and *Carmanians*. And after them the *Arabians* were ioyned to the great Battalion. Finally, hee ſets before the left Wing the reſt of the Elephants, giuing them for their Guide one *Myiſce* a Houſhold ſeruant to the King.

The two Armies being thus in battaile, the Kings beganne to encourage their Troupes, being accompanied with their Captaines and friends, commending the valour of the Souldiers both in generall and particular: And hauing great hope of their Battalions, they propounded great benefits which would redowne by the Victory. *Ptolomy* had with him his ſiſter *Arſinoe*, with *Andromachus* and *Soſibius*, who encouraged the Souldiers: And *Theodote* and *Micarchus* were with *Antiochus*, for that of either ſide they were the Commaunders of the two great Battalions. They were both of one humour to make Speeches vnto their men, and yet neither of them had done any thing worthy of fame or praiſe to be propounded, for that they were newly come vnto their Principallities. Wherefore they laboured to encourage their Troupes, in reducing to their memory the glory and proweſſe of their Anceſtors: And propounding moreouer a hope of themſelues for the future, they intreated and ſolicited the Captaines to fight, and to vndergoe the danger reſolutely and with courage. Theſe were the ſpeeches or ſuch like, which they vſed in perſon, or by their Interpreters.

A Battaile betwixt *Ptolomy* and *Antiochus*.

This done, the two Kings marcht one againſt the other, a ſlow pace. *Ptolomy* was in the left Wing, and *Antiochus* in the right with his royal Battalion. Then the Trumpets ſounded to Battaile, whereof the firſt Charge was made by the Elephants. Few of *Ptolomes* held good againſt thoſe of the Enemy, whoſe Souldiers fought valliantly, caſting of Darts, Pertwiſans, and plummets of lead, wounding one another.

The Combate of the Elephants.

But the Elephants made a ſtronger Warre, beating their Heads furiouſly together: For ſuch is the manner of their fight, aſſailing one another with their teeth, and ſtanding firme they repulſe one another with great Violence: But if they once turne their ſides they wound with their Teeth, as Buls do with their Hornes.

The Elephants of *Lybia* feare them of India.

But the greateſt part of *Ptolomes* feared the Combate: the which doth vſually happen to the Elephants of *Lybia*: For they cannot indure the ſent, nor heare the crye of thoſe of *India*. So as fearing (as it ſeemes) their greatneſſe and force, they flye them, as it happened at that time, for that flying ſuddainly they brake the rankes of their owne men, and made a great ſlaughter in *Ptolomes* great Battallion.

The which *Antiochus* perceiuing, hee preſently chargeth *Polycrates* Horſe-men with the Elephants. The *Grecians* about his great Battallion fell vpon *Ptolomes* Targetteers. Wherefore when the Elephants had broken them, his left Wing beganne to turne head. When *Echecrates* Commaunder of the right Wing, (expecting ſtill the Combate of the ſayd Wings) ſaw the Duſt riſe in the Ayre, and that his Elephants durſt not charge the Enemies, he ſends to *Phoxide* Captaine of the

the Mercenaries to charge thoſe which he had in Front: The which he did likewiſe, marching a ſlow pace with the Horſe-men and the Elephants. There the Combate was long and furious: yet *Echecrates* being freed from the danger of the Elephants, and making a great ſlaughter of the Horſe-men, and withall *Phoxide* preſſing the *Arabians* and *Medes*. In the end *Antiochus* his left wing was put to flight. By this meanes *Antiochus* right wing vanquiſhed, and the left fled. The two great Battalions ſtood firme and vntoucht, being in doubt of the end. And when as *Ptolomy* in the meane time had recouered his great
A Troupe by his ſpeedy running, and was in the middeſt of them, hee amazed his Enemies, and gaue great courage vnto his owne Captaines and Souldiers.

In the meane time King *Antiochus* being young and of ſmall experience in the Warre, ſeeing himſelfe Victorious of the one ſide, thought the like of the reſt, and purſued the Chaſe of the Enemy with great eagernesſe. But when as one of his old Souldiers cald him backe, and ſhewed him the Duſt which a great Troupe had raiſde in his Fort, hee then knew what it meant: and turning head he laboured to recouer his Campe. But when hee found that all his Army was in Rout, then
B wanting good Counſell he fled to *Raphia*, inimagining that it was not his fault hee had not obtained a glorious and Triumphant Victory, and that the baſeneſſe and ſloath of his men had beene the cauſe of his defeate. *Ptolomy* hauing the Victory by the meanes of his chiefe Battalion, and hauing loſt many of his Horſe-men and Souldiers of the right Wing, hee returned to his Campe, and refreſht his Army. The next day, he cauſed his men to be ſought out among the Dead, and buried.

Ptolomes Victory gainſt *Antiochus*.

From thence (after they had ſtript the Enemies that were ſlaine) hee marcht with his Army to *Raphia*. And although that *Antiochus* (ga-
C thering together his men that fled) had a deſire to keepe his Campe, and to leaue the Towne, yet he was forced to goe to *Raphia*: For that the greateſt part of his Souldiers were retired thither. The next day earely in the morning, he parts with that ſmall Army, which he had remaining after ſo great a defeate, and went to *Gaza*: Where planting his Campe, he ſent men to demaund the dead bodies, and to interre them. *Antiochus* loſt aboue ten Thouſand foote, and three hundred Horſe. There were about foure thouſand foote-men taken aliue. In regard of the Elephants, there were three ſlaine vpon the fielde, and two wounded which dyed afterwards: moſt of the reſt were taken. This was the ende of that famous battaile, where as two powerfull
D and mighty Kings fought for the Empire of *Syrria*, neere vnto *Raphia*.

When as *Antiochus* had buried the dead, hee returned into his Countrey with his Army. As for *Ptolomy*, hee preſently recouered *Raphia*, with the other Cities, ſo as the people contended who ſhould preuent his neighbour, in yeilding firſt vnto the King. In ſuch euents euery man ſtriues to apply himſelfe vnto the time. It is true, that the people of that Countrey are borne and inclined to imbrace the fauour

of

the preſent time. But for aſmuch as the people had a ſpeciall deuotion to the Kings of *Alexandria*, what they then did was held iuſt and reaſonable. The people of baſe *Syria* haue alwaies affected this royall Houſe. And therefore they honoured *Ptolomy*, with Flowers, Sacrifices, Altars, and ſuch like things. When as *Antiochus* was come to the Citty, which is called by his owne name, he preſently ſent his Nephew *Antipater* with *Theodote Hermioly* in Embaſſie to *Ptolomy*, to demaund a peace of him: For without doubt hee feared his forces, neither did hee much relie vpon his owne ſouldiers, conſidering the loſſe which hee had lately made. Hee likewiſe doubted that *Achæus* might mooue Warre againſt him, conſidering the opportunity of the time and occaſion.

Antiochus ſends Embaſſadours to *Ptolomy*.

As for *Ptolomy*, hee thought not of all this: But beeing ioyfull of ſo great a Fortune, which hee expected not, holding himſelfe happy to enioy all *Syria*, hee refuſed not the conditions of peace. So as being lull'd a ſleepe with this baſe kinde of life, which hee had alwaies vſed, his heart was much inclined thereunto. When the Embaſſadours preſented themſelues vnto him, he granted them a peace for a yeare, after that hee vſed ſome proud ſpeeches againſt *Antiochus*. To whom he ſent *Soſibius* with them to confirme the Accord. And after hee had ſtayed about ſome three moneths in *Syria* and *Phœnicea*, and had giuen order for the Cities, leauing the charge of all thoſe places to *Andromachus Aſpendius*, he returned with his ſiſter and Friends to *Alexandria*. On the other ſide *Antiochus* (after hee had confirmed the Accord with *Soſibius*, and pacified all things to his liking) beganne to make preparation for Warre againſt *Achæus*, according to his firſt Reſolution and determination. This was the eſtate of *Aſia* at that ſame preſent.

An Accord made betwixt *Ptolomy* and *Antiochus*.

At the ſame time the *Rhodiens* taking their occaſion from an Earthquake, which a little before had befalne them, in the which the great *Colloſſus*, with a great part of the Pipes and Arſenals were ruined, they carried themſelues ſo diſcreetly and wiſely, as this ruine did not ſeeme preiudiciall vnto them, but very profitable. Ignorance and ſimplicity differs ſo much from Prudence and Induſtry, not only in a priuate life, but alſo in publique Affaires, that eaſe and plenty ſeeme to procure loſſe and preiudice to the one, and aduerſities excuſe the faults and errours of the other. The *Rhodiens* made theſe things great and ruinous, and labouring to ſent Embaſſadours to all places, they did ſo mooue the Cities and likewiſe Kings, as they not onely drew great gifts from them, but they had them in ſuch ſort, as they which gaue them held themſelues beholding vnto them.

An Earthquake at *Rhodes*.

Hieron and *Gelon* did not onely giue them fiue and forty Thouſand Crownes, to repaire the place ordayned for all Exerciſes (one part to be payed preſently and the reſt ſoone after:) but they alſo gaue them Caldrons of ſiluer, with their Treuets, and pots for water. Moreouer ſixe thouſand Crownes to performe the Sacrifices: And others ſixe thouſand to relieue the Burgeſſes: So as the whole preſent amounted to threeſcore thouſand Crownes. Moreouer all that ſail'd to *Rhodes* were,

Preſents made to the *Rhodiens* by many Cities.

were free from Tribute. They gaue them likewiſe fifty Slings or Warlike Engines: Finally they aduanced Images in the moſt eminent places of *Rhodes*, as if they were beholding vnto them; where the people of *Rhodes* were Crowned with that of *Sarragoſſe*. *Ptolomy* promiſed them nine ſcore thouſand Crownes: A million of Artabes of Wheate, which is a meaſure of *Media*: Timber to make ſixe Quinqueremes, and ten Triremes, and about forty thouſand Fathomes of Rope, and three thouſand Maſts and Sailes, and to repaire the *Coloſſus* nine ſcore thouſand Crownes, a hundred Architects, three hundred and fifty workemen, and for their Victuals ſeauen Thouſand and foure hundred Crownes by the yeare. Twelue thouſand Artabes of Wheate, for thoſe which ſhould make the Combats in their Games and Sacrifices: And twenty Thouſand Artabes for the victualling of ten Triremes. Of which things he deliuered the greateſt part of them preſently, with the third part of the money.

Ptolomy his preſent to the *Rhodians*.

Moreouer *Antigonus* gaue them Timber from eight vnto fifteene Fathome, with fiue thouſand plankes aboue twelue foote long, and two hundred three ſcore and ten thouſand weight of Iron, foure ſcore and ten thouſand pound weight of Roſſine, and a thouſand buſhels of pitch: And withall hee promiſed them three ſcore thouſand Crownes ouerplus. *Chryſea* (who was a woman) gaue them a hundred Thouſand Buſhels of Wheate, with two hundred three ſcore and ten Thouſand pound weight of Lead. *Seleucus* father to *Antiochus*, ſent them ten Quinqueremes Armed and furniſhed, and that they which ſail'd to *Rhodes* ſhould be free: Hee gaue them likewiſe two hundred Buſhels of Corne with Timber and Pitch, and ten thouſand Fathomes of Cord made with haire, and ſixe hundred thouſand Crownes. *Pruſias* and *Mithridates* did the like: So did all the Princes of *Aſia*, as *Lyſannius*, *Olympiquus*, *Lymnius* and others. Finally wee cannot number the Townes which gaue preſents to the *Rhodiens*, euery one according to their power. And if any man will obſerue the time and the beginning, when as this Citty was firſt Inhabited, he will wonder much, that in ſo ſhort a time it is ſo much augmented both in priuate and Publique. But when we conſider the Commodity of the place, and the great felicity which doth grow from Forreiners, and their plentifull reuenew; there is no more any cauſe of admiration: Being certaine that this getting of Wealth is made with reaſon and iudgement. We haue thought it fit to relate theſe things.

The gift of *Antigonus* to the *Rhodiens*.

Chryſias gift.

Seleucus his preſent.

First, for the loue of the *Rhodiens*, to the end that their induſtry and care for the Affaires of their Common-wealth might bee knowne to all the World, for in truth they are worthy of commendation and loue. Secondly, for the auarice of our Kings at this day, and the wretchednesſe of people and Townes: Who when they haue giuen two or three thouſand Crownes, immagine they haue made a great ſtately Preſent, and looke for ſuch thankes and honours as were giuen to the Ancient Kings of *Greece*: Or let the Townes remember the great bounty of the ancient preſents, leaſt they looſe thoſe great honours in making ſuch petty gifts, and let them ſtriue to preſerue their dignity:

nity: To the end that the people and inhabitants of *Greece* may differ from other men.

When in the beginning of Summer, *Agete* being then Chiefe of the *Etoliens*, and the time of *Epirates* Gouernement ouer the *Acheins* being expired, (in my opinion this is the paſſage, where we laſt turn'd from the Warre of the Allies) *Lycurgus* the *Lacedemonian* returned from *Etolia*: For the Magiſtrates called him home as ſoone as they found the accuſation, for the which he was baniſhed to be falſe. Hee was then ſent to *Pyrrhie* the *Etolian*, who at that time was Captaine of the *Eliences*, againſt the *Meſſeniens*. *Arate* found the trained men of *Acheia* ill diſciplined, and the Townes careleſſe of the duties of War: For that *Epirate*, who before him had the Gouernment, had (as wee haue ſayd) carried himſelfe idly and careleſly in all things. But when he had acquainted the *Acheins* therewith, and receiued their order, he applied himſelfe wholy to the preparation of the Warre. Their Decree was, that they ſhould not leuy leſſe then eight thouſand Aduenturers, and fiue hundred Horſe: They ſhould alſo make three thouſand Foote *Acheins*, and three hundred Horſe: Among the which the *Megalopolitains* ſhould march, armed with Targets of Copper, to the number of fiue hundred foote and fifty Horſe, and as many Argiues. It was alſo ordered that they ſhould prepare three Shippes in the Gulfe of *Argos*, and as many neere vnto *Patres* and *Dyme*. *Arate* was then carefull to leuy men, and to make ready the Army. *Lycurgus* and *Pyrrhie* after they had appointed a day for their departure, tooke their way to *Meſſene*: Whereof the Chiefe of the *Acheins* being aduertiſed, hee came to *Megalopolis* with the Aduenturers, and ſome of thoſe of the Election, to ſuccour the *Meſſeniens*.

Lycurgus on the other ſide entring the *Meſſeniens* Countrey, tooke the Towne of *Calames* by Treaſon: And from thence going on his courſe, hee made haſt to ioyne with the *Etoliens*. When as *Pyrrhie* came to *Elis* ill accompanied, to aſſaile the *Meſſeniens*, he turned head preſently, being repulſ'd by the *Cypariſſeins*. Wherfore *Lycurgus* tooke his way to *Sparta*, hauing done nothing worthy of memory, for that hee could not ioyne with *Pyrrhie*, neyther was hee ſtrong enough to mannage the Warre alone. *Arate* ſeeing the Enemies fruſtrated of their hope, and thereby fore-ſeeing the future, hee commaunded *Taurion* to prepare fifty Horſe, and fiue hundred foote, and that the *Meſſeniens* ſhould ſend as many, meaning with this force to defend the *Megalopolitains*, *Tegeates*, and *Argiues*, from the incurſions of their Enemies: For that thoſe Countries lye more in danger of the *Lacedemonians* during the Warre, ioyning vpon the *Spartains* Countrey. Finally, he reſolued to Guard *Acheia*, with the *Acheins* and Mercenaries, from the danger of the *Elyences* and *Etoliens*. This done, hee pacified the Diſcord, which was growne among the *Megalopolitains*, according vnto that which the *Acheins* had ordered.

For you muſt vnderſtand that the *Megalopolitains*, beeing a little before chaſed out of their owne Countrey by *Cleomenes*, had neede of many things which were wanting: And although they ſtill maintained their

Lycurgus called home.

Arate prepares for the Warre.

Calames taken in Treaſon by *Lycurgus*.

their authority, yet they had neither victuals nor neceſſary expences, either for the publique or priuate: So as all was full of mutiny, rage, and malice. The which doth vſuall fall out in Common-weales, and among priuate perſons, when as victuals faile. First they were in debate among themſelues concerning the walls of the City, ſome being of opinion that that they ſhould not make the incloſure greater, then their power would then beare, and keepe it with ſo ſmall a number of men, conſidering it had bin the cauſe of their former danger, for that it was greater and more ſpacious then the power of the Inhabitants was able to defend. Moreo-
A uer, they were of aduice, that ſuch as had Lands, ſhould contribute the third part, to the end they might people the City: Others ſaid, that they muſt not giue a leſſe circuite to the City, nor contribute the third part of their poſſeſſion: But their chiefeſt contention was concerning the Laws written by *Pritanides*, an excellent man among the *Peripatetiques*, whom *Antigonus* had giuen them for a Law-giuer. The City being in theſe combuſtions, *Arate* pacified them, and quencht the quarrels which were inflamed among the *Megalopolitains*, as well publique as priuate. Finally they haue grauen the Articles agreed vpon on a Pillar ſeated in the *Omarie*, at the Altar of *Veſta*. After the reconciliation of the *Megalopolitains*,
B *Arate* parting from thence, retired preſently to an Aſſembly of the *Acheins*, leauing the Aduenturers with *Selcuom* of *Phare*.

A Mutiny among the *Megalopolitains*.

The *Elienſes* incenſed againſt *Pirrhie*, as if he had not diſcharged his duty, they called *Euripides* from *Etolia* to be their Captaine. Who conſidering that the *Acheins* held their Diet, tooke ſixe hundred Horſe, and two thouſand Foote, and went ſuddainly to Field, where he ſpoild the whole Countrey vnto *Egia*: And when he had taken a great booty, he made haſte to returne to *Leonce*. *Lyce* hearing this, went to meete them, and encountred them ſuddainly: when they came to fight, hee ſlew foure hundred, and tooke two hundred Priſoners: Among the
C which were found *Phiſſias*, *Antanor*, *Clearcus*, *Euanorides*, *Ariſtogites*, *Nicaſippus*, and *Aſpaſias*, men of note: and withall he had all their Armes and Baggage.

Lyce defeates *Euripides*.

At the ſame time the Captaine of the Sea-army for the *Acheins* came to *Molicria*, and parting thence ſuddainly, he turned his way to *Calcea*: where when as the Towneſ-men came out againſt him, he tooke two Gallies armed, and furniſhed with all things neceſſary, with many other ſmaller veſſels. Moreouer, he tooke great ſpoiles both by Sea and Land, and drew victuals from thence, with other munition: wherewith hee made the Souldiers more hardy and reſolute for the future. On the other ſide the Cities were in better hope, for that they were not forced
D to furniſh victuals for the Souldiers. In the meane time *Scerdilaide* holding himſelfe wrong'd by the King, for that he had not giuen him his full pay, as he had articulated with *Philip*, ſent fifteene Veſſels vnder a counterfeite ſhew of carrying Merchandizes, the which at their firſt arriuall to *Leucade*, were kindely entertained, as Friends in regard of the League with the King. And when they could doe no worſe, they tooke *Agatin* and *Caſſander* of *Corinthe*, who as Friends were entred into the ſame Port with foure ſhips: Being thus taken with their Veſſels, they ſent them

Calcea ſpoild by the *Acheins* Fleete.

Agatin and *Caſſander* taken by *Scerdilaide*.

them preſently to *Sçerdilaide*. This done, they weighed Anchor from *Leucade*, bending their courſe towards *Malea*, ſpoiling all the Merchants. In the beginning of Summer, when the Souldiers of *Taurion* were negligent in the guard of the ſaid Cities, *Arate* hauing with him the choiſe of the Army, came into the Country of *Argos* to get victuals. On the other ſide *Eurípides* going to Field with a good number of *Etoliens*, waſted the Country of the *Tritenſes*. *Lyceus* and *Demodochus* particular Captaines of the *Acheins*, aduertiſed of the deſcent of the *Etoliens*, drew together the *Dimenſes*, *Patrenſes*, and *Pharenſes*, with the Aduenturers, and ouer-ran the Country of the *Etoliens*. Being come to a place which they A call *Phixia*, they ſent their Foot-men that were lightly armed, with their Horſe-men to ouer-run the Champaigne Country, and log'd their men that were beſt armed in Ambuſh thereabouts. When the *Elienſes* came to charge them without order to ſuccour their people, paſſing the Ambuſh, *Lyceus* Company fell vpon them: whoſe fury they being vnable to reſiſt, fled, ſo as there were about two hundred ſlaine, and foure ſcore taken Priſoners with all the Booty.

A defeate of the *Elienſes* by *Lyceus*.

At the ſame time the Commander of the *Acheins* Sea-army, hauing ſailed often to *Calidon* and *Naupacte*, ſpoiled the whole Countrey, and chaſed the Enemy twice. He alſo tooke *Cleonice* of *Naupacte*, who for B that he was a friend to the *Acheins*, had no harme: but within few daies after was freed without ranſome. At the ſame time *Agete* Chiefe of the *Etoliens*, aſſembled a Troupe of them, putting the Country of the *Acarnanians* to fire and ſword, and ſpoiled the Country of *Epirus*. This done, he returnes home, giuing leaue to the Souldiers to retire to their houſes. Afterwards the *Acarnanians* made a deſcent into the Country of *Strate*: where being repuls'd by the Enemy, they made a ſhamefull retreate, yet without any loſſe; for that the *Stratenſes* durſt not purſue them, fearing an Ambuſh. At the ſame time there was a Treaſon practiſed in the Country of the *Phanotenſes* after this manner. *Alexander* Gouernour C of *Phoſis* for *Philip*, laide a plot for the *Etoliens* by a certaine man called *Iaſon*, to whom he had giuen the gouernment of the *Phanotenſes*. He was ſent to *Agete* Chiefe of the *Etoliens*, promiſing to deliuer the Fortreſſe of *Phanotenſes* vnto him: whereupon they agree and ſweare together.

When the day appointed was come, *Agete* comes in the Night with the *Etoliens*: when he had laid his Troupe in Ambuſh, he made choiſe of a hundred men, whom he ſent to the Fort. *Iaſon* hauing *Alexander* ready with him, with a ſufficient number of Souldies, receiues the companions into the Fortreſſe, according to the accord: whom *Alexander* charged D with his Company, and tooke all the *Etoliens*. But when day was come, *Agete* aſſured of the fact, carried backe his Army into his Country, hauing worthily deſerued this deceipt, for that he had many times practiſed the like. At the ſame time *Philip* tooke *Bylazon*, which is a great Towne in *Peonia*, and in a good ſcituation for the entry from *Dardania* into *Macedony*.

The *Etoliens* circumuented by a ſtratagem.

Bylazon taken.

By this meanes he freed them from all feare of the *Dardanians*, who could not make any incurſions into *Macedony*, the entry being ſtopt by

by the taking of the ſaid Towne: whereas placing a good Garriſon, he ſent *Chryſagonus* with great ſpeed into high *Macedony*, to make a new leuie of men. As for himſelfe he tooke ſome men and went into *Beocia*, and *Amphaxate*, and came to *Edeſa*: where expecting *Chryſogonus* with the *Macedonians*, he parted preſently after with the whole Army, and came to *Lariſſa* on the ſixt day: And purſuing his courſe from thence all night, he arriued at *Melitea*, the which he indeauoured to take by *Scalado*, and if the Ladders had not beene ſomething too ſhort, without doubt he had preuailed in his Enterprize: wherein the Commanders are chiefely to
A be blamed. For when ſome of them make haſte raſhly and inconſiderately to take Townes, without any fore-ſight or conſideration of the walls, vallies and ſuch like, by the which they attempt the taking by an aſſault, who will not blame them? And although they haue duely conſidered of all things, yet who will not taxe them to giue the charge to the firſt man they meet, to prepare ladders, & ſuch like inſtruments, as a thing of ſmall conſequence? Finally, in ſuch actions they muſt doe that which is neceſſary, or elſe fall into danger. For the loſſe doth often follow the deſpaire, and in many kinds: Firſt the ableſt men are in danger of the attempt, eſpecially vpon the retreate, when they begin to diſdaine them. Whereof there are many examples. And you ſhall find in ſuch attempts many fruſtrated, ſome defeated, others to haue bin in extreame danger: And they they which haue ſaued themſelues, haue bin ſubiect for the future to diſtruſt and hatred: and ſome haue ſerued for an example, to all others to be vigilant, giuing not only to ſuch as were preſent at the danger, but alſo to them that heare of it, ſome kind of admoniſhment to be careful of themſelues. Wherefore they muſt neuer make vſe of ſuch aduice raſhly: In regard of the meanes to vſe it wel, it is ſecure if they follow reaſon.

The indiſcretion of Cõmanders blamed.

B

We muſt now returne to our diſcourſe, and ſpeake thereon hereafter, when occaſion ſhall be offred, and that it is not poſſible to faile in ſuch enterprizes. *Philip* preuented in his enterprizes, plants his Campe neare
C vnto the Riner of *Empe*, and ſent his men to *Lariſſa*, and other Townes, whom he had leuied in the winter for the Siege: For all his deſigne was to take *Thebes*. It is a Towne ſcituated neare to the Sea, and about 300. Furlongs from *Lariſſa*. It confines fitly with *Magneſia* and *Theſſaly*: To the one ſide called *Demetriade*: And to *Theſſaly* on that part where the *Pharſaliens* and *Pherenſes* dwell. This City doth much annoy the *Pharſaliens* and *Demetriens*: For that the *Etoliens* held it at that time: The like they did to them of *Lariſſa*: for the *Etoliens* made many incurſions into the Country which the Inhabitants call *Namirite*. Wherefore *Philip* conſidering that ſuch things ought not to be neglected, and left behind,
D he ſought all meanes to take it. Wherefore he prouided a hundred ſlings and fiue and twenty great Croſ-bowes, and approached the City of *Thebes* with his Army, the which he diuided into three Troups, and beſieged it on three ſides: whereof he placed the one neere vnto *Scopia*, the other at *Helcotropia*, and the third neare vnto the Mountaine which looks into the City: Fortifying the ſpaces in the Field with Ditches and double Palliſadoes. Moreouer he built Towers of wood in euery ſpace of two Acres of ground with ſufficient guards.

The ſcituation of *Thebes*.

Thebes beſieged by *Philip*.

Then he drawes together all the preparation for the War, and begins to plant his Engins of Battery againſt the Fort. Yet the three firſt dayes he could not make his approaches to ſet vp his Engines, ſo great was the courage and reſolution of thoſe which fought vpon the walls. But after that by the combat, and by the multitude of Darts, part of the Burgeſſes were ſlain, and others wounded, and that the beſieged ceaſed for a time, the *Macedonians* began to mine: where working continually, although the ground were bad, they approached vnto the wall on the ninth day.

From that time they were continually imployed in battering the Citty: ſo as the Slings and great Croſ-bowes neuer ceaſed day nor night: A And within three daies they made a breach of foure ſcore Fathomes in the wall. And when the ſupporters made vnto the wall, were not able to beare the burthen, they fell, and brought the wall downe with them, before the *Macedonians* had ſet them on fire. This being done, when as their courages encreaſed, and that they made ſhew to enter, and begin an aſſault, the *Thebins* being amazed, yeelded themſelues and their Citty. When as *Philip* had by this meanes aſſured the Countries of *Magneſia* and *Theſſaly*, he tooke the beſt of the *Etoliens* goods, and thruſt the ancient Inhabitants out of the towne, re-peopling it with *Macedonians*, and changing its name of *Thebes*, he called it *Philiopolis*. Whileſt that *Philip* ſtayed in this City, there came Embaſſadours from *Chios*, *Rhodes*, *Conſtantinople*, and from King *Ptolomy*. Whom when he had anſwered, as he had formerly done, (that he had beene alwaies willing to hearken to a peace) he ſent them away, giuing them charge to vnderſtand the will of the *Etoliens*. For his part he made no reckoning of peace, being reſolued to continue his attempts. Wherefore being aduertiſed, that the Veſſels of *Scerdilaide* ſpoild all the Coaſt of *Malea*, and that hee intreated the Merchants as Enemies, and that moreouer he had taken (breaking the accord) ſome ſhips at *Leucade*, he armes twelue Veſſels couered, and eight open, and ſailes by the *Euripus*, hauing likewiſe thirty Merchants Veſſels, hoping to take the *Sclauonians*: neither did he neglect the *Etolien* C War, for that he was not yet aduertiſed of the actions which had paſt in *Italy*. For at ſuch time as *Philip* held *Thebes* beſieged, the *Romans* had beene vanquiſhed by *Hannibal* in *Tuſcany*: But the newes were not yet come into *Greece*.

Thebes yeelded to *Philip*.

Embaſſadours come to *Philip*.

When *Philip* had taken the *Sclauonian* Veſſels, and for this cauſe had ſailed into *Cenchrea*, he cauſed the ſhips that were couered to run along the Coaſts of *Malea* towards *Egia* and *Patres*, and ſtayes the reſt of the Veſſels in the Port of *Lechæ*. Then he makes haſte to goe to the *Nemean* Game, and arriued at *Argos*. Being at the ſight, he had letters from *Macedony* to aduertiſe him that the *Romans* had bin vanquiſhed by *Hannibal* D with a wonderfull defeate, and that they were maſters of their Campe. He preſently ſhews it only to *Demetrius*, charging him to keepe it ſecret. Who taking his occaſion thereby, began to intreate the King that in diſpatching the *Etolien* War ſpeedily, he would attend that of the *Sclauonians*, for that al *Greece* then obeyed him: The which they would do hereafter: For that the *Acheins* affected him, and the *Etoliens* feared his forces, conſidering the loſſes they had made during this War: and that as

for

for *Italy*, the voyage which he ſhould make, would be a beginning to conquer the Monarchy, the which did more iuſtly belong to him then to any other, and that moreouer the opportunity was great for the preſent, conſidering the great defeate of the *Romans* which *Hannibal* had made. *Demetrius* vſing theſe meanes, perſwaded the King, who was but young, and of a high ſpirit, and too deſirous of rule.

Afterwards *Philip* called his Councell, and began to aduiſe touching a peace with the *Etoliens*. To the which *Arate* would willingly haue aſſiſted: the King preſently ſent *Cleomice* from *Naupacte* to the *Etoliens*,
A not expecting the Embaſſadours, to propound publiquely the Conditions of a Peace: For he found *Arate* after the taking of *Thebes*, attending the Diet of the *Acheins*. In the meane time he tooke ſhips at *Corinthe*, with the Bands of Foot-men, and came to *Egia*, and from thence to *Laſſion*, where after he had taken a Tower in the *Peripes*, hee made ſhew to enter into the *Elienſes* Countrey: to the end they ſhould not thinke that he much affected a peace. And when as *Cleomice* had returned twice or thrice, and that the *Etoliens* intreated the King to goe vnto them, he willingly yeelded thereunto. Then ſending Letters ſpeedily to all the Townes of the Allies, the great fire of the Warre being now quencht, he aduertiſed them to ſend Embaſſadours to compound and
B make a peace with the *Etoliens*. And in the interim he tranſports his Army, and planted his Campe neare vnto *Panormus*, which is a Port of *Morea* right againſt *Naupacte*, expecting the Embaſſadours of the Allies. Whileſt they aſſembled, he went to *Zacynthe*, and pacified the differences of that Iland, then ſuddainly he returned to the ſame place. When the Embaſſadours were met, he ſent *Arate* and *Taurion* with ſome others to the *Etoliens*, who being come vnto them (for they were aſſembled at *Neupacte*) they had ſome conference: where vnderſtanding the deſire they had of peace, they returned ſpeedily to *Philip*, and aduertiſed him thereof. The *Etoliens* deſiring it wonderfully, ſent an Embaſſie with
C them vnto the King, intreating him to come vnto them with his Army, to the end their differences might be the better and ſooner decided. *Philip* wone by their intreaties, ſailed with his forces to a place twenty furlongs from *Naupacte*. There landing with his men, after he had fortified his Campe and ſhips with Ditches and Palliſadoes, hee ſtayed the comming of the *Etoliens*. Who came vnto the King without Armes: And making a ſtand two Furlongs from his Campe, they preſently ſent men to conferre of the differences which they had at that time. The King ſent firſt vnto them all thoſe which were there preſent for the allied Cities, giuing them charge to conclude a peace with them, vpon con-
D dition, that hereafter euery man ſhould keepe that which he preſently held. And when they had ſo concluded, they afterwards ſent many Meſſages for the particular actions of either ſide. Of which things we haue willingly omitted the greateſt part, for that there is nothing ſeemes worthy of memory yet I haue thought good to relate in few words the remonſtrances which *Agelaus* of *Naupacte* made to the King & the Allies.

A peace betwixt *Philip* and the *Etoliens*

When he was allowed to ſpeake, and that all men were attentiue to heare him: It is needfull (ſaith he) the *Grecians* ſhould haue no Warre

The Speech of *Agelaus*.

among themſelues, and they ſhould giue thankes vnto the Gods, if all with one accord (like vnto thoſe which paſſe the Riuers holding hands) may be able to repulſe the attempts of the *Barbarians*, and defend themſelues and their Cities: and if this cannot be continually entertained, yet at the leaſt they ſhould at this day apply themſelues vnto it, for that *Greece* was neuer in great danger: ſaying that he conſidered the great Armies, and the great Warre which would ſoone follow: making no doubt, that if the *Carthaginians* did vanquiſh the *Romans* in *Italy*, or the *Romans* them, neither the one nor the other would content themſelues with the Empire of *Sicily* or *Italy*: But the Victors would preſently extend themſelues farther then were fit, and would paſſe towards the Eaſt. A

Wherefore they muſt all prouide for it, and eſpecially *Philip*. The which he can no otherwiſe doe, but in quenching this preſent War, and ceaſe to torment the Cities of *Greece*: And that contrariwiſe he haue a care of all, as of one Body, and ſtudy for the ſafety thereof in generall as his owne, and ſubiect vnto him. Doing which all the *Grecians* will loue him, and fight with him like good men in his future Warres: And finally the *Barbarians* fearing the loyalty of the *Grecians* towards him, will not attempt any thing againſt his Empire. The which if hee had B a deſire to enlarge, he muſt attempt againſt the Weſterne Countries, and conſider in what eſtate the affaires of *Italy* now ſtand, and that moreouer the time was come, when he might eaſily hope for the Empire of all the world. To effect the which he ſhould be the leſſe troubled, for that the *Romans* had beene defeated by *Hannibal* at the Lake of *Perouſa*. Finally, he perſwades the King to exchange the Warre and Diſcords of *Greece* into Peace and Concord, and that he ſhould ſtriue with all his power to keepe himſelfe at liberty for the future, that he might be able to make Peace and Warre when he pleaſed. Moreouer, he ſayd, that if he ſuffred this Cloud which they ſaw ariſing towards the Weſt, of a cruell and mortall Warre once to approach neere the Countries of C *Greece*, he feared much that theſe Quarrels and Contentions which were amongſt them, would be found ſo farre out of their power, as they would not be able to pray vnto the Gods to haue meanes to make War or Peace at their pleaſure.

When as *Agelaus* had ended his Speech, he inflamed the hearts of the Allies to peace, and eſpecially *Philip*: for that moued by the words of *Demetrius*, he had fixt his minde vpon it. Wherefore they all with one accord made a peace with the *Etoliens*. The which being confirmed, they retired all into their Countries. Theſe things were done in the third yeare of the hundred and fortieth Olympiade: I meane that Bat- D taile which the *Romans* gaue in *Tuſcany*, with the warre of *Antiochus* in *Syria*, and the peace made betwixt the *Etoliens*, *Philip* and the *Acheins*. Behold the time wherein the Warres of *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Aſia* were firſt intermixt. For after that day neither *Philip*, nor the other Princes of *Greece* attempted any thing either for Warre or Peace, but had their eyes wholly fixed vpon *Italy*. Soone after the Ilands of *Aſia* did the like, and all they which were either Enemies vnto

Philip,

Philip, or any way oppoſite vnto *Attalus*, retyred not to *Antiochus*, nor vnto *Ptolomy*, nor to the Southerne or Eaſterne parts, but all vnto the Weſt. Some ſolicited the *Carthaginians*, other did the like to the *Romans* by continuall Embaſſies. The *Romans* likewiſe fearing the power and courage of *Phillip*, ſent Embaſſadours into *Greece*. And as we haue according to our firſt reſolution, plainly ſet down, as I conceiue, when and how, and for what cauſes the Affaires of *Greece* are intermixt with the *Italians* and *Lybians*, as it were in one body: we muſt now purſue the Actions of *Greece*, vntil we come to the time when as the *Romans* A were vanquiſhed and defeated neere vnto *Cannes* by the *Carthaginians*: For there wee haue left the actions of *Italy*, and haue written in this Booke and the precedent, the proceeding of the ſame time in *Greece* and *Aſia*.

The Warre being ended, when the *Acheins* had made choice of *Tymoxines* for their head and Gouernour, reſuming their ancient kind of liuing, they gaue order by little and little for their Common-wealth: The like did the other Cities of *Morea*: So as they laboured their lands and reſtored their Games and Sacrifices to the Gods. All which things were in a manner forgotten by reaſon of the continuall warre. It is cer- B taine that as they of *Morea* among all other men are inclined to a milde and curteous kind of life, the which in precedent times they did not enioy: Being as *Euripides* ſaith, alwaies tormented by their neighbours, and without reſt. Yet it ſeemeth reaſonable for, for all they which tend to a Principallity, and haue their liberty in recommendation, haue continuall quarrels amongſt them, they tending to a ſuperintendency. The *Athenians* freed from the feare of the *Macedonians*, ſeemed to liue in great Liberty: but following the baſeneſſe of their Commaunders *Euriclides* and *Micion*, they payed Tribute in a manner to all Kings, and namely to *Ptolomy*, who ſoone after that time made Warre againſt the C *Egyptians*. For as hee had beene aſſiſted in the Warre againſt *Antiochus*, they preſently abandoned him: For that growne proud with the Battaile giuen neere vnto *Raphia*, they would no more obey the King, ſeeking only a Commaunder, as if they had beene able of themſelues to manage the Warre: the which was ſoone after done.

Tymoxines Chiefe of the *Acheins*.

The *Athenians* abandon *Ptolomy*.

Antiochus during Winter had leuied a great Army, and the Summer following paſt Mount *Taurus*: where making a League with King *Attalus*, he renewed the Warre againſt *Acheus*. And although the *Etoliens* found the peace good in the beginning, for that the Warre had taken a better end then they expected: Hauing choſen *Agelaus* of *Nanpactus* for their Chiefe Commaunded, by whoſe meanes the peace had enſu- D ed: yet after ſome time they blamed him much, complayning that by his meanes they had loſt the great profits they had drawne from Forreine parts: For that he had made a peace, not onely with ſome Prouinces, but generally with all *Greece*. But *Agelaus* bearing their blame with patience abated their fury: And ſo they were forced contrary to their nature to pacifie their Choler.

Antiochus paſſeth Mount *Taurus*.

The *Etoliens* blame *Agelaus* for making of the peace.

Scerdilaide vnder colour of money due vnto him, had ſpoild all thoſe he met, and (as we haue ſayd) had taken ſhippes of *Leucade*, and had rifled

The Exploits of *Scerdilaide*.

rifled a Towne in *Pelagonia*, which they call *Piſſea*, with diuers other Cities of *Daſſarete*, as *Antipatria*, *Chriſcudion*, and *Gertonte*: Hauing moreouer gained a good part of *Macedony*, aſwell by perſwaſions, as by force.

Philip after the peace concluded, hauing imbarqued himſelfe and his Army to ſaile thither, and to encounter *Scerdilaide*, he tooke land being wholy bent to recouer the ſayd Townes. Finally, when he had fully reſolued to make Warre againſt *Scerdilaide*, holding it neceſſary to Conquer *Sclauonia*, as well for other Enterprizes, as chiefly for his paſſage into *Italy*. The which is an aduice, whereof *Demetrius* laboured to make him ſuſceptible, ſaying that he had ſeene *Philip* do ſo in a Dreame. He did not preſſe this for any loue he bare him, but for the hatred he had to the *Romans*: Thinking by this meanes to recouer the Country about *Pharos*, from whence he had beene expell'd. *Philip* recouered all the ſayd Townes, approaching neere them with his Army: For in *Daſſarate*, hee tooke *Creone* and *Geronte*, and neere vnto the Fennes of *Lychnide*, *Enchelane*, *Cerece*, *Sation*, and *Boies*: and *Bantia* in the Prouince of the *Calicenins*: and towards the *Piſſantins*, and *Orgyſſe*. This done, he ſent his Army to Winter. It was the ſame Winter when as *Hannibal* had ſpoiled the beſt Countries of *Italy*, and paſt his Winter in *Daunia*, and the *Romans* making their Election, created *Gaius Terrentius*, and *Lucius Emilius* Conſuls.

Demetrius his aduice to *Philip*.

Whileſt that *Philip* ſpent the Winter, he drew together a hundred Veſſels, (which neuer King of *Macedony* had done before him) thinking it neceſſary to make prouiſion: Not ſo much for the Combate at Sea, (for that he did not hold himſelfe equall in forces to anſwere the *Romans*) as to paſſe his Army into *Italy*. Summer being come, and the *Macedonians* in-vred to the Oare, hee parts with his Army. At the ſame time likewiſe *Antiochus* paſt Mount *Tauris*. *Philip* then paſſing by the *Euripus* and *Malea*, came vnto the Countries which are about *Cephalenia* and *Leucade*. Where planting his Campe, he fortified it with Ditches and Palliſadoes, for hee feared much the Sea Army of the *Romans*. But when he was aduertiſed by his Spies, that it was neere vnto *Lylibeum*, his Courage increaſed, and hee proceeded in his Enterprize, taking his courſe directly to *Apolonia*. When as hee was neere thoſe Countries which are about the Riuer of *Loia*, which paſſeth neere to *Apolonia*, he fell into the ſame feare which doth many times befall Armies at Land: For ſome of his Veſſels which followed in the Reare, and had ſailed towards an Iland called *Saſon*, lying at the mouth of the *Ionian* gulfe, came by night to *Philip*, telling him that they had ſpoken with ſome of the *Sycillian* Sea, who aduertiſed them, that they had left the *Roman* Quinqueremes about *Rhegium*, bending their courſe to *Apolonia* and *Scerdilaide*. *Philip* immagining that the Army was not farre off, was amazed: And weighing Anchor retired with great feare and diſorder, hee came the next day to *Cephalenia*, ſailing continually by night: Where aſſuring himſelfe he ſtayed ſome time, making ſhew that his returne was for ſome preſſing affaires in *Morea*.

Philips enterprize againſt *Sclauonia*.

Philip leaues his Enterprize for feare.

It

It hapned that this was a falſe Allarum : For you muſt vnderſtand that *Scerdilaide* aduertiſed of the great multitude of Veſſels which *Philip* had drawne together in Winter, and fearing his comming by Sea, had obtained ſuccours from the *Romans* by his Embaſſadours : So as they ſent him ten ſhips out of their Fleete which was at *Lilybeum*, the which paſſing neere vnto *Rhegium* were diſcouered. If the King had not beene amazed without reaſon, he might well haue vanquiſht them, and performed his Enterprize againſt *Sclauonia*: And the rather for that the *Romans* had receiued a wonderfull loſſe neere vnto *Cannes* againſt *Hannibal*, where they were in a manner quite ruined. But being then terrified without cauſe, he made a ſafe flight into *Macedony*, and remained infamous.

Succours ſent by the *Romans* to *Scerdilaide*.

At the ſame time *Pruſias* did an Act worthy of memory : For when as the *Gaules* whom *Attalus* had drawne out of *Europe* into *Aſia* for the Warre of *Achæus*, had abandoned him for the cauſes aboue mentioned, they ſpoil'd all the Townes of *Helleſpont* with too much auarice and cruelty. And when in the end they had beſieged the Townes of the *Elienſes*, then they of *Alexandria* neere vnto *Troade*, performed an Act worthy of memory : for ſending *Themiſte* againſt them with foure thouſand men, they not onely raiſ'd the ſiege of the *Elienſes*, but chaſt all the *Gaules* from *Troade*, aſwell cutting off their Victuals, as diſappointing their deſſignes. The *Gaules* hauing taken the Towne of *Ariſbe* in the Country of the *Abideniens*, ſought to ſurprize all their Neighbours. Againſt whom *Pruſias* was ſent with an Army, and giuing them Battaile he defeated them, killing women and Children, without any regard of Age or Sexe, and abandoned the ſpoile of their Campe to his Souldiers. By this meanes *Helleſponte* was freed from great feare, leauing for the future a good example to *Barbarians*, not to paſſe ſo eaſily out of *Europe* into *Aſia*. Theſe things were done at that time in *Greece* and *Aſia*.

Pruſias defeats the *Gaules*.

In regard of *Italy*, many Townes yeilded to the *Carthaginians*, after the defeat of the *Romans* at the Battaile of *Cannes*. Finally, we will make an end here of the Hiſtories of that time, ſeeing we haue ſufficiently ſhewed in what Eſtate *Aſia* and *Greece* were in the hundred and fortieth Olympiade. And hauing briefly related them in the following Booke, we will turne our Diſcourſe to the Gouernment of the *Romans*, as we had reſolued in the beginning.

The *end of the* Fifth *Booke of* Polybius.

The

THE SIXT BOOKE OF the Hiſtory of POLYBIVS.

Concerning the diuers Formes of Gouernment.

THe Declaration hath beene eaſie, by the which the Actions paſt are related, and the iudgement giuen of the future, touching the frequent increaſe of the *Grecians* Common-weales, and how againe they haue many times felt a totall alteration. Wee may without any trouble deliuer things knowne, and eaſily coniecture of the future by the precedent. In regard of the *Romans*, it is difficult to iudge of the preſent, for the variety of their Gouernment: Or to fore-tell the future, for the ignorance of the Actions, which (as proper to that Nation) haue beene in old time decided in publique and in priuate. VVherfore if any one will exactly know the diuerſities, he had need of an excellent iudgement and conſideration of Actions. It is true, that they which by inſtruction would make vs know things, propound three kinds of Gouernment: Calling the firſt a Royalty, the ſecond Ariſtocracia, and the third Democracia. Yet in my opinion wee may with reaſon doubt of theſe things, whither they propound them vnto vs ſoly, or better then the other: For it ſeemes they are ignorant of eyther. It

A diuiſion of Gouernement.

is

is apparent that, that Gouernement ſhould be held the beſt, which is compoſed of all the afore-ſayd properties; whereof wee haue made proofe not only by reaſons, but alſo in effect: For that *Lycurgus* hath firſt eſtabliſhed the *Lacedemonians* Common-wealth in that manner. Neither muſt we thinke that theſe Gouernments are alone: For wee haue ſeene ſome Monarchiall and Tyrrannous, who although they differ much from a Royall, yet they ſeeme to haue ſomething common with them: the which our Monarches imagine, vſurping with all their power the name of King. Moreouer the Olygarchicall Common-
A weales, which haue beene in great number, ſeeme to haue ſome correſpondency with the Ariſtocraticall; although they differ much. The like we muſt iudge of a Democracy. And to prooue it true, it will be apparent hereby.

We muſt not hold a Monarchy for a Raigne: but onely that which is voluntary, and gouerned more by a Common conſent then by feare and violence. Neither muſt we hold euery Olygarchy for Ariſtocracy; but that only which according to the Election is mannaged by the wiſeſt and beſt men, neither muſt that be allowed for a *Democracy*, where as all the Commons haue power to do what they wil and pleaſe: but where as the auncient cuſtome and vſe is to honour the Gods, to do
B good vnto their Parents, to reuerence old men, and to obey the Lawes. Then they will call a Common-weale Democraticall, when as the Commons ſhall accept of that which many allow of. Wherefore we muſt ſay that there are ſixe kinds of Gouernments: We haue already ſpoken of three Common to all the World; The other three are neere vnto them, that is to ſay a Monarchy, Olygarchy, and Ochlocracy. The firſt whereof is a Monarchy, riſing naturally without any eſtabliſhment. From whence doth grow a Royall Gouernment, by order and good direction. But when the Royall changeth into its neighbour vices, as into Tyranny, then by the abolliſhing thereof an Ariſtocracy
C takes its being: the which naturally changeth into Olygarchia. And when the Commons reuenge with fury the Gouernours iniuſtice, then growes a Democracia. For the outrages and iniquities whereof, in time it prooues an Ochlocracia.

A true Monarchy.

A true Ariſtocracy.

A Democracy.

Sixe kinds of Gouernments.

A Monarchical Gouernment of one alone by feare.

A man may vnderſtand that theſe things plainly which I haue ſayd, are true, if he knowes the beginning and the change of euery Gouernment according to the courſe of Nature. For whoſoeuer ſhall conſider either of them a part, and how they grow, may alſo iudge of their increaſe, force, and alteration; and when and how the one ends in the
D other. I haue beene of opinion that this kinde of Diſputation and Expoſition agreed well with the *Roman* Gouernment: For that by a certaine courſe of Nature, it hath taken from the beginning its inſtitution and increaſe. Peraduenture theſe alterations and changes of Gouernement from the one to the other, are more exactly handled by *Plato*, and ſome other Phyloſophers. But for that they are diſputed by them in many and diuers manners, it happens that few men vnderſtand them. Wherefore wee will indeauour to comprehend them, and ſet them downe by certaine Articles, ſo as (according to our opinion) they may be

Ochlocracia is a Gouernment of the mutiny of the people.

be of conſequence for the profite of the Hiſtory, and all mens vnderſtanding. And if there be found for the preſent ſome defect in regard of the generall and Vniuerſall declaration, the reaſons which ſhalbe hereafter deliuered in perticular, will repaire it. What Principles then ſhall I aſſigne for gouernment? From whence ſhall I ſay they take their firſt growth and being? When mortallity fell vpon mankind by inundation of Waters, or by peſtifferous Calamities, or by barrenneſſe of the Land, or by other ſuch like cauſes (as we haue vnderſtood hath beene, and in reaſon may often be hereafter) all Inſtitutions and Artes were then loſt: And when againe the multitude of men hath by ſucceſſion of time taken increaſe, as it were from ſome remainder of ſeede; and that in regard of the weakneſſe of their Natures they gathered together, euen as of Cuſtome (as it is reaſonable) other creatures doe according to their kinds, it is then neceſſary that he obtaine the Principallity and Empire which is of greateſt force of body, and of moſt vnderſtanding. The which wee ſee happen in other kindes of bruite Beaſts, (which we muſt hold for a moſt certaine worke of nature) among the which wee ſee the ſtrongeſt and of moſt ſpirit march before, as Buls, Stags, Cockes, and ſuch like.

The beginning of gouerne. ments.

A

It is therefore likely that a principallity is of that kind, and that the courſe of mens liues is ſo gouerned, aſſembling together after the manner of Beaſts, and following thoſe which are the moſt ſtrong and powerfull, to whom force is the end of their Principallity, which wee may with reaſon call Monarchy. But when as with Time there grows from theſe Aſſemblies a Company and Cuſtome, then a Royalty takes her Birth: And then Men beginne to thinke of Honeſty and Iuſtice, and of their contraries: Such is the manner of the beginning and fountaine of the ſayd Gouernments. As all men haue a deſire of a mutuall and naturall Coniunction, and that from thence proceedes the generation of Children, it is manifeſt that when any one of thoſe which hath beene bred and brought vp, doth not acknowledge nor yeild the like to thoſe which haue bred them, but contrariwiſe preſume to do them outrage in word or deede, then they which are preſent are offended: as knowing their care, trouble, and paines which haue ingendred them, and with what diligence they haue bred vp their Children. For as Mankinde is more excellent then all other Creatures, to whom is giuen vnderſtanding and Reaſon, it is not fit to paſſe ouer the ſaid diſorder, after the manner of other Creatures: And that contrariwiſe the aſſiſtants ought to obſerue and reprehend ſuch an Action; foreſeeing the future, and making their account that the like may happen vnto themſelues.

Principallity or Monarchy.

A Royalty.

B

C

D

Moreouer, if at any time hee which hath receiued comfort and aide from any one in his Aduerſity, doth not acknowledge his Benefactor, but ſeekes to preiudice him in any ſort, it is manifeſt that they which ſhall ſee it, will be grieued and diſcontented: So as their Neighbour ſhall mooue them to pitty, thinking of themſelues as of their Neighbour. Wherefore then doth riſe a certaine thought of Vertue, and a conſideration of the duty which euery man muſt obſerue, which is the

be-

beginning and end of Iuſtice. In like manner if any one amongſt the reſt takes reuenge vppon the moſt furious Beaſts, withſtanding their force, it is reaſonable that ſuch a one, ſhould purchaſe among the people an acknowledgment of affection and Commaund: And he that ſhould doe the contrary ſhould both wrong his honour and good reputation. Whence againe the conſideration of infamy and honeſty, and of their differe ce takes it birth: Whereof the one merrits (as commodious and profitable) to be loued and followed, and the other to bee ſhunn'd and auoided. When as any one hauing the principallity and the greateſt power, vſeth the afore-ſayd things by the aduice of many, and that hee ſeemed to impart them to the Subiects, according vnto euery mans merite: Then fearing no more any violence, and hauing a good opinion of him, they ſubmit themſelues voluntary vnto his obedience, and defend his Gouernment: And if hee prooues in all reſpects worthy of honour, with one accord they take reuenge and fight againſt thoſe which are Enemies to his power.

By this meanes by little and little, he makes himſelfe King of a Monarch, when as reaſon ſucceedes in the Empire, in ſteed of rage and force. This is the firſt Contemplation for men, according vnto nature of Honeſty and Iuſtice, and of their contraries; it is the true beginning and fountaine of a Royalty. They doe not onely maintaine their Principallity and gouernment, but many times leaue it to their poſterity, hoping that their Children bred vp vnder ſuch men will be of the ſame will and diſpoſition. But if it happens at any time that the poſterity of former Kings diſpleaſeth them, then they make an Election of Princes and Kings, without any reſpect of corporall forces, ayming onely at the differences of iudgement and reaſon, making tryall of the diuerſity of both by the workes themſelues.

Wherefore leauing the ancient cuſtome, they which haue once ſeazed vpon the Crowne, and haue gotten this power, they fortifie certaine places with walls, and poſſeſſe the Countrey as well for the ſafety, as to ſupply their Subiects neceſſities abundantly. Whileſt that Kings were carefull of theſe things, they were free from ſlaunder and enuy: For that they differed not much from others in their Apparrell or Diet, obſeruing a courſe of life conformable to others, with a conuerſation and familiarity common to many. But when as they (who by ſucceſſion and a prerogatiue of race, are come vnto the gouernment) haue already the preparations which ſerue for ſafety, and thoſe which are more then neceſſary for foode: then following their appetites, by reaſon of the great abundance of all things, they thinke it fitting for Princes to bee more richly attired then their Subiects, and to be intreated more delicately with diuerſity of meates, and to conuerſe without contradiction with other women then their owne. Hence ſprings enuy and ſcandall with hatred and implacable rage: Finally the royalty changeth into Tyranny.

The beginnng of this ruine, and the conſpiracy which is made againſt Princes, growes not from the wicked, but is practiſed by the beſt and moſt reſolute men, who cannot endure ſuch outrages and inſolen- Tyranny.

cies of Princes. And withall the Commons hauing found a head to make reſiſtance, ioyne with him for the afore-ſaid cauſes againſt their Prince: and then the former of a Royalty and a Monarchy is wholly ruined, ſo as by conſequence an Ariſtocracia muſt take its beginning and
Ariſtocracia. courſe. Then the people as it were by a thankefull acknowledgment, ordaine theſe ſuppreſſors of Tyrants to be their Heads and Commanders, and they ſubmit themſelues vnto them. When as they haue with good zeale imbraced the charge of this gouernment, they haue nothing in ſo great recommendation, as that which concernes the publique good: prouiding with great care and diligence for any thing that may A touch the peoples profit, as well priuate as publique. But when the Children enioy the ſame power from their Fathers, and haue not experience of aduerſities, nor of the equality and politique liberty, being withall bred vp from their youth in the authority and prerogatiue of their Fathers, they change an Ariſtocracy into Olygarchia, ſome abandoning themſelues to a vitious and inſatiable deſire of couetouſneſſe and getting: Others to drunkenneſſe, and by conſequence to exceſſe in Banquets: ſome to Adulteries, and forcing of Boyes: Finally, hauing done vnto the people that which wee haue formerly ſpoken of, it is reaſon they ſhould conceiue the like ruine in the end that did befall the B Tyrants.
Olygarchia.

Beleeue me, if any one obſerues the enuy and hatred which the Cittizens beare them, or dare ſay or doe any thing againſt the chiefe Commanders, he ſhall preſently haue all the people ready to giue him aide and aſſiſtance in his Enterprize. And when they haue murthered thoſe, they dare not chooſe a new King, fearing the iniuſtice of the former, neither dare they truſt their Common-weale in the gouernment of many, the memory being yet ſo freſh of the baſeneſſe of the precedent: ſo as their onely hope reſting in themſelues, they retire, changing the
Democracia. Olygarchicall gouernment into a Democracia, and taking vpon them- C ſelues the care and charge of the Common-weale. It is true that in the meane time ſome of thoſe haue eſcaped, which had taſted of the preheminence and power: who taking delight and pleaſure in the preſent eſtate of the Common-weale, make great eſteeme of equality and liberty.

But when as young men ſucceed, and that the Democracia is deliuered to poſterity, (they ſtriue in making little accompt of equality and liberty) to be greater then the reſt: whereinto they chiefly fall which haue great wealth. When as they affect command, and cannot attaine vnto it of themſelues, they begin to diſpoſe of their riches, and to D corrupt the Commons with that baite. A great number being corrupted by their bounty, by reaſon of a ſilly Couetouſneſſe of preſents, then a Democracia is ruined and changed into violence, and a ſeditious eſtate of policy. For the Commons hauing beene accuſtomed to liue by the goods of their Neighbours, make a mutiny, taking a reſolute and audacious man to be their Head, who for his pouerty cannot in reaſon aſpire to the honours of the Common-weale, and then they aſſemble together, and fall to murthers and ruines, and to ſpoile and diuide

diuide the Land amongst them, vntill their fury being pacified, they finde againe a new Lord and Monarch. Behold the reuolution of Gouernments, and the prouidence of Nature, according vnto which the estate of the Common Wealth, changeth and re-changeth, and makes the same returne. Which things if any one knowes not plainely, hee will be ignorant of the time in fore-telling the future Estate of the Common. But he will erre often, for that a Gouernement increaseth and decreaseth where into it is so transferr'd, if without great iudgement he giues his aduice. We will likewise come to the knowledge of the Institution, increase, and vigour, and likewise of the future change of things in the *Roman* Common-Wealth, according to this knowledge.

A

And if it happen that any other Gouernment hath (as wee haue already sayd) from its beginning this Institution and increase, by the course of Nature it wilbe changed into its contrary: The which may be well obserued by that which followes. Wee will deliuer in few words the *Nemotheſia* of *Lycurgus*, which shall not be impertinent to our Discourse. Wherefore when he had considered all decent things, and how they are necessarily perfect by a certaine Nature; he hath also obserued how euery forme of Gouernment is variable, which is estabiished simply according vnto a power, so as suddainly it degenerates into its neighbour Vice, and consequently by Nature. For as rust consumes Iron, and wormes Wood, being naturall vnto them, so as although they can preserue themselues from all exteriour outrages, yet they are corrupted by these, as borne with them: So as according to Nature there is a certaine mallice growing and adhering vnto euery Common-wealth: As to a Royalty there is a Monarchy: To an Aristocracy an Oligarchia; and to a Democracia, a Chirocracia: So as it must needes follow, that in succession of time all the fore-sayd change by the said meanes.

B

Chirocracia a Gouernment by the mutiny of the people.

Lycurgus hauing fore-seene these things, hath ordained a Common-wealth, which was neither simple, nor vnder the absolute power of one man: vniting all the Vertues and properties of the most commendable Gouernments, to the end that nothing in it should take a greater increase then was needfull; nor degenerate into the neerest vice: And that their forces by a mutuall restraint should not bend or decline to any part, nor any thing therein ruined: Finally, that the Common-weale should remaine of an equall weight for euer, according to reason and equallity, and that by this meanes Loyalty should be restrained from Arrogancy, by the feare of the people, for that a iust portion of the Common-weale was allotted vnto them. And againe, the Commons durst not disdaine the Kings, for the respect of the most aged: Who being chosen by the Graueſt, addicted themselues continually to equity: So as the weakest party was maintained in its Customes, and was strong and to be feared by the Succour and aide of the Senators. The Common-weale being thus established, he hath preserued the liberty of the *Lacedemonians* longer then hath come to our knowledge. When he had fore-seene the Fountaine and sourse of all of them;

C

D

and what did vſually happen, he eſtabliſhed the ſayd Common-wealth with out danger.

The *Romans*. In regard of the *Romans*, they haue done the like in the Inſtitution of their Common-wealth, not by one reaſon, but as chooſing that which ſeemed beſt vnto them, being made wiſe by the euent of things, by many Combats and alterations: And by this meanes they haue attained vnto the ſame ende which *Lycurgus* preſcribed: ſetling a better forme of a Common-wealth then wee haue in *Greece*. Finally, hee that will iudge of Writers with reaſon, doeth not iudge of matters as they are omitted, but according to thoſe which are mentioned. And A if he finds any thing falſe, he muſt conceiue that omiſſion hath beene by ignorance: but if all which they haue ſpoken be true, let him then grant that what they haue omitted, hath beene done for ſome cauſe, and not through ignorance.

Theſe three parts, (whereof wee haue formerly ſpoken,) rul'd in that Common-wealth. They were all eſtabliſhed and ordered ſo equally, and proportionably by them, as no man, no not the inhabitants themſelues, could euer ſay whether this Common-weale were Ariſtocraticall, Democraticall, or Monarchicall. The which hath not happned without reaſon: For if wee obſerue the power of the Conſuls, it appeareth plainly to bee Monarchicall and Royall: and if that of the B Senators, it ſeemes to bee Ariſtocraticall: But if wee duly conſider the popular power which conſiſts in many, it is apparently Democraticall. In like manner, no man can ſay by what part the forme of the Common-Wealth was then guided and gouerned, except in ſome things.

The Office of the Conſuls. The Conſuls being preſent at *Rome*, haue the Gouernement of all the publique Affaires, before they draw the Army to fielde. To whom all the other Princes obey and are ſubiect, (except the Tribunes of the people) appointing Lieutenants in the Senate, from whom they demaund aduice in preſſing Affaires: moreouer they haue the Charge C and power to make Edicts. Finally, they haue the care of all that which concernes the publique Affaires, which the Commons are to decide. It is their duty to call the people together, and to pronounce their Edicts, and to iudge of the plurality of Voices. Finally, they haue the power and Authority to prepare for Warre, and generally of all the Gouernement which is vnder the Heauens, to conclude, they haue in a manner a moſt ſtately and Royall authority. It is lawfull for them to diſpoſe of their Allies in what they ſhall thinke fitting for matters of Warre. To appoint and ordaine Captaines of Thouſands, to leuy an Army, and to chooſe the moſt able and ſufficient. D It is alſo in their power to puniſh all their Subiects whereſoeuer they remaine: and to diſpoſe of the publique Treaſure as they ſhall think good, being to that end followed by the Queſtor: who preſently obeyes their Commaundment: So as he which ſhall conſider this part of the Common-weale, hee will ſay with reaſon that it is Monarchicall and moſt Royall.

Finally, if it happen that any of things which wee haue ſpoken, or

ſhall

ſhall ſpeake, ſhall change preſently or hereafter, they may not in any ſort derogate from our opinion. Next after, the Senate hath the ouer-ſight of the publique Treaſure: For they may diſpoſe of the Reuenewes and Expences. It is not in the power of the Queſtors to imploy mony, no not in perticular Affaires, without their order, but for the Conſuls. Finally, the greateſt and heauieſt expence, as that which many times the Queſtors are accuſtomed to imploy, at the returne of the Quinquinall, or ſpace of fiue yeares for the repairing of publique Buildings, the Senate decrees: And whatſoeuer is allowed the Cenſors, depends thereon. Of all offences committed throughout *Italy* which deſerue a publique puniſhment, as Treaſon, Conſpiracy, Poyſoning, and Murthers by ſecret practiſes, the puniſhment belongs vnto the Senate. The duty of the Senate.

And moreouer if any priuate perſon, or any Citty hath neede of thankes or blame, or of ſuccours and aſſiſtants, the Senate hath the whole charge. Finally, if they bee to ſend an Embaſſie into any part out of *Italy*; to reconcile ſome, or to admoniſh them, be it to Commaund any thing, or to declare Warre, the Senate hath the power. In like manner when as Embaſſadours come to *Rome*, the Senate giues order for their entertainment, and what anſwere ſhalbe made. Finally, the Commons haue no hand in all that which wee haue ſayd: So as whatſoeuer thou ſhalt ſee done in the abſence of the Conſull, will ſeeme to bee an Ariſtocraticall gouernment: The which many *Grecians* and Kings imagine, for that in a manner all their affaires are vnder the Authority of the Senate, without any contradiction whatſoeuer. For this cauſe ſome one will demaund with reaſon, what portion of the Common-weale remaines to the people? Seeing that the Senate hath the Gouernment of things, which wee haue deliuered in perticular, and that it diſpoſeth (which is much more) of the Reuenewes and publique expences: And that moreouer the Conſuls making Warre without the Citty, haue a Royall power ouer the preparations, and all other affaires which are in the Campe. And yet there is a part reſerued for the people, the which is of greater eſteeme. For they haue the authority of honours and puniſhments: wherein is contained the power and gouernment, and finally the generall life of men. The authority of the people.

Beleeue me, there is nothing that concernes the Subiects, that can be ordered by reaſon, by ſuch as haue not the knowledge of this difference, or hauing it doe abuſe it. What reaſon were there that the Wicked ſhould be equall in Honour with the Good? The people therefore iudge and many times diuerſly, when as the iniuſtice which they are to puniſh is of great conſequence, and namely in thoſe which haue had great and Honourable charges. They alone condemne to death: Wherein there are ſome actions paſt worthy of praiſe and memory: For vſually they ſuffer thoſe that are accuſed of a Capitall or haynous crime, to retire in the ſight of all the World, although there remaine an opinion in ſome which confirmes the iudgement and Sentence, by the which a free and Voluntary Baniſhment is taken quite away.

Towns for the retreat of ſuch as are voluntarily Baniſhed.

Fugitiues are in ſafety in the Townes of *Naples*, *Preneſte*, *Tiuoly*, and in other Confederates. Finally, the people giue Principalities to the moſt ſufficient: which in a Common-wealth is a goodly reward of honeſty. They haue alſo Authority to confirme the Lawes: and Peace and Warre lies in their will: Iudging of the Succours, Reconcilliation, and Accords of their Allies. Finally, the people confirme theſe things in approouing or diſannulling them: So as now ſome may iuſtly ſay, that the greateſt part of the Common-weale is in the peoples hands, and that it is Democraticall.

The mutuall knitting together of three Common-weales.

We haue deliuered how the diuers formes of Common-weales, are diuided among them: Wee muſt now ſhew how they may aſſiſt and giue comfort one vnto another. When the Conſull hath receiued his power, and drawne an Army to Field, hee ſeemes a King, yet hee hath neede of the people and Senate, to bring his reſolutions to an end, without the which hee cannot poſſibly finiſh his Affaires. It is certayne that hee hath neede to furniſh and prouide Victualls, pay, and munition for the Armies. But it is not poſſible to furniſh him with Corne, Apparrell, nor pay, without the will of the Senate: So as the attempts of the Conſulls are of neceſſity made fruitleſſe, if the Senate doth willingly faile him or hinder him. A

By this meanes it is in the reſolution of the Senate to make the Enterprizes of the Commaunders effectuall or not. It is alſo in their power to ſend another Commaunder when the yeare is paſt, or continue his Authority that doth enioy it. Moreouer the Senate may make his Exploits ſeeme great and admirable, and augment and increaſe his Actions, in like manner they may blemiſh and diſgrace them. In regard of that which they call Triumphes, by the which a certaine viſible ſhewe of their Actions is brought by the Conſulls to the view of the people, they dare not attempt them, as it is fitting, neyther (to ſpeake plainly) bring them to an end, vnleſſe the Senate allow of them, and furniſh the charge. The conſent of the people is wonderfull neceſſary, be they neuer ſo farre off, for it reſts in them, (as wee haue formerly ſayd) to confirme or diſannull all Accords and Leagues. But behold another caſe: For after their Gouernement is ended, they are forced to yeild and ſubmit their actions vnto the iudgement of the Common people, ſo as they ought not to bee careleſſe of the loue and good liking of the Senate and vulgar ſort. B C

Although the power of the Senate be very great, yet they muſt of force haue reſpect vnto the multitude of publique affaires, and drawe them to their ends and intentions: Neyther can they put generall and great doubts in Execution, nor puniſh crimes committed againſt the Common-weale, if what the Court ordaynes bee not confirmed by the Common people. Matters which concerne the Senate it ſelfe, are of the ſame condition. For if any one propounds a Law, by the which it doeth in any ſort abridge the Authority and power of the Senate, or ouer-throwes their Prerogatiue and Honour, or purſues them in their liues, all theſe things are to bee done by the power of the people. D

It is

It is likewiſe certaine that the Senate cannot execute any of their reſolutions, nor hold a Councell, nor aſſemble themſelues, if any one Tribune of the Commons oppoſeth. The Tribunes muſt alwaies doe according to the opinion of the people, and obſerue their will. In regard of theſe things the Senate feares the people, and obſerues them: In like manner the people are bound vnto the Senate, and forced to winne them: For as there are many Farmes which the Cenſors diſpoſe of throughout all *Italy*, for the great multitude of publique repairations, and many places of Riuers, Pooles, Gardens, and Mines, and finally all other things of that nature, which are vnder the *Roman* Empire: they are all mannaged by the people, hiring all the Rents and profits which grow thereby.

Some take their Leaſes from the Cenſors, to whom others aſſociate themſelues, others become ſuerties for the Farmers: and ſome bring the Inuentory of the goods into the Treaſury. Of all which things the Senate hath the knowledge. For it reſts in them to prolong the Terme, and to graunt ſome abatement, if there hath beene any loſſe: Finally, to remit the whole Debt, if there hath happened any impoſſibility. There are infinite caſes wherein the Senate may helpe, or hurt, but thoſe much, which hire the publique Rents, whereof the Senate hath the charge. They alſo name the Iudges in moſt of their Conuentions as well publique as priuate, as farre as the greatneſſe of the cauſe ſhall require. Wherefore relying vpon their wiſdome, and fearing the vncertainty of their affaires, they carefully obſerue the inſtances and oppoſitions of the Senates aduice. They doe not willingly oppoſe againſt the attempts of the Conſuls: For that all in generall (whereſoeuer the *Roman* Empire doth extend) are vnder their Command, as well in priuate as in publique. As therefore the power of either of theſe is ſuch, as they may mutually bring profit or preiudice, yet they are ſo fitly vnited againſt all croſſes and diſaſters, as we cannot finde a better forme of a Common-wealth.

For when as any common terrour ſhall preſent it ſelfe, and that they are forced to ſuccor one another, the forces of this Commonwealth are ſo great, as there is not any thing wanting, neither doth any man faile, in his Charge, but all tend ioyntly to bring to a good end that which hath beene reſolued: and that whatſoeuer hath beene ordained, may not be delayed beyond the opportunity of time. Finally, all imploy themſelues as well in publique as in priuate to finiſh the Enterprize. Wherefore they haue this peculiar vnto them, that their force is vnreſiſtable, and they accompliſh whatſoeuer they reſolue. Againe, if (freed from the publique feare of Strangers) they abandon themſelues to proſperity and abundance of wealth, which they enioy by meanes of their good fortunes, then vſually they grow inſolent and proud, allured by flatteries, and giuen to delights and idleneſſe. Then may they eaſily ſee how the Common-wealth ſtudies to helpe it ſelfe: For when as any one of the parts will be Miſtreſſe, and rule more then is fitting, it is manifeſt, that neither of them being newly erected, according to our diſcourſe, the Enterprize of either of them may be mutually reſtrained

and hindred, ſo as none of them can fly off, nor aduance it ſelfe, either of them continue in their charge, as well by an oppoſition to their Enterprize, as through a preſent feare of puniſhment.

A

A Parcell of the Sixt Booke

touching the Order of the *Roman* Armies.

WHen the *Romans* haue choſen the Conſuls, they B appoint the Tribunes of the Souldiers: that is to ſay, fourteene of thoſe which haue followed the Warres fiue yeares, and ten others which haue continued ten yeares. Among the which there are foure on Horſe-backe, and ſixe on Foote: who muſt of neceſſity goe vntill they come to the Age of ſixe and forty yeares: except ſuch whoſe eſtate doth not amount to aboue ſeauen pounds ſterling: For thoſe they leaue and reſerue them for the Sea. But if the affaires be vrgent and preſſing, the Foote-men are C bound to ſerue twenty yeares. In regard of the Citty-magiſtrate, no man can execute it before he hath ſerued ten yeares.

When the Conſuls ordaine a leuie, they make Proclamation by the Trumpet, on what day all the the *Romans* of ſufficient age to beare Armes, to meete; the which they doe yearely. When the prefixed day is come, and that all the able men are come into the Citty, and aſſembled before the Capitole, the youngeſt Tribunes diuide themſelues into foure parts, as the People and Conſuls haue ordained: For that they make the generall and firſt diuiſion of their Bands into foure Legions. Then the foure firſt choſen are appointed to the firſt Legion, the three D following to the ſecond, the foure ſubſequent to the third, and the three laſt to the fourth. They ordaine the two firſt of the moſt ancient to the firſt Legion, the three next to them of the ſecond, the two following to the third, and to the fourth the three laſt of the moſt ancient. When the diuiſion of the Tribunes hath beene thus made, ſo as all the Legions haue their Captaines equally, they caſt lots vpon euery Race, being ſet apart one from another, right againſt either Legion: And they call their Company, moſt commonly fallen by lot: out of which

which they chooſe foure Young men of like conſtitution. After which the Tribunes of the firſt Legion make the firſt choice: Then the ſecond, the third, and the fourth laſt of all. And againe, vpon the preſenting of other foure, they of the ſecond chooſe firſt, and ſo the reſt in order: They of the firſt begin the laſt. Then of the foure which are preſented after theſe, the Tribunes of the third Legion chooſe the firſt, and they of the ſecond are the laſt. By this meanes making alwaies this election by portion, and as it were by a kind of circulation, it fals out that to euery Legion the men are equally diuided: The manner of the Tribunes in the choiſe of the Legions.

A When they haue choſen this number, (the which they doe to the end that euery Legion may conſiſt ſometimes of foure thouſand two hundred Foote, ſometimes of fiue thouſand if the danger ſeemes great) and that the diuiſion is thus made, they were wont to muſter their Horſmen after the Leginaries. At this day they are the firſt, by an election of the richeſt made by the Cenſor, of which they appoint three hundred to euery Legion. The leuie being thus made, euery Tribune drawes together his Legion, and in chooſing one of the moſt ſufficient, they take an Oath from him to obey his Captaines faithfully, and to execute their Commandments: Then the reſt ſweare particularly in
B paſſing, teſtifying by a ſigne, that they are ready to doe all things as their firſt man had done.

At the ſame inſtant the Conſull aduertiſeth the Gouernours of Townes allied in *Italy*, from whom they thinke good to draw ſuccours, acquainting them with the number of men, the day, and the place when they ſhould meete which ſhould be leuied. Who after they haue made their leuie accordingly, they ſend them hauing taken an Oath, and giuen them a Commander and a Treaſurer. But when the Tribunes at *Rome* haue taken the Oath of the Souldiers, they ſend them backe, appointing a day and a place to euery Legion when they ought to come
C without Armes. When they are drawne together on the day appointed, they make choice of the youngeſt amongſt them, and weakeſt in their eſtates, to carry Iauelings or Darts: Then ſuch as are more aduanced in yeares, they carry Armes which they call forked Darts or Iauelings: And they which are ſtrong of Body and more aged, are made principals: But the Triarij are choſen out of the moſt ancient. So many differences of Names and Ages are among the *Romans*, and likewiſe of Armes in euery Legion. They diuide them in ſuch ſort, as the Triarij are the moſt ancient, to the number of ſixe hundred: The principals twelue hundred, to whom the forked Iauelings are equall: The reſt which are younger, are light Iauelings. If the Legion con-
D ſiſts of a great number, they diuide it proportionably, except the Triarij, whoſe number is alwaies the ſame. The diuiſion of Souldiers in euery Legion.

The youngeſt are bound to carry a Sword, a light Iaueling, and a Buckler. This Buckler is firme as well for its art, as for the greatneſſe, ſufficient to defend the body. It is round, hauing three foote in Diameter. The Souldiers haue moreouer a light Head peece, whereon doth hang a Wolues skin, or ſome ſuch thing, which ſerues for a couering and marke, to the end that euery one may be knowne by his Captaine being The forme of a Buckler.

The light Iauelling. being in fight, doing his duty or not. The light Iaueling is moſt commonly three foote long, of the bigneſſe of a mans finger, with an Iron head a good ſpanne long, and is ſo ſlender and ſharpe, that vpon the firſt caſt it muſt of neceſſity bend, and ſo is made vnprofitable to caſt againe: Otherwiſe they will ſerue the one as well as the other. Then they command thoſe which are more aged, whom they call forked Iauelings to be armed.

The forme of a Target. The *Romans* Armes are firſt a Target two foote and a halfe broad, and bending vpon the ſuperficies, and foure foote in length: The greateſt hath foure fingers more, and is made of two boards glued together with A Oxe-glew: And is couered with a Calues skinne, or that of a Goate, or ſome ſuch like Beaſt. All the circumference hath a hoope of Iron, the better to beare off the blowes of a Sword, and that leauing it on the ground, it may not weare. In the midſt there is a Boſſe of Iron, which beares off all blowes, and the violence of Stones; of long Pertwiſans, and of all manner of Darts be they neuer ſo violent. The Sword which The Spaniſh Sword. they call Spaniſh, and hath two edges with a very ſharpe point, hangs commodiouſly with the Target vpon his thigh. It chargeth home for that it is ſtrong and ſtiffe. Moreouer, they haue two ſpits, a head-peece of Braſſe, and greaues for the defence of their leggs, amongſt B the which ſpits, ſome are great, others ſlender: The ſtrongeſt which are long and round, haue three inches in Diameter: Thoſe which are ſquare, haue the ſides equall: The ſlendreſt are like vnto the leſſer forked Darts, which they carry with the ſaid Armes: The ſtaffe whereof doth not much exceede the length of foure foote and a halfe: and they arme them with a head of Iron, equall in length to the ſtaffe, the which they ioyne ſo cloſe with ſo many ligatures and croſſe-nailes, as they neuer diſſolue vntill the Iron breake: although at the neather end it be a finger and a halfe thicke, where it ioynes vnto the ſtaffe, ſo carefull they are in ſetting them together. C

Beſides all theſe things, they are adorned with a Crowne of feathers, with three red or blacke feathers ſtanding right vp almoſt a foote and a halfe, the which ſet vpon the top of the head, together with his other Armes, make a man ſeeme twice as big, and by this meanes of a goodly appearance, and terrible to the Enemy. Others taking a peece of Braſſe a ſpan broad, which they lay vpon their ſtomackes, which they terme the guard of their hearts, are compleatly armed. But they which are held to haue aboue a hundred and fifty pounds ſterling in their eſtates, take for the defence of their body, with their other Armes, ſhirts of maile. The Principals haue the ſame kind of Armes, and in like man- D ner the Triarij, but in ſtead of ſpits, they carry forked Iauelings. They chooſe the heads of Bands our of all theſe ſorts, except the youngeſt) The manner of chooſing the heads of Bands. to the number of ten, of the moſt ableſt men: Beſides the which they make another Election of ten others, whom they call heads of Ordonance. Among the which the firſt choſen is admitted to Councell. Theſe againe chooſe as many Lieutenants, Theſe things done, they diuide with the Captaines euery age into ten parts, except the light Iauelings: appointing to euery Band two Captaines and two Lieutenants of thoſe which

which haue beene choſen. In regard of the light Iauelings or Darts which remaine, they diſtribute them equally throughout all the Bands: which Bands they haue called Orders, Troupes, and Enſignes: and their Captaines Centurions and Heads of Bands. Theſe chooſe out of euery Troupe two ſtrong and reſolute men to carry the Enſignes. They make two Captaines to euery Troupe, and with reaſon: For as it is certaine what either of them can doe or ſuffer, and that the actions of War haue no excuſe, they will neuer haue the Troupe remaine without a Commander or Gouernour. If they be both preſent, the firſt choſen
A leads the right wing of the Troupe, and the ſecond thoſe which are vpon the left wing of the Enſigne. If one miſcarries, he that is preſent gouernes all. Finally, they deſire not ſo much valour nor diſdaine of death in their Commanders, as gouernment, conſtancy, and good counſell: and not to ingage themſelues firſt in the fight, nor to begin it: But being vanquiſhed and preſt, they ſhould ſtand firme, and rather dye then to abandon their place. They haue alſo diuided their Canallery into ten Troupes, drawing from euery one of them three Captaines: who likewiſe made choiſe of three Lieutenants, of which the firſt is Chiefe of the Troupe, and the reſt hold the ranke of Dizeniers or Commanders of ten, and ſo they are called. The ſecond holds the place
B of the firſt in his abſence.

Gouernment, Conſtancy, and good Counſell required in a Captaine.

The Armes of the Horſe-men are at this day very like to thoſe of the *Grecians*. Formerly they had no Guyraſſes, being in danger by reaſon of their Linnen breeches, with the which they were more actiue to mount on Horſebacke lightly, but they found themſelues in great danger in fight, being in a manner naked. Moreouer, their forked Iauelings were vnprofitable for two reſpects: For firſt they made them ſlender and fit to dart, ſo as they could not take their aime, and many times they were broken before the point could ſticke, for that they were continually ſhaken with the trotting of the Horſes: and withall they were
C of no vſe but to thruſt forward, being vnarmed at the other end. In truth they were of no ſeruice after they were broken. They had alſo Targets made of the hydes of Oxen, like vnto puft vp Cakes, which they vſually make at Sacrifices: The which they could not well vſe in fight, for that they were not firme, but ſwel'd with raine. By this meanes they grew vnprofitable. Wherefore as the vſe did not ſeeme good, they preſently changed, imbracing the faſhion of the *Grecians* Armes, in the which the thruſt with a Iaueling is ſuddaine and certaine, neither is it without effect, for that it ſhakes not, but is firme. Moreouer, in turning the point behind, the vſe is firme and violent: Their Tar-
D get is the like, for both in defending and aſſailing it, it is firme, ſtrong, and profitable. The which when they had ſeene, they preſently followed it: for the *Romans* are as apt as any others to imbrace the beſt courſe of life. When the Tribunes haue made their diuiſion, and the orders concerning Armes, they ſend them backe to their houſes. The day comming whereon they haue ſworne to come to the place appointed by the Conſull, (for that euery one doth aſſigne it apart vnto his Legion, conſidering that moſt commonly they ordaine to euery one a-

The *Romans* Canallery armed after the *Greeke* manner

The docility of the *Romans*.

part,

part, one for the allies, and two for the Legions, all they which haue beene muſtered, meete without exception: For that they admit no excuſe, vnleſſe it be in regard of the Augure or for health. But when the Allies are aſſembled with the *Romans*, the Captaines appointed by the Conſull, whom they call Gouernours, to the number of twelue, haue the charge of their diuiſion. Who firſt chooſe to ſerue the Conſuls loyally and faithfully, the moſt able and actiue of all the men, as well of Horſe and Foot, which are come to their ſuccours, they call extraordinaries. All the Troupe of ſuccours is moſt commonly in regard of the Foot-men, equall to the *Roman* Legions. A

The Horſe-men are double in number, of which they take a third part for extraordinaries, and a fift of the Foote-men. Finally, they diuide the reſt into two Battalions, calling the one the right Battalion, and the other the left. Theſe things thus ordred, the Tribunes taking the *Romans* and the Allies, hold a Campe, hauing alwaies one forme in their ſetting downe, which they vſe at all times, and in all places. Wherefore I hold it fitting to the time, to indeauour as much as wee may to perſwade the Readers to the contemplation of the order of the Army in marching, camping, and putting into Battaile. What man is ſo ill diſpoſed to good and honeſt workes, which will not giue a carefull eare B to theſe kind of actions? The which being once heard, he ſhall vnderſtand a thing worthy of memory and knowledge. This is the manner of their camping: The Conſuls Tent is planted in the eaſieſt Quarter of the Campe, where he may ſee and command. When they haue ſet downe a marke where they are to plant it, they meaſure out a ſquare place round about it, ſo as all the ſides may be a hundred foote from the marke, and the whole Plot about an Acre of ground.

The manner of the *Romans* camping.

The Legions are alwaies lodg'd in one aſpect to this figure, and of that ſide which ſhall ſeeme moſt commodious for the water and forrage. As either of them hath ſixe Tribunes, and that two of them doe C alwaies follow one of the Conſuls, it is apparent that either of them hath of neceſſity twelue Tribunes for the Warre. Whoſe Tents they ſet vp in a ſtreight line, eight fathome and two foote diſtant from that ſide which they haue choſen for the ſquare, which may be a ſufficient place to lodge their Horſes, Sumpters, and Baggage. They are ſet vp turning their aſpect without the ſquare: the which wee muſt alwaies hold, and terme it oppoſite to the whole Figure. The Tribunes Pauillions are equall ſpaces, and of that extent, as they containe as much ground as the Tents of the *Roman* Legions haue in breadth. And when they haue meaſured out a ſpace of a hundred foote without all the D Tents, and haue made a direct line, confining this breadth to the like ſpace of thoſe of the Tribunes, they begin to make lodgings for the Legions after this manner.

When they haue diuided this line in two, they lodge the Horſe-men of the two Legions oppoſite one to the other fifty foote diſtant, the ſeparation being in the midſt of the ſpace. The Tents of the Horſe-men and Foot-men are placed in like manner: For all the figure of the incloſure is made ſquare. It lookes towards the ſpaces of the ſtreets, and

hath

hath one certaine length ioyning to the way, being 100. foot long. They ſtudy often to make the depth equall, except vnto the Allies. But if their Army be greater, they adde both to the length and depth. And as the lodgings of the Horſ-men anſwere to the middle of the Tribunes Tents, there is a certaine way made croſſing the afore-ſaid ſtreight line, and the void place before the Tribunes. The paſſages are like vnto ſtreets. For as of either ſide the troupes are lodg'd all along, but after the Horſ-men of the ſaid two Legions, they lodg'd the Triarij in the ſame forme, ioyning
A troups to euery Enſigne, ſo as the figures touch one another, hauing their aſpect to the other ſide contrary to the Horſe-men, reducing the depth to halfe the length in euery forme: For that they are moſt commonly but halfe ſo many in number as the other troupes. Wherefore as the number of men is often found vnequall, it happens that the parts are alwaies made equall in length, for that they differ in depth. Then they lodge the Principals 50. foot diſtant, and oppoſite to the Triarij. Theſe being turned againſt the ſaid ſpaces, the two ſtreets are compleate, taking their beginning from the ſame ſtreight line, with ſuch approaches as the Horſe-men haue, that is to ſay, of 100. foot diſtance, which is before the Tribunes, and ending on the contrary ſide: The which formerly we haue
B propounded to be oppoſite to all the forme of the Campe. After the Principals they lodge the forked Iauelings behind in an oppoſite aſpect, the figures being ioyned. And as by the firſt diuiſion all the parties haue ten Enſignes, ſo the ſtreets are alike and equall behind, as well in length as in ſeparation, vpon the ſides oppoſite to the Rampire and Palliſadoe; where turning the laſt Enſignes, they campe. Then after the forked Iauelings leauing a ſpace of eight fathome and two foot, againſt them they lodge the Horſe-men of the Allies, taking their beginning at the ſame ſtreight line, & ending on the ſame ſide. The number of the Allies Foot-men is equall to the *Roman* Legions, only excepted extraordinaries, but
C the Horſ-men are double in number, from whom a third part is drawne for extraordinaries. The Commanders of Bands take the firſt lodgings in euery quarter: placing on euery ſide the ſixt Band after the fift, they retire eight fathome and two foote, the like they doe with the Bands of Foot-men: ſo as there is another paſſage made through the Legions, and croſſe the ſtreets: the which is a way equally diſtant from the Tribunes Tents, which they call the fift, for that it is drawne after the fifty fiue Bands. The place which remaines behinde the Tribunes Tents, and which of either ſide ioynes to the Conſuls Pauillions, ſerues partly for the Market-place, and partly for the Queſtor and his munition. In regard
D of the two laſt Pauillions, of either ſide of the Tribunes, ſome choiſe Horſe-men and other voluntaries following the Campe for the loue of the Conſull are lodged there, towards the ſides croſſing the Rampiers, ſome looking towards the Queſtors munition, and ſome to the Market-place, with an order bending towards the Tents of the extraordinaries. It often falls out that theſe men are not onely lodg'd neare the Conſull, but they alſo doe their duties about him and the Queſtor, when the Army marcheth, and in their other affaires.

To theſe are ioyned Foot men looking to the Rampire, who doe the like ſeruice: after which they leaue a ſpace of 16. Fathome and 4. foote

broad, equally distant from the Tribunes Tents, besides the Market place, the Pretorium & the Questory, extending throughout all the parts of the Rampire: At the vpper end whereof the extraordinary Horse-men of the Allies Campe, looking towards the Prætor and Questor. In the midst of their Pauillions, there is left a way to the Prætors place, of 8. fathome and 2. foot, drawing to the further end of the Campe. After these are lodged the extraordinary Foote-men of the Allies, turning their backs to them, and looking towards the Rampire and the further end of the whole Campe. In regard of the void place remaining of either side of A the crossing flanks, it is for strangers & new commers. Matters being thus disposed, the whole forme of the Campe remaines square with equall sides. As for particular figures as well of separation of streets, as of other ordinances, they are much like a Towne. They cast vp the Rampire 33. fathome and 2. foot from the Tents: for that this voide space profiteth them much. For it is cõmodious for the clensing of the Campe, so as euery man goes forth into that place by the street which is nearest to him without crossing one another. There they also keepe their Cattell safely in the night, & the booty which they haue taken from the Enemy. And it is of great benefit, for if the Enemy assailes them by night, neither Fire nor Darts can touch them, or very little, and without any offence, consi- B dering the great distance and the Tents about them. It is then easie for a man to iudge how spacious this Campe is, whether they giue it a multitude of Foot and Horse, or they make the Legion of foure or fiue thousand men, with the length, depth, and great number of quarters: adding thereunto the spaces of waies with all other things. If at any time the number of the Allies be great, whether that they followed the Campe from the beginning, or came afterwards vpon some occasion, they fill vp the places which are about the Pretorium, with such as are new come, & they draw the market-place and the Questory into one, for the necessity of the time. Also if the number of those which are come to Field with C the Army be great, they adde on either side of the *Roman* Legions a streete towards the crossing Flanks. And if all the foure Legions & both the Consuls be ioyned in one Campe, we must conceiue that they are two Armies, equally camped and ioyned backe to back, the lodgings of their extraordinaries touching one another, the figure being somewhat long, and twice as spacious, with a circumference halfe as big againe. The Consuls being in one Campe, they doe alwaies thus: But if they be separated, they obserue the first order. In regard of the Market-place, the Pretorium and Questory, they place them in the midst of the two Armies. But when they are encampt, the Tribunes assemble, taking a parti- D cular Oath of all men, be they free or bond, who sweare not to steale any thing in the Campe, and if they finde any thing to bring it to them. Then they dispose of the Ensignes, and depute out of the two Legions two of the Principals and of the forked Iauelings, for the guard of the place which is before them. For thither the greatest part of the *Romans* repaire daily: and therefore they haue the charge it should bee kept cleane. Euery Tribune chooses three out of the other two and twenty Ensignes which remaine. According to the said diuision, there are so many Ensignes of Principals and forked Iauelings in euery Legion. There

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are ſixe Tribunes which gouerne in their turnes, and particularly three Enſignes, the which ſet vp the Tent in the place appointed for him that hath the gouernment, pauing the place which is about it. Moreouer they haue charge to fortifie if it be needfull, for the guard of the Baggage. They alſo appoint two Watches, either of them conſiſting of foure men whereof ſome are before the Tent, and others behind neare vnto the Horſes. As euery Tribune hath three Enſignes, and aboue a hundred men in either of them, except the Triarij and light Iauelings (which are not A bound to that ſeruice) the charge is found light: for that the Watch falls to euery Enſigne but the fourth day. Finally, as for theſe duties, the neceſſary Command, with the honour and obedience is due vnto the Tribunes. The Enſignes of the Triarij are freed from the Tribunes charge, but they ſerue daily among the Troupes of Horſe men, as they are lodged neare them: and they haue a care of the Horſes, leſt they ſhould intangle and hurt themſelues, and ſo be made vnſeruiceable: or being vntied fight together, whereby an Alarum might grow in the Campe. Moreouer, one out of euery Enſigne keepes a guard daily before the Conſull, whereby he is in ſafety from Treaſon, being the moſt honourable Magiſtrate. The Allies haue the charge of either ſide of the Ditch B and Palliſadoe, where euery one of their Troupe is neareſt, and the *Romans* of the other two, and euery Legion hath one. And as euery flanke is diſtributed by the Enſignes, the Captaines of the Bands are preſent at the particular guard, but in generall two of the Tribunes had the ouerſight, who in like manner had the charge of the reſt of the Legion. For For their diuiſion being made by two, they gouerne by their turnes two Moneths in ſixe, and they (to whom the lot is fallen) haue the prehemineence of all the affaires. The ſame manner of gouernment is obſerued among the Commanders of the Allies. The Horſe-men and Captains of Bands, come at Sun-riſing to the Tribunes Tents, and the Tribunes to C the Conſull, to whom he giues order for preſſing affaires: They likewiſe to the horſe-men and Captains, who command the Troupe in time conuenient. As for the watch-word by Night, they giue it ſafely thus: A man is choſen both of the Horſe and Foot of the tenth Enſigne, which camps behind vpon the extremity of the ſtreets, who is not bound to watch, but comes only euery day at the Suns ſetting to the Tribunes Pauillion, and when he hath receiued the word, (which is written downe) he returnes, and being come vnto his Enſigne, hee deliuers it with the word vnto the Commander of the next Enſigne in the preſence of witneſſes. The like he doth vnto the next, and ſo conſequently of all the reſt D vntill it come vnto the firſt Enſignes which are lodged neare vnto the Tribunes. They muſt bring backe this Paper to the Tribunes before night: and if all thoſe which haue bin deliuered be returned, they know that the word hath bin giuen to all in generall, hauing paſt through them all. If there be any fault, the Tribune enquires preſently of the cauſe, and knows by the inſcription from what quarter the Paper came, and when the errour is diſcouered, they preſently condemne him to a certaine Fine. Moreouer, they appoint their guards after this manner: An Enſigne watches about the Conſuls Tent: the like doe the Deputies of euery Enſigne about the Tribunes and the Troupes of Horſe men. Thus

The order of two Watches.

The *Romans* manner in giuing the word.

they of euery Band diſpoſe of themſelues, and the Conſuls of the other guards. There are moſt commonly three guards, one about the Queſtor, and two others about the Lieutenants and Councellors. But the light Iauelings remaine without the Campe, making a guard by day about the Palliſadoe, for it is their charge: Of which there are ten appointed for the guard of euery Gate.

To whom the ſuruey of the watch belongs.

The Lieutenant of euery Enſigne brings in the Euening vnto the Tribune thoſe that are appointed for the firſt watch: to either of which the Tribune giues little Talleys, hauing Characters: After the receipt whereof they retire to the places aſſigned them. Concerning the ſuruey of the Watch, they truſt Horſe-men; for the chiefe Captaine of the Band muſt giue order to one of his Lieutenants to carry this Commandment to euery Legion: That is to ſay, to foure young men of his Band before dinner, that the charge belongs to them, to viſite the Watch the Night following. This being done, the like command muſt be giuen to the Captaine of the next Band, that it belongs to his charge to make the Round the day following. This being heard, the day following he doth the like to others, and ſo conſequently of the reſt: Finally, they which haue bin choſen by the Lieutenants of the firſt Band, to whom the Watch is fallen, repaire vnto the Tribunes, and take in writing what portion, and how many Watches they are to viſite, which done, they remaine in the guard neare vnto the firſt Enſigne of the Triarij, of the which the Captaine of the Band hath the charge, to the end the Trumpet may ſound in fit time for the Watch. The time being come, he that hath the charge to make the Round, doth it to the firſt Watch. He not onely viſiteth the places neare the Palliſadoe and ſtreets, but altogether going about the Enſignes and Troups: and if he finds the Watch of the firſt guard waking, he takes their Talley: But if he finds any one ſleeping, or the place abandoned, he departs, taking witneſſe of them that are neare. The like alſo they doe which afterwards goe the Round. The charge to cauſe him to ſound to the Watch, belongs to the Captains of Bands of the firſt Enſignes of the Triarij of euery Legion, who ſerue as viſiters for the guard. Either of which in the morning brings the Paper to the Tribune, and if they haue brought all they returne. If any one brings leſſe then the number of the guards, they ſearch by the Character where the fault was committed. This being knowne, they call the Captaine of the Band, who brings thoſe whom they had appointed for the Watch. Theſe debate it with the Viſiter: And if the fault be in the Watch, the Viſiter deliuers it preſently with the teſtimony of thoſe that were neare: For he is bound to doe it: But if he hath err'd himſelfe, the blame is laid vpon him, and they make his proceſſe preſently before the Tribune, in the preſence of the aſſembly: if hee be condemn'd, they whip him. This is the puniſhment: The Tribune when he hath ſcarce toucht the condemned with the rod all the Souldiers of the Campe fall vpon them with rods, and kill them for the moſt part, and if any eſcape, yet they are not preſerued: for how were it poſſible, ſeeing that the returne into their Countrey is forbidden, neither haue they Friends or Kinſmen that dare receiue them into their houſes. Wherefore they which fall into this Calamity, periſh totally. To the like puniſhmen are alſo ſubiect the Lieutenant

The manner how they puniſh ſuch as faile in the Watch.

nant and Captaine of the Band, if they haue failed in their Command, the one as Viſſiter, and the other as Captaine of the Band, who muſt ſhew himſelfe in time conuenient, wherefore as the puniſhment is ſeuere and irremiſſible, the watch neuer commits any fault. The Souldiers muſt obey the Tribunes, and they the Conſuls. It is true the Tribunes haue power to condemne in a Fine, to abſolue and to whip. The Captaines haue the like priuiledge ouer the Allies. If any one hath ſtollen any thing in the Campe, he is whipt: ſo is a falſe witneſſe, or any one that is apprehended abuſing the flower of the youth. Moreouer, if any one
A hath bin thrice reprehended for one and the ſame crime, they puniſh him afterwards grieuouſly as a depraued perſon. They hold theſe crimes infamous and baſe in a Souldier, as if any one hath bragg'd falſely to the Tribune of his proweſſe to winne honour: Or if any appointed to the guard of a place, abandon it cowardly, or leaues any of his Armes for feare in fight. Wherefore ſome hauing apparent death before them in the place where they are ſet, as being enuironed by a great Troupe, will neuer abandon the ſtation where they haue bin once appointed, fearing the puniſhment due to their offence. Some in the like dangers loſing by chance their Bucklers and Swords, or ſome other Armes, thruſt themB ſelues among their Enemies, hoping to recouer that which they haue loſt by force: or enduring ſome vnfortunate accident, to flie a manifeſt infamy and reproach of their Companions. If theſe things happen to many, and that ſome Enſignes haue by a generall conſent abandoned their place, they held it not fit to whip them, nor to kill them all, but they haue another expedient which is profitable and terrible: for after they haue drawne the Army together, the Tribunes bring them into the midſt of it, accuſing them with big words. Finally, he drawes forth by lot fiue or eight, ſometimes twenty, hauing regard vnto the Troupe, ſo as there be the tenth part of the delinquents, whom they whip as hath bin ſaid, with-
C out any remiſſion. Moreouer, he commands the reſt to lodge without the Rampiers and Palliſadoes of the Campe, deliuering them Barley for Wheat. By the apparent danger and feare of the lot equally incident to them all, ſeeing the euent is vncertaine, with the example of the Munition which they giue them of Barley, concernes them all, and ſerues for a terrour and reſtraint from offences. Moreouer, they encourage young men to vndergoe danger: For when neceſſity requires it, and that any one of them hath performed an act of valour, the Conſull aſſembles the Army, where they are preſented which haue done any memorable act: There he commends euery man in particular, laying open what they haue valiantly performed, or any other thing that hath bin worthy of
D memory, during the whole courſe of their liues: Finally, he giues a gauliſh Dart to him that hath wounded the Enemy: To a Foot-man which hath ouerthrowne a Horſe-man and ſtript him, a veſſell of Gold: To a Horſe-man the Furniture of a Horſe. In former time they had none but the gauliſh Dart: which are gifts which they receiue, which in skirmiſhes and ſuch like actions haue done valiantly and couragiouſly, where without any neceſſity they enter voluntarily, and fight man to man in ſingle Combate, not hee which in Battaile or the

The manner of recompencing the Souldiers valour.

taking of a Towne hath wounded or ſtript an Enemy. It is true they giue a Crowne of Gold to thoſe which haue firſt aſcended the wall : The Conſull in like manner makes ſhew of ſuch as haue defended and preſerued any Cittizens or Allies, and makes them honourable by gift. Moreouer the Tribunes compell thoſe which haue beene preſerued, if they doe it not willingly, to crowne their preſeruer, to whom they beare a reuerence and reſpect during their liues, as to their Fathers, to whom they yeeld the like duty. By theſe inticements they not onely encourage the aſſiſtants to fight, and by their example to vndergoe danger: but likewiſe the Inhabitants which remaine in the City. For they which haue A obtained theſe gifts, beſides the glory and eſteeme of the Souldiers, the fame flying to their family, they haue ſolemne pomps made for them, being returned into their Countrey with great honour and dignity, for that they to whom the Captaines haue done ſuch honours, are onely worthy to be ſo magnified and eſteemed. They alſo ſet vp in the moſt apparent places of their Citty the ſpoiles, as markes and teſtimonies of their virtue. As they are thus curious and diligent in the Campe, for honours and puniſhment, it is reaſonable and fitting the euents of War ſhould proue proſperous and honourable.

The pay or entertainment of Foote and Horſe.

The Foote-men haue by the day fourteene Deneers, the Captaines of Bands two ſouſe and foure, the Horſe-men haue three ſouſe and ſixe, a B Foote-man hath monethly almoſt foure Buſhels of Wheate, a Horſeman hath by the moneth three Septiers and a Mine of Barley and a Septier of Wheate. As for the Allies, the Foote-men haue the ſame, the Horſe-man hath eight Buſhels of Wheate, and two Septiers and a Mine of Barley, which are things done in fauour to the Allies. The Queſtor deducts a certaine portion of the *Romans* pay, for the Wheate, Apparrell, or Armes, if any of them haue neede. They march in Battaile after this manner, when the firſt warning is giuen, they packe vp their Tents and Baggage. The which no man may take downe, or ſet vp, before thoſe of the Tribunes and Conſuls be ordred. At the ſecond ſound of C the Trumpet, they lay the Baggage vpon the Sumpters. But at the third the firſt muſt march, and all the Campe muſt moue: whereas ſometimes the extraordinaries march firſt, being followed by the right wing of the Allies, with their Baggage in the Reare. After theſe march the firſt *Roman* Legion, with their ſtuffe after them. Then followes the ſecond with their carriages, following the Army cloſe.

A Septier is two Mines, and a Mine two *London* buſhels.

The order of the Campe in marching.

It is true, the left wing of the Allies makes the Reareward when the Army marcheth. Sometimes the Horſe men follow in the Reare, euery one to his Quarter ; where they are vpon the wings of the Baggage, to aſſiſt them for their ſafeties. But if there be any doubt of the Reareward, all march in one order, except the extraordinaries of the Allies who are brought to the front of the Reareward, and euery other day the ſame Legion & wings make the point. Then againe they follow behind, to the end that all may be partakers of Forrage and water, changing their order daily, to the end euery one may be firſt in his turne. They obſerue another kind of march in dangerous times, and in a plaine Champaigne. They make three Battalions in equall diſtance, conſiſting of forked

forked Iauelings, Principals and Triarij's, putting before the Baggage of thoſe Enſignes which march firſt. After the firſt thoſe that are ſecond: and then doth march the Baggage of the third, and they order their Baggage and Enſignes by this proportion alternatiuely. Marching in this order, if there happens any great affaires, they cauſe the Enſignes to march thorough the Baggage, ſometimes preſenting their Targets, ſometimes their Iauelings to the Enemy. And in one inſtant and the ſame march, the Souldiers put themſelues in order of Battaile, vnleſſe it be when as your forked Iauelings fetch a compaſſe: For then the Bag-
A gage with their attendants, ſtealing behinde the Souldiers, recouers ſome place of ſafety.

But when in marching they are neare to plant their Campe, the Tribunes and they which are vſually appointed to that charge, goe before: who after they haue viewed the place fit for the Campe, they firſt marke out the place for the Conſuls Tent, (as hath beene ſaid) and vpon what aſpect and flanke of the ſquare thus markt out, the Legions ſhould bee lodgd. Then they meaſure out a plot for the Pretorium: after which a ſtreight line, whereupon are ioyned the Tribunes Pauillions: Then a line equally diſtant, after which are lodgd the Legions. In like manner they
B meaſure on the other ſide of the Pretorium, the places whereof we haue lately ſpoken in particular. This is ſoone done, for that the meaſures are eaſie, the ſpaces being certaine and ordinary) they ſet downe a marke, and firſt of all that where the Conſuls Pauillion muſt ſtand: Then the ſecond on the ſide which is choſen: The third to the line in the midſt, to the which the Tribunes ſet their Tents: The fourth where the Legions are lodgd. Of which theſe laſt are red, and the Conſuls white. As for the other ſide, there they ſometimes faſten forked Darts, or other markes of diuers colours. This done, they conſequently make the ſtreets: At euery one they faſten a forked Darr, to the end that all things might be
C knowne more commodiouſly to them that approach to the Army, and to the view of the Campe, by a coniecture and conſideration of the Prætors marke.

Wherefore euery man knowing plainely in what ſtreete and in what part his Tent is, for that they alwaies hold one place in the Campe. It falls out in like manner as when an Army enters into its owne Citty, which is well knowne. Euery man from the Gate turning, marcheth preſently and comes to his owne lodging without wandring, for that all in generall and particular know in what quarter of the City their dwellings are. It happens likewiſe in the *Romans* Campe, wherein they ſeeme (following this cuſtome) to take a contrary courſe to the *Grecians* in regard
D thereof. The *Grecians* make great accompt of the ſtrength of a Campe, and ſeeke it principally, flying partly the labour of ditching, imagining that fortifications made by hand, are not ſo effectuall and good as thoſe of nature, wherefore they are forced in Camping, wholly to change their formes according to the ſcituation on of places: ſo as all mens lodgings are vncertaine. In regard of the *Romans*, they deſire rather to endure the labour of rampring, and to doe all other things neceſſary for their eaſe, and to haue the knowledge of euery one in the Campe. Theſe are the

generall parts of the contemplation of an Army, and the ſcituation of a Campe.

A

A Parcell of the Sixt Booke

of Potentates, and which is the moſt excellent.



ALL Hiſtoriographers in a manner haue in their writings made great eſteeme of the Excellency of theſe kinde of Common-weales, as the *Lacedemonians*, *Candiots*, *Mantinians*, and *Carthaginians*: Some likewiſe haue mentioned the *Athenians* and *Thebeins*. For my part, I differ from the reſt: in regard of the *Athenians* and *Thebeins*. I doe not hold it needfull to vſe many words of them; for that they haue had no great increaſe, nor any firme forces, neither are they fallen into any moderate alteration: But as they ſeemed to be in vigour and force by a certaine new temporall Fortune, ſo they haue felt a contrary change. The *Thebeins* haue purchaſed an eſteeme of virtue among the *Grecians* by the fault of the *Lacedemonians*, and the hatred of thoſe which were of their League, adding thereunto the excellency of one or two in regard of the afore-ſayd things. That the virtue of Gouernours, and not the eſtate of the Common weale hath beene the cauſe of the *Thebeins* felicity, the ſuddaine following Fortune hath made manifeſt. Their power hath beene augmented and confirmed, and againe ruined during the liues of *Epaminundas* and *Pelopidas*. Wherefore we muſt conceiue that theſe Men and not the Common-weale, haue beene the cauſe that the Citty of *Thebes* hath purchaſed ſo much honour whileſt it was in eſteeme. We muſt likewiſe for the ſame reaſon iudge the like of the *Athenians*: the which hath many times, eſpecially by the virtue of *Themiſtocles*, made it ſelfe glorious, but hath preſently tryed a contrary change by the diſorder of its nature.

B

C

D

The *Thebeins.*

The *Athenians.*

It

It hath alwaies happened to the *Athenians*, like vnto ſhips vnfurniſhed of Pilots. For when the Company reſolue to agree, and to obey the Gouernour of the ſhip, either for feare of Enemies, or for the danger of a ſtorme, they performe their duties cheerefully. But when through arrogancy they begin to diſdaine their Gouernours, and to mutine, for that the ſame things doe not pleaſe all men: ſo as ſome haue a will to ſaile, others to force the Pilot to goe to harbour, and that ſome lay hold of the Oares, and call vpon him to ſet ſaile: this cauſeth an infamous ſpectacle to thoſe which behold it, by reaſon of the mutuall diſ-
A cord and mutiny. The humour of thoſe which are Companions in the Nauigation, hath no ſtay: wherefore flying many times the great depth of the Sea, and great ſtormes which doe vſually ariſe, they ſaile along the ſhore. The like hath often happened to the *Athenians*. For as they haue ſome times repell'd by the virtue of their people and Commanders, great and greiuous calamities, yet they haue err'd wonderfully by their great raſhneſſe and indiſcretion, hauing a proſperous gale and all things ſucceſſefull. Wherefore it is not needfull to hold any longer diſcourſe, neither of it nor of the *Thebeins*: where the Com-
B mons attempt all things according to their owne humours, the firſt being brutiſh and rude, and this other accuſtomed to violence and fury.

Comming then to that of the *Candyotts*, it is fit to know two things, why the moſt learned among the ancient writers, as *Ephorus*, *Xenophon*, *Calliſthenes*, and *Plato*, ſay firſt that it is like and the ſame with that of the *Lacedemonians*, and ſecondly that it is commendable: For neither of them ſeemes true in my opinion: The which may bee conceiued by that which followeth, ſhewing firſt that it differs; they ſay that the *Lacedemonians* haue this proper; that it is not lawfull for one man to haue more land then another, being neceſſary for euery Burgeſſe to haue an equall portion of lands in the Cittie. Secondly that hee is to bee
C amerced as a wicked man, that hath greater poſſeſſions then the reſt: By this meanes ambition is wholly or in part rooted out of this Common-weale. Thirdly, their Kings enioy the Crowne for euer: and they only for life, whom they call ancients: By whom and with whom all the affaires of the Common-weale are mannaged. In regard of the *Candiots*, all the things are gouerned by contrary meanes. For the Lawes allow them to poſſeſſe what Lands they can get: by this meanes Excelleney is in eſteeme amongſt them, ſo as the poſſeſſion of Lands is not onely held neceſſary, but alſo moſt honeſt.

The *Lacedemonian* Common-weale.

The Common weale of *Candy*

Finally, the deſire of infamous and auaritious gaine is ſo powerfull amongſt them, that among all mortall men onely the *Candiots* find no
D kind of gaine worthy of blame: Although that in that which concernes their principality, they haue an Annall and Democraticall gouernment: ſo as we are in doubt, and wonder often, how Writers haue deliuered them vnto vs to be familiar and as it were Germaines, ſeeing they haue ſo contrary a Nature: Neither haue they without doting ordained ſo many differences, not lightly, but with a great ſhew of words: ſaying that onely *Licurgus* among the Ancients, had aim'd at firme and ſound things: And that as there are two meanes for the preſeruation of euery

Common-

Common-weale, which are force against the Enemy, and mutuall concord and agreement among themselues: that in chasing auarice, hee had withall taken away all ciuill discord and mutinie: and that by this meanes the *Lacedemonians* being freed from these mischiefes, haue better then any other *Grecians* gouerned their Common-weale, and with greater vnion. And although the *Candyotts* bee of this aduice parralelling themselues, Yet they thinke it concernes them nothing, liuing in many publique mutinies, murthers and ciuill warre by their naturall auarice, presuming to say that these two Gouernments are alike. *Ephorus* speaking of these two Common-weales, vseth the like speech, except their names: If any one doth not obserue the propper names, who can discerne whereof hee speakes. These are the causes for the which in my opinion they differ.

Wee will now shew the reasons for the which the *Candyotts* Common-wealth, doth not seeme commendable nor worthy to be immitated. I conceiue that of euery Common-wealth their are two Principles, for the which their estate and power is desired or detested: Which are their manner of liuing and their Lawes. That is to bee desired and the best, by the which the life of men in priuate is made religious and honest, and the common course of liuing in the City gracious and iust. Finally that is to be detested and auoyded, where they doe the contrary. And as we iudge confidently that the men of a Common-wealth apply themselues to virtue, when we see their course of life, and the lawes to sauour of honesty in some of them: So we may with reason say, that a Common-weale is altogether depraued, aswell by the lawes, as by their course of liuing, when we see any giuen to couetousnesse, and the publike Arts vniust.

Two principles of euery Common-weale.

Moreouer you shall not finde any liues in priuate more cunning and crafty, nor enterprizes more vniust then among the *Candiotts*, except some few. Whereof we approue it by this comparison, the reason why we hold their Common-wealth not to be like the *Lacedemonians*, nor to be chosen, or worthy to be followed. I say moreouer that *Platoes* Common-weale is not to be preferr'd. Although that some of our Philosophers make great esteeme. As we doe not receiue among handicraftsmen, nor wrestlers, those which haue not excercised their bodies, nor beene accustomed to wrestling, So we may not receiue this: So as compared with the former, we may not bring it in competition, before wee see some effects. I will for the present onely propound this: If wee must esteeme and parralell it to the Common-weales of *Lacedemon*, *Rome*, and *Carthage*, it were euen as if a man should propound an Image, to be compared with men that are liuing and animated. For although he deserues commendation of his Art, yet the comparison of things which be dead, with the liuing, seeme to the eye poore and obscure. Leauing them therefore, let vs returne to the *Lacedemonian* Common-weale. *Licurgus* without doubt, seemes to haue made the law, and well prouided that the Burgesses might agree together, for the preseruation of *Lacedemon*, and the maintenance of their liberty: So as his consideration seemes more diuine then humane. An equality of possessions, with a

Platoes Common-weale is to be reiected.

simple

ſimple and common courſe of liuing, ſhould cauſe a modeſt life in priuate, and make a City quiet and peaceable. Finally, exerciſe in labour, and to indure all toyle, was to make men ſtrong and valiant. Being certaine that theſe two which are magnanimity and temperance, concurring together in a priuate perſon or a City, malice can hardly creepe in amongſt them, or be drawne from their neighbours. By theſe meanes the Common-wealth being ſetled, it hath procured ſafety to all the Country of *Lacedemon*, and a very durable liberty. But as for that which concernes the conqueſt, and principallity ouer their neighbours, and
A finally the enterprize of a warre, it ſeemes he neuer thought of it: but onely that they ſhould bring in a certaine friendſhip or reſolution, by the which the common courſe of liuing of the City, ſhould reſt contented with their moderate eſtate, euen as their liues in priuate were modeſt, and contented with their choiſe. And although hee had inſtituted in ſuch ſort, as they were freed from ambition, and were very wiſe aſwell in priuate as in the common courſe of their liuing in the City: yet he hath left them towards the other *Grecians* more then ambitious, and of an inſatiable deſire to raigne, with an extreame auarice: So as it is
B partly notorious, that firſt in a manner among the *Grecians*, greedily deſiring the countries of their neighbours, they made warre againſt the *Meſſeniens*, to draw them into ſubiection: It is alſo partly manifeſt, that they had obſtinately ſworne amongſt themſelues, not to raiſe the ſiege, before they had forc't the City of the *Meſſeniens*. It is alſo notorious that for the great deſire they had to rule ouer the *Grecians*, they had againe ſubmitted themſelues to the yoake of thoſe whom they had vanquiſhed in battaile, So as they had patiently obeyed their commandements.

They had vanquiſhed the *Perſians* making a diſcent, in fighting for the preſeruation of the *Grecian* liberty: to whom notwithſtanding be-
C ing returned and fled, they haue deliuered the *Greeke* Townes which were reſtored, according to the peace made by *Antalcides*: to the end that hauing money, they might fortifie themſelues againſt the *Grecians*: At what time the eſtabliſhment of their law ſeemed to decline: for whilſt it gap't after the command of their neighbour, and finally of *Morea*, they helpt themſelues with content, by the meanes which *Lacedemon* did furniſh, hauing neceſſary preparations ſpeedily, and making a ſuddaine returne vnto their houſes: But when they began to put an Army to Sea, and to march out of *Morea* with forces by land, it is certaine that their Iron money, nor the trocking of their Annall fruits, could not ſupply their neceſſities according to the lawes of *Licurgus*. Their
D enterprize required currant money, and traffique with ſtrangers for victuals: ſo as they were forced to haue recourſe vnto the *Percians*, to impoſe a tribute vpon the Ilanders, and to exact money from all the *Grecians*: knowing it impoſſible (according to the lawes of *Licurgus*) to hold the principallity of the *Grecians*, nor to bee able to keepe their owne Common-wealth. But why haue I wandred ſo farre in this diſcourſe. To the end it may really appeare, that the inſtitution of *Licurgus* lawes, is onely ſufficient for euery man to preſerue his owne, and

to

to maintaine his liberty: And we must confesse to those which respect a Common-wealth to this end, that there is nothing more to be desired, then the estate and order of the *Lacedemonians*. But as any one tends to greater matters, and thinkes of the command of the Empire, and Signury ouer many, their hope in him and his fauour towards them, to be more specious and magnificent, we must then confesse, that the *Lacedemonian* Common-wealth is defectiue, and that the *Romans* is more excellent, and of a more powerfull foundation. The which experience shewes plainely.

The *Roman* Cómon-weale more excellent then the *Lacedemonian*.

A

For when the *Lacedemonians* laboured to conquer the principality of the *Grecians*, they suddainly brought their owne liberty into danger: whereas the *Romans* after they had reduced *Italy* vnder their obedience, within a short time they subdued the whole world, being sufficiently supplied with abundance of all things, and prouision of munition and victuals to effect their Enterprize. In regard of the *Carthaginian*, it seemes to haue beene well instituted since its beginning, according to all differences. They had Kings, and an Aristocraticall power of Senators: The Commons also had their prerogatiue in matters which belonged vnto them. Finally, in that which concernes their generall assembly, it was like vnto that of the *Romans* and *Lacedemonians*. It is true, that in the time of *Hannibals* Warre, that of the *Carthaginians* was lesse, and that of the *Romans* better. In euery Common-weale and action there is a certaine naturall increase and vigour, and consequently a diminution: so as all things are perfect in their vigour. Moreouer these Common-weales were at that time different: For the greater the *Carthaginians* were in the beginning, hauing had many better fortunes then the *Romans*, the more they haue beene weakned. In regard of *Rome*, it flourished then euen in order and policy. And as the people of *Carthage* tooke great authority vpon them in Councell, so the Senate had great power among the *Romans*. Wherefore as in publique resolutions the Commons in the one gaue their aduice, and the best men in the other: so the *Romans* haue beene more excellent in their publique affaires: where if they haue beene in danger of their whole estate, yet vsing good Councell, they haue in the end vanquished the *Carthaginians*.

The *Carthaginian* Common-weale.

B

A Comparison betwixt the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* Common-weales.

C

But for that which concernes a suddaine preparation to Warre, the *Carthaginians* are more actiue at Sea, and prepare their Fleets better: For that this practice is hereditary and ancient vnto them, and they traffique more by Sea then any other men. But as for the Foot-men, the *Romans* make better vse then the *Carthaginians*, for that they wholy addict themselues vnto it. In regard of the *Carthaginians*, they are careless of Foot-men: As for Horse-men they take some good order. The reason is, for that they imploy forreine forces which are Mercenaries: and the *Romans* their owne Nation and Burgesses. Wherefore this Common-wealth is more commendable then the other, the which commits the hope of their liberty to the prowesse of mercenary men: and the *Romans* to their owne virtue and the succour of the Allies. Wherefore if at any time the *Romans* haue made losse in their Principalities,

D

lities, they reſiſt with all their forces. The *Carthaginians* on the other ſide, fighting for their Countrey and Children, cannot abate their fury, maintaining the Combate vnto the laſt gaſpe, vntill they haue vanquiſhed the Enemy. Wherefore although the *Romans* be (as I haue ſaid) inferiour vnto them in Sea-fights, yet they exceed them in the bounty of their Souldiers. And although that in dangers at Sea, the experience of nauall combats be of no ſmall importance, yet the proweſſe of Souldiers at Sea, is of great profit for the Victory.

A The *Italians* in truth are of a more excellent diſpoſition then the *Phenicians* or *Lybans*, as well in force of body as in courage: whereunto they vſually incite their Youth. I will tell you one thing which may ſerue for a great preſumption, of the diligence of this Common-weale, ordained to breed vp ſuch men as will endure any thing, to the end they may purchaſe praiſe, vertue, and fame vnto their Countrey. If at any time a man of great fame and note, dies, they bring him with great pompe to the place which they terme for valiant men, where hee is ſometimes vpon his feete, but ſeldome laid along. When as all the people are aſſembled, if there be any Sonne of his of ſufficient age, he goes into the Chaire of Orations: if not, ſome other of his Race, who

B ſets forth the vertue and valour oft he deceaſed. Hence it growes that many, not onely of his Companions in valour, but alſo others being admoniſhed, and ſeeing viſibly the deeds, haue ſo great compaſſion, as the misfortune ſeemes not onely proper to thoſe which vndertake the danger, but common to the people. Finally, after they haue interred him and performed likewiſe his obſequies, they ſet his Image vpon the moſt apparent place in the houſe, building about it a Chappell of Ioyners worke. The proportion of his face is carefully wrought to the life, according to the forme and lineaments. Which Images being ſhowne in publique Sacrifices, they adorne honourably.

C When a man of ſome excellent Race is dead, they make his obſequies, and they being about him which ſeeme to be of the ſame height, ſtature, and proportion, they put on a garment bordered with purple, if he had beene a Conſull, or Generall of an Army: or elſe a Roabe of Purple, if a Cenſor; Or of cloth of Gold, if he hath triumphed, or done any ſuch like thing. Theſe march in a Chariot in this order: Before the which goe the bundels of Rods and Maces, and other things accuſtomed to honourable perſons, according to euery mans authority, with the which during his life he hath beene honoured in the Common-wealth. Being come to the place of interment, they are all ſet in Chaires of Iuo-

D ry according to their order: ſo as a young man that thirſts after glory and fame, can behold nothing more beautifull. For who would not be encouraged, to ſee the Images of men whom they honour in regard of vertue, and as it were aliue? What other ſpectacle can wee finde more beautifull? Moreouer, he that makes the Funerall Oration, begins to ſpeake of his other Kinſmen there preſent, and firſt of all the moſt ancient, relating the deeds and imployments of either of them. So as it falls out that by the Commendation of good men, many times remembred by their vertue, their glory is immortall which haue performed

The pompe of the *Romans* to an honourable perſon.

any honourable action : and their honour which haue ſerued their Countrey well, is made knowne to many, and multiplyed to poſterity. Moreouer, young men are encouraged to that reſolution, that they are ready to endure any thing that preſents it ſelfe for the publique good, to the end they might purchaſe the renowne which accompanies good men. Many *Romans* for this cauſe haue fought man to man, to get an eſtimation among the people : Others haue choſen an apparent death : ſome to ſaue others in Battaile : Others to the end they might procure a ſafety in peace to the Common-wealth. Some alſo hauing the command of an Army, haue contrary to all cuſtome and law, ſlaine their owne Children, hauing more regard to the good of the Countrey, then to the naturall alliance of thoſe which were neereſt vnto them. They write diuers other things of many *Romans* : but it ſhall ſuffice at this time to produce one for an example and proofe. A

They report of *Horatius Cocles*, that when he fought againſt two, right againſt the Bridge of *Tiber* before the Citty, and ſeeing a multitude of Enemies come to ſuccour them, fearing leſt they ſhould force the Citty, he retired to thoſe that were at his backe, cryſng out vnto them that they ſhould breake the Bridge, and in the meane time maintained the fight with great courage and reſolution, receiuing many wounds, and ſtayed the fury of the Enemies : ſo as they wondred not ſo much at his forces, as at his reſolution and courage. When by the breaking of the Bridge the Enemies enterprize was diſappointed, *Cocles* caſting himſelfe armed into the Riuer, died according to his reſolution, eſteeming more the preſeruation of his Countrey, and his future glory, then his preſent life, or that which hee had remaining to liue. It is likely that by ſuch courſes young men were inflamed with a deſire to honeſt actions. B

As for that which concernes gaine, the cuſtome and proceeding of the *Romans* is much more excellent then that of the *Carthaginians*, to whom nothing is infamous that brings profit : where there is nothing more vile and baſe among the *Romans*, then to be corrupted with gifts, and to wreſt from another man contrary to duty. The more honourable they eſteeme a benefit gotten from a great and powerfull man, the more they blame and condemne as infamous abundance purchaſed by vnlawfull meanes. For proofe where of, among the *Carthaginians* they attaine vnto the gouernment which haue openly giuen preſents : whereas among the *Romans* that corruption is puniſhed with death if it be diſcouered. Wherefore as the rewards of vertue are contrary among them. It is apparent that the inſtitution of theſe Common-wealths is vnequall in theſe things. Finally, it ſeemes that concerning the opinion of the Gods, the *Roman* Common-wealth followes not the beſt. And I imagine that all the world holds it a diſhonour that this is found among their actions. I ſpeake of their ſuperſtition. It is in truth preacht among them for ſo excellent, and ſo anchored in men, as well in priuate as publique, as they cannot adde any thing, the which in truth will ſeeme admirable. I am of opinion they haue done it for the cõmon ſort. For if the Common-weale could haue aſſembled wiſe C D

men

men, this courſe happily had not beene neceſſary. But for that the multitude is light and inconſtant, and ſubiect to diſordred affections, and to vnreaſonable diſtempers of fury and violence, it was fit to reſtraine them by a diſguiſed feare, and by this kind of ſtrange language. Wherefore the Ancients did not without reaſon inure the Common ſort with the knowledge of the Gods, and with Tales of Hell, which ſome at this day oppoſe fooliſhly and without conſideration.

Wherefore in paſſing ouer with ſilence others which gouerne Com-
A mon-weales, if a man lends to *Grecians* but ſixe hundred Crownes, they cannot keepe their Faith, although he hath ten promiſes, and as many Signatures, and twice as many Witneſſes. In regard of the *Romans*, in all their Commands, they which mannage great affaires and wealth, performe their duties according to the Faith of their Oaths: whereas in other ſtates you ſhall find few men carefull and ſparing of the publique good, and performing the duty of an honeſt man: ſo it is a rare thing among the *Romans*, to finde any one accuſed of ſuch a Crime. That there is corruption and alteration in all things, it is not needefull to to ſpeake: For the neceſſity of Nature will giue ſufficient proofe. And as there are two menaes by the which euery Common-wealth is vſually
B ouerthrowne, whereof the one is exteriour, and the other of it ſelfe: That which is exteriour is in its conſideration inconſtant: But as for the order within it ſelfe, we haue formerly deliuered what kind the firſt is, what the ſecond, and how it ends in a third Common-wealth: ſo as they which can appropriate the beginning of this preſent Subiect to the end, may alſo fore tell the future: the which in my opinion is manifeſt.

All things ſubiect to corruption.

For when a Common-weale hath gotten (after many and great dangers auoided) an excellency and vnreſiſtable power, it is apparent, that growing (as of cuſtome) to abundance of wealth, the expences are
C more ſumptuous, and men grow more quarrelſome touching Gouernments and other Enterprizes. By the continuance whereof begins a change to worſe, as to ambition which is a kind of ignomy: Moreouer, an arrogant kind of liuing and ſumptuouſneſſe. The people will leaue this Title of change, when as growne proude with ambition, ſweetned with their good words, which ſeeke to gaine them by couetouſneſſe. For then being furious, and mannaging all things with rage, they will no more obey their Princes, nor be equall to their Gouernours, but moſt commonly will haue all the power. This done, the Common-weale will
D change its name into a goodly ſhew of liberty and a Democracia: but in effect to a moſt wicked Orchlocracia. Finally, as we haue declared the eſtabliſhing, increaſe, with the vigour and diſpoſition of the Common-wealth, and the difference from others, and what is good or bad in it, we will here make an end of this Diſcourſe.

Reſuming then the parts which cohere with the time of the Hiſtory, from whence wee ſtrayed, we will in few words make a briefe relation of an action: to the end that not onely in ſpeech, but alſo in effect, after the manner of a good workeman, we may plainely ſhew the vigour and power of the Common-wealth, as it was at that time, propounding

Hannibals proceeding after the Battaile of *Cannes*.

some excellent action. When as *Hannibal* had won the Battaile of *Cannes* against the *Romans*, he tooke eight thousand men Prisoners, which had bin appointed for the guard of the Fort or Campe: suffring them all to send to their houses for their Ransome and safety. He sent tenne of the most apparent to *Rome*, vpon their Faith to returne againe. Whenas one of them being out of the Fort, was returned, saying that he had forgotten something, and hauing taken that which he had left, he went on his way, thinking by this returne to haue kept his Faith, and to haue made his Oath voide and vnprofitable. When they were come to *Rome*, they intreate the Senate not to hinder the deliuery of the Prisoners, and that they would suffer them to pay thirteene Liuers for a man, and that they might returne safely to their Families. They sayd that *Hannibal* had so agreed, and that moreouer they were worthy to be preserued, for that they had not playd the Cowards in the Battaile, nor done any act vnworthy of the *Roman* name: But being left to guard the Campe, all the rest being slaine in Battaile, they had beene suddainly enuironed and brought vnder the Enemies subiection. But when the *Romans* (hauing made great losses during the Warres, and being in a manner abandoned by all their Allies, so as they seemed to be in great danger for their Countrey) had heard this speech, they were not careless of their honour, to yeeld vnto their misery: neither did they disdaine any thing that was needfull to be done. But considering *Hannibals* intention, who thought by this practice to draw away their Treasure, and withal to dis-inhearten & discourage his enemies in battaile, shewing couertly that the vanquished had yet some hope remaining, and were so farre from yeelding to that which was required, as they were neither moued to pitty the Prisoners, nor made any accompt of the future faults of men: making it knowne (in refusing to redeeme their men) that the conceit and hope which *Hannibal* had in them was vaine. Finally, they haue enioyned their Souldiers by a law, to vanquish in fighting or to die, for that being vanquished there remained no hope of safety. After which things decreed, they sent backe the nine Embassadours, who willingly returned according to their promise, deliuering him who had thought cunningly to breake his Faith to the Enemy, bound hand and foote: so as *Hannibal* was not so glad of the Battaile wonne against the *Romans*, as sorrowfull, wondring at the constancy and magnanimity of these men in their resolutions.

A B C D

A

A PARCELL OF the Seuenth Booke of the Hiſtory of POLYBIVS, concerning the Accord made betwixt the *Carthaginians* and *Meſſeniens*, with the taking of the Citty of the *Sardines* by *Antiochus*.

THE Citty of the *Leontins* is wholly ſcituated towards the North: In the midſt whereof is a great place, where there are Pallaces built, Seates of Iuſtice, and a Market place for all Commodities. Vpon euery ſide of the place is a Hill, with a thicke Rocke, and the plaine of theſe Hils vpon the top, is fill'd with houſes and Temples. Finally, this Citty hath two Gates: whereof the one is towards the South, at the end of the place aboue mentioned, going to *Saragoſſe*: and the other bends to the North, towards the *Leontine* Plaines and the errable Land. But vnder one of the Rocks which lookes towards the Weſt, there flowes a Riuer which they call *Liſſon*: where there are houſes built one againſt another, and many others vnder the Rocke, betwixt the which this Riuer paſſeth. The Riuer of *Liſſon*.

Behold the accord ſworne, which was made by *Hannibal* the Commander, *Mago*, *Mercane*, *Barmocare*, and all the *Carthaginian* Senators which were then with *Hannibal*, and the *Carthaginian* Army which he had vnder his command, with *Zenophanes* the Son of *Cleomachus*, Embaſſadour for the *Athenians*, whom King *Philip* the Sonne of *Demetrius* ſent vnto them as well for himſelfe as for the *Macedonians* and their Allies: And that before *Iupiter*, *Iuno* and *Apollo*: And before the Gods of the *Carthaginians*, *Hercules* and *Iolas*, *Mars*, *Triton*, and *Neptune*: And before the Gods of their Army, the Sun Moone, and Earth: And the Riuers, Gods, and Waues, and finally before all the Gods which poſſeſſe *Carthage*, and all thoſe which hold *Macedony* and the reſt of *Greece*, and in the preſence of all other Gods which are not compre- An accord made betwixt the *Carthaginians*, *Macedonians*, and *Grecians*.

hended in this Oath. Captaine *Hannibal* with the Senators of *Carthage* which were with him and the whole Army, haue ſaid: according to your good pleaſure and ours, wee Friends, Allies, and Brethren, ſhall giue order to this Accord ſworne, concerning the Friendſhip and good intelligence, ſo as the Lords of *Carthage*, Captaine *Hannibal* and his men, with the other *Carthaginian* Princes, which liue vnder the ſame Lawes, and likewiſe the *Biſartins*, with all the Cities and Nations ſubiect to the *Carthaginians*, Souldiers and Allies, and all Cities and people with whom we haue any league or friendſhip, as wel A
in *Italy* and *Spaine*, as in the Countrey of *Genoua*, and if there be any others in this Region with whom we haue any friendſhip or league, ſhall be guarded and defended by King *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, and all other *Grecians* which are in league with them.

In like manner King *Philip* and the *Macedonians* with the Allies of the other *Grecians*, ſhall be guarded and defended by the *Carthaginians*, making Warre with them, and by the *Biſartins*, and by all the Cities and Nations acknowledging the Empire of *Carthage*, with their Allies and Souldiers, and all Nations and Cities which are in *Italy*, *Spaine*, and *Genoua*, and all other Allies which are in other Countries of *Italy*. B
Neither the one nor the other ſhall haue any practices, nor plot any War by deuices, being of good affection and intelligence, without fraud or deceit, Enemies to thoſe which ſhall make Warre againſt the *Carthaginians*, except the Townes, Cities, and Ports, with whom they haue a ſworne league. We likewiſe ſhall be Enemies to thoſe which ſhall make Warre againſt King *Philip*, except the Cities and Nations with whom we haue ſworne friendſhip. Finaly, you ſhall maintaine our party, in giuing aide and comfort according to the neceſſity of our affaires, in the War begun betwixt vs and the *Romans*, vntill that by the grace of the Gods you and we may haue a good end. And if by the helpe of the Gods you and we ſhall conſent to to treate of friendſhip with the *Romans* touching the Warre we haue with them, we will treate it in ſuch ſort, as you C
ſhall be partakers, ſo as it ſhall be neuer lawfull for them to make Warre againſt you: Neither may the *Romans* rule ouer the *Cercyreins* or *Apolliniates*, or *Epidamnes*, or ouer *Phaire*, or *Demale*, the *Parthins*, and the *Antintanica*: And moreouer they ſhall reſtore to *Demetrius* of *Phaire* all his Subiects, whom they haue receiued for Burgeſſes. And if it happen that the *Romans* make Warre againſt vs or you, we ſhall ſuccour one another as the common neceſſity ſhall require. The like alſo we will doe, if others make Warre againſt vs, except the Kings and Nations with whom we are in league. Moreouer, we will adde or diminiſh what we D
ſhall thinke good of this accord ſworne by a common conſent.

During theſe things *Philip* taking the Bowels of the Sacrifices, the which according to the cuſtome were brought vnto him, and bending himſelfe a little, he preſented them to *Arate*, demanding of him what thoſe Sacrifices ſignified, and whether they would abandon that Fort or keepe it ſtill. Then *Demetrius* as the moſt aged, ſaid: If thou haſt the iudgment of a Soothſayer, we wil leaue it ſuddainly, but if the vnderſtanding of a warlike King, we will keepe it. And not to abandon it, thou ſhalt

conſider

conſider of another neceſſary occaſion: For by this meanes in laying hold of the Oxes hornes, thou ſhalt haue it wholy in thy ſubiection. By the hornes he meant *Iſthomate*, and the Acrocorinthe: and by the Oxe, *Morea*.

Then *Philip* returning to *Arate*, art thou of this aduice? And when as *Arate* ſpake nothing, he intreated him to deliuer his opinion: who after he had conſidered thereon, anſwered, thou mayſt keepe it, if thou canſt prouide in ſuch ſort that the accord with the *Atheniens* may not be infring'd. If in taking it thou puts a Garriſon, thou ſhalt looſe all the
A Fort, and the Garriſon it ſelfe (meaning his fayth) which thou haſt receiued from *Antigonus*, in giuing the Guards to the Allies. Conſider whether it be now better, that in putting me forth, thou looſeſt this fidelity, and that by this meanes thou ſetleſt Garriſons ouer the *Meſſeniens*, and other Allies. But *Philip* had a great deſire to breake the accord: the which his following actions made manifeſt. And when hee had a little before beene ſharpely reprehended by yong *Arate* for the defeate of ſome men, and that the elder (hauing ſpoke freely and with authority) had intreated him not to giue an eaſie eare to ſuch ſpeeches as ſhould be vſed vnto him, ſhame reſtrained him: and taking his right
B hand, well ſayd he, let vs follow the ſame courſe.

In regard of the City of the *Sardins*, there were continually combats and dangerous encounters. For the ſouldiers of eyther ſide ſtudied day and night to fruſtrate one anothers pollicies by new inuentions: to write all which in particular would be no leſſe vnprofitable then tedious. And whenas the ſiege had continued full two yeeres, *Lagoras* of *Candy*, a man well experienced in the art of warre, hauing conſidered with himſelfe, that many times ſtrong Cities fall eaſily into the Enemies hands, by the negligence of the inhabitants, who relying vpon their fortifications made as well by nature as art, aſſure themſelues and grow idle: And
C knowing likewiſe how they are accuſtomed to ſet guards in ſtrong places, which might make heads againſt the Enemies attemps: Seeing likewiſe according to his conceit the deſpaire of them all, that they ſhould not be able to take the *Sardins* Fort by this meanes, and that want of victuals and munition, remained for their laſt hope to take it: The more he conſiders thereon, and ſtudies by what meanes he might finde ſome occaſion to ſurprize the City. And when as afterwards hee found that the courting of the place, which they call *Serie* (it is that which ioynes the City with the Fort) was without guard, it happened that according to his hope and opinion, he diſcouered the negligence of the guard by his preſumption. *A ſigne of the Sardins negligence.*

D This place was very rough and ſteepe, hauing a valley neere vnto it, into the which they of the City caſt their dead carrion: Whither reſorted a great number of vulture and other rauening Birds. When this man ſaw that theſe Birds after they were full gorg'd, pearch daily vpon the top of the valley, and on the wall, he knew thereby, that of neceſſity this courtine was abandoned, and for the moſt part without guard. Then approaching wiſely in the night, hee ſought meanes to get vp. And when he found that in a certaine place of the valley they might

aſcend, he aduertiſed the King. Who conceiuing a good hope, perſwaded *Lagoras* to continue his enterprize, promiſing to doe what poſſibly hee could. *Lagoras* intreats the King, to giue him for companions *Theodote* the *Etolien*, and *Denis* Captaine of his guard, and that hee would command them to beare him company to lay this Ambuſh: For they ſeemed to bee able men and ſufficient for this enterprize. And when the King had ſatisfyed his demand, they agree together, and by a common conſent make choyſe of a night, when as part of the morning had no moone-light. After which the day before at Sunne-ſetting, they make choyce of fifteene ſtrong and reſolute men, A to mount vp the ladders with them, and to gaine the wall, who in this hardy enterprize ſhould be their companions.

Then they choſe thirty other, to lye a little diſtant of in Ambuſh: to the end that when they had recouered the wall, they ſhould fall vpon the next gate, and ſtriue to breake the hinges and ioynts, and the others within the barres and lockes. They alſo appoynt two thouſand men in the reare of theſe, who entring with them, ſhould recouer the place of the Theater: The which was made ſo conueniently, as it was oppoſite to the approaches of thoſe of the Forts and thoſe of the City. Moreouer to auoyd the ſuſpition of the truth, B in regard of the choyſe of theſe men, he gaue order that the *Etoliens* ſhould giue an aſſault vnto the City by a certaine valley: And therefore it was needfull that theſe ſhould ſecond them, according to a ſigne which ſhould be giuen them. When as all things were ready, and the Moone growne darke they which were *Lagoras*, taking the ladders, approacht cloſely to the top of the valley, and hid themſelues vnder the rocke.

When at the breake of day they had relieued the watch which was on that ſide, and the King had ſent (as of cuſtome) others to ſecond them, and had appoynted a good number for a place where they runne their horſes, no man ſuſpected any thing of the enterprize: But when C as the two ladders were ſet vp againſt the wall, where *Denis* on the one, and *Lagoras* on the other mounted firſt vnto the top, their grew a great noyſe, and alteration in the Campe. It ſo fell out that they which mounted the ladders, could not be diſcouered by them of the City, nor by the reſt which were in the Fort vnder *Acheus*, by reaſon of the Rocke which aduanced ouer the valley. But their courage which aſcended the wall and aſſailed the City, was apparant to the Army. Wherefore ſome wondred at there incredible reſolution, others foreſeeing the future, and fearing, remained partly amazed, and partly ioyfull. Wherefore the King ſeeing the alteration in his Campe, deſiring alſo to diuert D this fancie, as well from his owne men, as from thoſe of the City, he led forth his Army, and beſieged the two Gates, which they call *Perſides*, On the other ſide *Acheus*, ſeeing the Enemies alteration more then of cuſtome, was in great doubt, being ignorant of the preſent cauſe, and could not vnderſtand the practiſe, Yet he ſent men to the Gate, which ſuccours came ſomewhat late, for that they deſcended by ſtraights and hollow places. *Aribaze* who was Captaine of the City, went

ſimply

ſimply to the Gates, which he had ſeene *Antiochus* aſſaile: appoynting ſome to goe vnto the wall, others to make ſallies by the Gate, to keepe the Enemy from approaching, and to fight with them. In the meane time *Lagoras*, *Theodote*, and *Denis*, with their troupe, hauing recouered the walls, came to the Gate vnderneath, whereof ſome maintayned the charge which the Inhabitants gaue them, others brake the barres and bolt of the Gates. The like did they without which were appoynted to that Quarter. When as the gate was opened, the other two thouſand entred the City, and ſeize vpon the place of the Theater. This done, all they which had runne to the walls, and to the Gate which they call *Perſide*, who had beene ſent by *Aribaze* to defend it, againſt the Enemies aſſault, came running thither. After which retreate, the Gate was opened, ſo as ſome of the Kings troupe purſuing thoſe which abandoned it, entred pell mell. When they had taken the Gate by force, ſome entred the City, others forced the next Gates. They that were of *Aribazes* band, with all the Citizens, recouered the Fort by flight, after they had made ſome little reſiſtance. After this route, *Lagoras* and *Thodotes* band ſtood firme in the place of the Theater, ſeruing as a Fort to all the reſt. Finally the reſt of the Army charging of all ſides tooke the City. By this meanes, the City was wholly ſackt and ruined, ſome killing thoſe they encountred, others ſetting fire of the houſes, and ſome gaping after ſpoyle for their priuate profit. And thus *Antiochus* vanquiſhed the *Sardins*.

The City of the *Sardins* taken by aſſault.



A PARCELL OF the Eighth Booke of the Hiſtory of POLYBIVS, concerning the Difference of a Perticular and Generall Hiſtory.

NO man can iuſtly ſay, if they to whom theſe kindes of Calamities and diſaſters haue befalne, ought to be blamed or cenſured, or helde worthy of pardon and pitty in regard thereof: For that it falls and happens to many (to whom all things haue beene done conformable and agreeable vnto reaſon) to bee ſubiect to thoſe which tranſgreſſe with great deſire, the things which are iuſt and reaſonable before men. Yet wee may not be ſilent here, being neceſſary (hauing regard to the time and circumſtance of accidents) to blame ſome Captaines, and to pardon others: The which will appeare plainly by this. When *Archidamus* King of the *Lacedemonians* ſuſpected that *Cleomenes* aſpired to the Crowne, he fled from *Lacedemon*. Who ſoone after being againe perſwaded, put himſelfe into his hands. Being therefore by this meanes ſtript of Crowne and Life, hee hath left no excuſe to poſterity, of thoſe things which he hath ſuffred. For what colour is there, the cauſe being ſtill the ſame, and *Cleomenes* power increaſing, but he ſhould ſuffer the things which we haue ſpoken, hauing put himſelfe into their hands, from whom he formerly had fled, giuing order for his ſafety contrary to all hope? Although that *Pelopidas* of *Thebes* had beene the cauſe of King *Alexanders* iniquity, and that hee knew well, that all Tyrants are capitall Enemies to thoſe which defend liberty, yet he perſwaded *Epaminundas* to

to be Gouernour not only of the popular Common-weale of the *Thebeins*, but alſo of the *Grecians*. And as he was an Enemy to *Theſſaly*, to the end he might ruine the Monarchy of *Alexander*, yet he preſumed to go the ſecond time in Embaſſie vnto him. Wherefore when he fell into the hands of his Enemies, hee was the cauſe of great preiudice to the *Thebeins*, and the ruine of their glory, which vntill that time they had preſerued: for the confidence he had in thoſe, whom he ſhould not haue truſted.

The like hapned to *Cheius* Chiefe of the *Romans*, during the Warre
A of *Sycily*, for that he had indiſcreetly thruſt himſelfe into the Enemies power. Diuers others haue ſuffered the like. Wherefore they are worthy of blame, who without great conſideration, ſubmit themſelues vnto their Enemies, and not they who (aſmuch as in them lies) mannaged their Affaires diſcreetly: for in truth no man can gouerne them well, relying vpon another. If thou doſt them by certaine occaſions, which are conformable to reaſon, thou ſhalt be blameleſſe. The moſt likely cauſes of this kind are, an Oath, Children, Wife, and for the moſt certaine, the fore-paſſed life. And if it happens that vnder colour of theſe things, thou falſt into an inconuenience, the faulte
B ſhall not bee thine in ſuffering, but theirs who commit the wrong. Wherefore we muſt ſeeke ſuch Arguments and aſſurances, as in regard thereof, he in whom you truſt, may not breake the faith which hee hath giuen. But for that there are few ſuch, the beſt will bee to haue a care of thoſe which are conformable to reaſon: ſo as if wee be deceiued therein, wee may not looſe our excuſe with ſtrangers: the which hath hapned to many of our Predeceſſors.

It is a thing much more manifeſt in thoſe times whereof wee haue made mention, and of a later date, in that which hath befalne *Acheus*:
C who fell into his Enemies hands, although hee omitted nothing that might be done for his ſafety, prouiding for all things as much as Humane ſenſe could effect. Wherefore the euent hath cauſed commiſſeration and pardon, in him which hath ſuffered with ſtrangers, and blame and hatred to thoſe which haue done the outrage. Moreouer, I do not find it ſtrange to my Enterprize and firſt intention, to aduertiſe the Readers of the greatneſſe of theſe things, and of the ambitious deſire of the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* Common-weales. Who will not hold it fit to be conſidered, how the Gouernours of ſuch great Cities, not being ignorant of the things which had happened in *Italy* and *Spaine*, hauing moreouer of either ſide an equall hope of the future, and a preſent danger of the Warre, haue not beene contented
D with this apparent diſcommodity, but contended for *Sardinia* and *Sycily*, imbracing the whole, not onely in hope, but with Expences and Preparations of Warre, which will mooue any man to wonder, that ſhall obſerue it all in perticular? The *Romans* had two ſufficient Armies in *Italy* with their Conſuls for their preſeruations: And two others in *Spaine*, where *Gneius* had the leading of that by Land, and *Publius* of the other by Sea. Theſe are things which happened to the *Carthaginians*. Moreouer they ſent an Army by Sea, to croſſe the attempts

tempts of *Philip* in *Greece*: In the which *Marcus Valerius* commaunded first, then *Publius Sulpicius*, with whom *Appius* likewise ioyned with a hundred Quinqueremes. Moreouer *Marcus Claudius* furnished with an Army at Land, had assailed *Sycily*: The like *Amilcar* had done being sent by the *Carthaginians*.

By the which things I am confident, (the which I haue often spoken in the beginning of this Worke) to find a certaine assurance by the accidents which consist in this, that it is not possible for those which Write perticular Histories, to be able to obserue the generall dispositiō of things: For how is it possible, that he which doth barely read A the Exploits of *Sycily* and *Spaine*, can know or conceiue the greatnesse and continuance of Actions, nor in what sort or forme of a Commonweale, Fortune hath brought it to an end? The which is very admirable to vs, for that all the Countries of the World, which are come to the knowledge of men, are subiect to one Empire and Power, the which hath not formerly beene.

It is true, that it is not impossible to vnderstand in some sort by perticular Histories, how the *Romans* haue Conquered *Sycily* and *Spaine*: But it is a difficult thing to know in what sort they haue attained to this Vniuersall power and Commaund: Nor to what vse perticular Actions B haue serued to their generall Enterprize, nor with what succours, nor at what time they haue attempted it, without a full and generall History of the proceedings: neither will it be easie for the same causes, to consider the greatnesse of Actions, nor the power of this Commonweale. For in that the *Romans* haue Conquered *Sycily* and *Spaine*, and haue made Warre there both by Sea and Land, it is no wonder if one man deliuer it in perticular. But if we consider that when these things hapned, this powerfull Common-wealth had ended many others, and at the same time, and how it was effected, and with what calamities and Warre, they were afflicted in their owne Region, which performed these Exploits at that time, finally their deedes wilbe held glori- C ous and admirable; and then the knowledge of these things will square well. This Discourse shalbee directed vnto those, who by perticular Commentaries, thinke they are able to attaine vnto the knowledge of a generall History.

Marcus furnished with an Army of threescore Quinqueremes, sailed to *Achraudine*, either of which were armed with men, carrying Bowes, Slings, and Darts to repulse those which should defend the Forts. Hee had also eight Quinqueremes furnished with Pallisadoes, aswell on the right as left side: with the which being ioyned together with two thin inclosures, they approacht vnto the Wall, by meanes of the Pallisa- D do set without the inclosure, and they call them Sambuques. The manner of ordring the same Engines was in this sort. They had within the Ship a Ladder of foure foote broad, to the end that at the Descent it might come to the top of the Wall: Vppon the sides thereof they made stayes, and armed them with a couering for defence, setting them crosse the inclosures, which kept the Shippes vnited together, so as they did passe much beyond the Prow or fore-part of the Shippe.

The order of the Engines of Battery.

There

There were pullies faſtned with Cords to the top of the Maſts : and when as neceſſity required, they drew thoſe which were at the poope or hinder part by the pulleys, with Cords tyed to the top of the ladder. The others which were at the Prowe, aſſured the Engine with ſtayes : and finally they approacht it to the wall, drawing neare to Land by the nauigation of the ſhips, which was done by the meanes of two Palliſadoes which are placed without. On the top of the ladder there was a planke, which couered three ſuperficies with *Perſian* Targets, to the which foure Souldiers mounted, and fought
A againſt thoſe which from the Forts ſought to hinder the approach of the Sambuques. When by the ioyning of the ladder they haue gained the wall, in diſarming the ſides of their Targets, they mount to the Forts or Towers. The reſt follow them by the Sambuques, by meanes of the tranſport of the ladder from Veſſell to Veſſell by ropes. Finally, this Engine was not vnfitly ſo called. For being finiſhed and ſet vp, the figure of the ſhip and ladder reduced into one, make it like vnto a Sambuque. They imagined to come cloſe vnto the Wall with this Engine.

But *Archimides* hauing made prouiſion of Engines fit for all diſtances, troubled them at Sea much, and thruſt them into deſpaire, annoying them a farre off with caſting Engines which were ſtrong and
B great. But if they went beyond them, he vſed leſſer Engines, according to the diſtance, which diſappointed and hindred their Enterprize and nauigation : vntill that *Marcus* being much perplexed, was forced to make his approaches couertly in the Night. When they had recouered Land, and were out of the Battery, he made another kind of Engine againſt thoſe which were to fight by Sea. For hee made many holes in the Wall without, the height of a man, and of the bigneſſe of a mans hand, where hee appointed within caſters of Darts, and of Engines to repulſe, making by the meanes thereof the Enemies attempts in their mounting vnprofitable.

C By this meanes he not onely repulſ'd them farre off, and preuented their attempts neare, but alſo ſlew many of them. And whereas they made vſe of their Sambuques, he likewiſe ſet vp Engines, to pull them ouer the Wall : and kept them alwaies hidden vntill neceſſity required, ſetting them vpon the Walles within, to paſſe forth and fall vpon the ſayle-yards : ſome of them caſt Stones, or Lead of twelue hundred waight. And when as the Sambuques approach ſometimes in turning, they caſt from the top of the Engines with a Tower, Stones againſt them as neceſſity required. So as not onely the Sambuque hath beene
D broken, but alſo the Veſſel: and all they that were within it in great danger. Againe, ſome Engines caſt leſſer Stones vpon the Enemy, comming to the aſſault couered with Targets, to the end they might not bee annoyed with the Darts and other Weapons, which they caſt from the Wall, that they which fought in the Prowe might bee repulſ'd. They likewiſe let downe a hand of Iron tyed to a Chayne, the which laying hold of him which gouerned the toppe, drew the Prowe within the Walles with the tayle of the Engine. And if at any time in rayſing the Prowe, hee ſet the Shippe vppon its Poope,

hee held it firme and vnmoueable by his inſtrument, then by a kind of fauour he let ſlip the hand and the chaine by the Engine. By this meanes ſome fell vpon their ſides, others were ouerthrowne, a great part of them (the Prow falling from the top to the bottome) were drowned with great confuſion. *Marcus* diſcontented with *Archimides* repulſes, ſeeing likewiſe his men preuented in their attempts, to his preiudice and diſgrace, ſayd (although hee were grieued with his misfortune) in ſcoffing at the deeds of *Archimides*, that he vſed his ſhips as they doe pots, to draw water out of the Sea, and that being battred and beaten, they were as diſloyall fallen infamouſly. This was the end of the Siege at Sea. In regard of thoſe which were with *Appius*, they ceaſed from their attempts, hauing endured the like affronts and loſſes. For although they were a good diſtance from the Wall, yet they were hurt and ſlaine with their caſting of Stones and Darts. A

In truth the Art, the number and the effect of all manner of Engines, whereof King *Hieron* had made good prouiſion, was admirable, the which *Archimides* had forg'd and made, being the Architect and Engineere. And when as they approacht the City, ſome of them (as we haue ſayd) were ſlaine with their Arrowes, and continually repulſ'd from their approaches: Others couered with Targets, and therefore aſſailing with greater force, were ouerthrowne, and ſlaine with Stones and the bodies of Trees: A good number likewiſe were ſlaine by the hands deſcending from the Engines as we haue ſayd: For they caſt downe men being raiſed vp on high with their Armes. Wherefore they of *Appius* Army retiring to their Campe, and holding a Councell with the Captaines, were all of one opinion, and reſolued to try all manner of hope, to take *Saragoſſe* by ſiege: the which in the end they did. For when they had beſieged this City for the ſpace of eight Moneths, they ceaſed not daily to make braue and valiant enterprizes of Warre: But they neuer durſt attempt to take it by force. B C

By this meanes a man with good fortune ſeemed to bring to an end great and admirable things, when as they are fitly loyned together in great affaires. Finally, the *Romans* hauing ſuch great Armies both by Sea and Land, attended to take the Towne ſpeedily, if they could get an old man out of *Saragoſſe*, not daring to approach it, whilſt that *Archimides* were preſent and could defend it. Wherefore conceiuing that *Saragoſſe* might be taken for want of victuals and munition, conſidering the great multitude which was in the City, they relyed vpon this hope: and hindred by an Army at Sea that nothing might approach, and by that at Land, that no ſuccours might come. Moreouer, the Commanders being loath to ſpend the time in vaine, during the ſiege of *Saragoſſe*, but withall to vndertake ſome good thing beſide the ſiege, they diuided their Army in ſuch ſort, as two parts ſhould remaine with *Appius* for the ſiege of the City: And that *Marcus* with the third part ſhould aſſaile the *Carthaginians*, who ſent an Army into *Sicily*. D

Finally, *Philip* hauing made the *Meſſeniens* his mortall Enemies, could

could in nothing offend them that was worthy of fame: Although hee had aſſailed their Countrey to torment them, vſing great indignities to his beſt Friends. For ſoone after hee cauſed old *Arate* to bee poiſoned in *Meſſene*, for that hee was diſcontented with his courſe of life: The like hee did to *Taurion*, who had ſerued him in *Morea*. Wherefore theſe his Actions were preſently divulged and made knowne to ſtrangers. His power ouer thoſe whom hee then defeated was not new, but long before vſed, and practiſed by cuſtome: neither was *Arate* ignorant of this miſchiefe, the which was diſcouered by this meanes. And as he had concealed it from all others, yet he did not hide it from *Cephalon* one of his familiar Friends: But declared vnto him his infirmity, the which appeared by the bloudy ſpittle againſt the wall, ſaying: Behold *Cephalon*, the recompence wee reape by *Philips* Friendſhip. *Philip* cauſeth *Arate* to be poiſoned.

Truely, Mediocrity is ſo great and honeſt, as hee which ſuffers, is more aſhamed of the deed, then he that hath committed it. But ſuch rewards they reape of Friendſhip, that haue beene Companions in ſuch great Actions, and done ſeruice to *Philip*. Finally, *Arate* after his death receiued ſufficient honours, both in his Countrey and the Common weale of the *Acheins*, as well for the gouernment which hee had often in charge, as for the many fauours he did vnto that Nation. They decreed him Oblations and Heroyicke honours, and finally, all things which ſerue to perpetuate the memory: ſo as if the Dead haue any ſenſe, it is likely he commends the acknowledgement done vnto him, and the communication of affliction and dangers which haue happened in his life time. Honours done to *Arate* after his death.

As *Philip* had long deuiſed how to take *Liſſe*, and its Fort, deſiring to reduce thoſe places vnder his obedience, hee drew thither with his Army. Hauing marcht two dayes, and paſt the ſtreights, hee campt neare vnto the Riuer of *Ardaxana*, neare vnto the Citty. And when he had viewed the ſcituation of *Liſſe*, excellently well fortified both by nature and induſtry, as well towards the Sea as Land: And likewiſe the Fort ioyning neare vnto it, the which in ſhew was impregnable to all the World by force, as well for its extent vpwards, as for the other fortification, he deſpaired to take it, yet he did not wholly deſpaire to take the Towne. Conſidering therefore that the ſpace betwixt the Towne & the Mount of the Fort, was reaſonable to beſiege the Towne, he thought good to make a Skirmiſh there with his Archers, which was then his manner of proceeding: Suffring then the *Macedonians* to reſt a day, whom he aduertiſed of things neceſſary, he layd an Ambuſh in the Night of a great part, and the ableſt of his men, in certaine woody Valleys, and neare vnto a Mediterranian place, lying aboue the place wherof we haue ſpoken: and retaining for the day following thoſe that were armed with Targets, and the reſt of the nimbleſt Souldiers, hee takes his way forthwith towards the Citty, marching of either ſide towards the Sea.

When hee had paſt beyond it, and had made a ſtand there, it was apparent that hee meant to aſſaile the Citty in that place. As this

comming of *Philip* was not vnknowne, ſo a great number out of *Sclauonia* were come into *Liſſe*. It is true that for the great confidence they had in the fortification of the Fortreſſe, they ſent but a meane Garriſon. Wherefore when the *Macedonians* approacht, the Inhabitants preſently made a ſally, relying in their multitude and the force of the place. The King ordred the Targetteers in the plaine, commanding the moſt actiue to recouer the hills, and to fight valiantly with the Enemy. The which they performing, the danger ſeemed ſomething equall. But in the end *Philips* men retired, for the difficulty of the place and the multitude of their Enemies. And as they retired to them that were armed with Targets, they of the City purſuing them with a kind of diſdaine into the Plaine, fought with the Targetteers. They likewiſe which had the guard of the Fort, ſeeing *Philip* retire by little and little with his Troupes, and imagining that he was going away, came running couertly, truſting in the nature of the place: Then leauing few men within the Fort, they came by vnknowne wayes into the Plaine, as if they were to take the ſpoiles of their flying Enemies.

A ſally made by them of *Liſſe*.

But in the meane time they which were in Ambuſh, riſe ſuddainly and gaue a furious charge with the Targetteers vpon the Enemies. The multitude was herewith ſo amazed, as the *Liſſiens* retired for their ſafety to the City. In regard of thoſe which had abandoned the Fort, their returne was cut off by the Ambuſh. Whereby it happened that whereas before there was no hope, now the Fort was preſently taken, and without danger, and *Liſſe* the next day by the valour of the *Macedonians*; and by their rough and terrible aſſaults *Philip* hauing conquered the ſaid places contrary to his hope, he made all the Neighbours thereabouts ſubiect vnto him, ſo as a great part of *Sclauonia*, offred to ſubmit their Townes to his protection. It is true, there were no Forts that could endure the violence of *Philip*: neither any ſafety for thoſe which reſiſted, after the taking of the ſaid Forts by aſſault.

Liſſe taken by *Philip*.

Bolis was a man borne in *Candy*, who had long frequented the Court, and was aduanced to the prime dignity. Hee ſeemed to be very wiſe and reſolute, with no leſſe experience in the Warre. Whom when *Soſibius* had gain'd, and made affectionate vnto him, he commanded him (after a long ſpeech) to put a buſineſſe in execution, telling him, that there was not any thing at that time, could be more pleaſing vnto the King, then to finde meanes to ſaue *Achæus*. The which *Bolis* hauing heard, and promiſed to conſider thereon, he retired. Two or three dayes after, when he had thought of this Diſcourſe, hee came to *Soſibius*, and vndertooke to effect it; ſaying, that he had long held the party of the *Sardins*, and had good knowledge of the Countrey: Adding moreouer, that *Cambyle*, Captaine of the *Candiots* which are in pay with *Antiochus*, was not only a Burgeſſe, but alſo his kinſman and friend. It happened that *Cambyle* and the *Candiots* that were vnder his charge, had the guard of the backpart of the Fortreſſe, which was not fortified, but it was guarded by a multitude of *Cambyles* Souldiers. When as *Soſibius* found this aduice good, ſtudying how hee might free *Achæus* from calamity, or whether it were better to attempt it by ſome other

Bolis.

Cambyle.

man

man then *Bolis*, but his humour concurring with *Bolis*, the buſineſſe tooke this effect. *Soſibius* deliuered money preſently, to the end nothing ſhould bee wanting for the Enterprize, promiſing great rewards if it ſucceeded well. So promiſing the Kings fauour, and that of *Acheus* if hee might bee preſerued, hee fedde *Bolis* with great hopes.

This man being ready to vndertake the Enterprize, without any longer expectance imbarkes: and hauing Letters of Recommendation and credit, hee goes to *Nicomache* at *Rhodes*, who ſeemed to be affected to *Acheus*, as well for his Fathers loue, as for particular Friendſhip: And likewiſe to *Melancome* in *Epheſus*. Theſe in truth were the men, of whoſe meanes *Acheus* had formerly made vſe, as well comming to *Ptolomy*, as in other forreine and remote places.

Being come to *Rhodes*, and afterwards to *Epheſus*, hauing acquainted them with this buſineſſe, and finding them ready in any thing hee deſired, hee ſent *Arian* (being one of thoſe that were vnder his charge) to *Cambyle*, ſaying that he had beene ſent from *Alexandria*, to leuy forreine Souldiers, and that he had a great deſire to conferre with him concerning matters of importance: And therefore he deſired to appoint a time and place where they might meete vnknown to the World. *Arian* came to *Cambyle*, diſcouering vnto him his charge: whereunto hee gaue eare, being ready to doe that whereunto they preſt him, appointing a day and place knowne to them both: whither being come in the Night, he ſent backe *Arian*.

As *Bolis* was a *Candiot*, and cunning by Nature, he ſtudied of the reſolution inquiring of all things. Finally, according to the agreement of *Arian*, he goes to *Cambyle*, and deliuers him the Letters: whereon they aduiſe and conſult after the manner of *Candiots*. For they had no care to ſuccour *Acheus* being in danger, but onely to prouide for their owne ſafety and commodity. And as they were both *Candiots*, they were ſoone of one opinion as followeth: That the ten Talents which *Soſibius* had deliuered, ſhould be equally diuided betwixt them: and then they ſhould diſcouer the buſineſſe to *Antiochus*, to make vſe of him, and promiſe to deliuer *Acheus* into his hands, in giuing them money, and hopes worthy of their attempt. Theſe things being thus concluded, *Cambyle* vndertakes that which concernes *Antiochus*: *Bolis* on the other ſide reſolues within certaine daies to ſend *Arian* to *Acheus* with Letters of recommendation from *Nicomache* and *Melancome*. But concerning the meanes how *Arian* might enter ſafely into the Fort and returne, he giues him charge to doe his duty. If this were done, and that *Acheus* made anſwere to thoſe things which concerne *Nicomache* and *Melancome*, *Bolis* held himſelfe aſſured, that he might well deliuer him into the hands of *Cambyle*.

A Treaſon practiſed againſt *Acheus* by *Cambyle* and *Bolis*.

After this reſolution they part, eyther of them ſtriuing to effect that which they had concluded. *Cambile* imbracing the firſt occaſion, diſcouered the buſineſſe vnto the King. As this promiſe pleaſed *Antiochus*, which offered it ſelfe contrary vnto his hope, ſo he tooke it partly ioyfully, promiſing great matters: partly diſtruſting, he conſidered

of either of their opinions and reſolutions, But in the end giuing credite, thinking that this Enterprize came Diuinely vnto him, he often intreated *Cambyle* to bring it to an end. *Bolis* wrought in like manner with *Nicomache* and *Melancome*. Who thinking theſe things to be guided by God, they ſuddainly prepare Letters from *Arian*, directing them to *Acheus*, Written by their Common ſent, as they had bbin accuſtomed: And in ſending them they perſwaded *Acheus*, togiue credit to thoſe things which *Bolis* and *Cambyle* ſhould doe. They were written in ſuch ſort, as being ſurprized they could not be vnderſtood.

Arian enters the Fort by the helpe of *Cambyle*, and deliuers the Letter to thoſe that were with *Acheus*: and inſtructs him dilligently of euery thing, as one who from the beginning had beene preſent at that which was practiſed. And although hee anſwered oftner for *Soſibius* and *Bolis*, then of *Nicomache* and *Melancome*, and likewiſe for *Cambyle*, ſo hee often maintained by his owne inuention, the Arguments which they made: And the rather being ignorant of that which had beene reſolued betwixt *Cambyle* and *Bolis*. *Acheus* giuing credit, aſwell in regard of *Arians* anſweres, as of the Letters of *Nicomache* and *Melancome*, made an anſwer, and ſent *Arian* preſently backe. And as this buſineſſe was handled often of either ſide, in the end *Acheus* people ſent word of themſelues to *Nicomache*, that there was no more hope of ſafety remayning: And aduiſe him to ſend away *Bolis* with *Arian* at mid-night, as it were to take them. The reſolution of *Acheus* was, that firſt he would flye the preſent danger, and then recouer *Syria*.

Finally, he was in a wonderfull hope, that if ſuddainly and contrary to all hope he ſhewed himſelfe to the Inhabitants of *Syria*, *Antiochus* being yet tyed at *Sardainy*, he ſhould cauſe a great alteration, purchaſing great praiſe, aſwell with the *Antiocheins*, as with the inhabitants of baſe *Syria*, and *Phenicea*. *Acheus* being in this hope and conceite, expected the comming of *Bolis*. In regard of *Melancomes* peoples, after the comming of *Arian*, and the Letters read, they preſently ſend away *Bolis* with all ſpeede, making him great remonſtrances, and putting him in great hope, if he effected his Enterprize. *Bolis* ſending *Arian* before, aduertiſed *Cambyle* of his comming, and came by night to the place appointed. And when they had agreed on the day, and had reſolued how to bring all to an end, they entred the Campe at night. This was their reſolution: If it hapned that *Acheus* came out of the Fort alone, or accompanied with ſome one with *Bolis* and *Arian*, he might be taken with an Ambuſh as abandoned. But if he came foorth well accompanied, the buſineſſe would proue difficult, to thoſe to whom they had giuen the charge. Finally, they thought to take him aliue, knowing that by this meanes they ſhould do great pleaſure to *Antiochus*. Wherefore they gaue charge vnto *Arian* to march before, when he ſhould draw forth *Acheus*, for that he knew the turnings, by the which he had often entred and come forth. *Bolis* was to follow the reſt behind, to the end that being come vnto the place, where the Ambuſh ſhould be ready by *Cambyle*, he might ſeaze vpon *Acheus* and ſtay him, fearing that through the Allarum in the night,

be

he might ſaue himſelfe through the Forreſt, or being in Deſpaire, he might caſt himſelfe into ſome pit: and contrary to their Reſolution, fall aliue into the Enemies hands.

Theſe things being thus concluded, when *Bolis* came to *Cambyle*, he was the ſame night brought by him to *Antiochus* being alone. And when the King had receiued him graciouſly, and had aſſured them of his promiſes, making remonſtrances to either of them, not to be negligent in the buſineſſe, they then returned to their Campe. In the morning *Bolis* accompanied with *Arian* aſcend, and at night they enter
A the Fort. *Acheus* receiuing him with great affection and loue, demaunded many things of him dilligently. And as hee obſerued aſwell the countenance, as the familiar ſpeech wherewith *Bolis* aſſured the plot, he ſhewed partly a ioyfull countenance, for the hope of his ſafety: So he partly languiſhed, for the apprehenſion of the future danger. But for that he was a man of a great Spirit and great Experience, hee did not hold it fit to relye wholy vpon *Bolis*. And therefore he vſed this Speech vnto him: That for the preſent hee could not go foorth; and that hee would ſend three or foure of his friends with him, and that after conferrence with *Melancome* he would be ready. *Acheus* in
B truth did all that could be done: But hee was ignorant of the common Prouerbe: *That hee muſt Candize with the* Candyots. *Bolis* likewiſe had fore-ſeene all things which concerned this buſineſſe.

To Candize with the Candyots.

But when the night came, in the which he ſayd he would ſend his friends, ſending *Arian* and *Bolis* before out of the Fort, he commanded them to attend vntill the comming of thoſe which ſhould goe with them. Whereunto obeying, in the meane time he conferres with his Wife. But for that he had amazed *Laodicea*, with a buſineſſe not fore-ſeene, he ſtayed ſome time vntill he had pacified her, and brought her to an expectance of good hope. Then making the fift, hee attired
C the others meanly, and himſelfe puts on an old and ſimple Robe, ſhewing himſelfe to be a man of a baſe condition: and ſo he goes forth. He had giuen charge to one of his Friends to anſwere *Arian* continually to all that he ſhould propound, and that he ſhould learne of him whither they went, and ſhould ſpeake of the reſt as of *Barbarians*. When they were come to *Arian*, he went before for the knowledge hee had of the way.

Laodicea the wife of *Acheus*.

In regard of *Bolis* he followed behind, according to the firſt reſolution, being doubtfull of that which was offered. For although hee were a *Candyot*, and did diue into all things neerely, yet he could not
D know *Acheus*, by reaſon of the darkneſſe of the night, nor yet whither he was there. And as the deſcent was rough, and for the moſt part vneaſie, and in ſome place vnſafe and dangerous for the ſteepneſſe, and being come vnto a certaine place, where as ſome helde *Acheus* and others receiued him, (at that time in truth they could not wholy forbeare to yeild him their accuſtomed reuerence) then *Bolis* ſuddainely knew which was *Acheus*. When hee came to the place appointed to *Cambyle*, and that *Bolis* had giuen them a ſigne by his whiſtle, they of the Ambuſh iſſue forth and take the reſt: But *Bolis* ſeazed vpon *Acheus*, ha-

uing his hands wrapt vp in his Robe, fearing that in diſcouering the Ambuſh, he ſhould attempt to kill himſelfe: for hee had a Sword ready. Being thus ſuddainly inuironed, he fell into the hands of his Enemies, and was preſently led to *Antiochus* with his friends. The King remaining in ſuſpence, expecting what would become of it, hee was alone in his Tent waking accompanied onely with two or three of his guard. But when as *Cambyles* Company was arrived, and had layed *Acheus* bound vpon the ground, his Speech failed him for ſo ſtrange an accident; ſo as he continued long without ſpeaking: And in the end toucht with Commiſſeration and pitty, the teares came into his eyes: the which in my opinion hapned by a Conſideration, that thoſe things which Fortune brings, are inceuitable and vncertaine.

Acheus taken and brought to Antiochus.

Acheus was ſonne to *Andromachus*, brother vnto *Laodicea* the Wife of *Seleucus*, and he had married *Laodicea* daughter to King *Methridate*, and withall hee was Lord of all the Region on this ſide Mount *Tauris*. As hee was then held to liue in a place of his owne wonderfull ſtrong for the Enemy, ſo he was now ſet vpon the ground bound and mannacled in their hands: Neither was there any man that knew of the fact, but thoſe which had the Execution. But when the day was come, and that the friends (according to the cuſtome) were come vnto the Tent, and ſaw this accident, it hapned vnto them as it had done formerly vnto the King. For in wondring at the buſineſſe, they were in doubt of thoſe things which they ſaw. When the Councell was aſſembled, they ſpake many things of him touching his defeate. Firſt they decreed that his hands and feete ſhould be cut off, and then hauing taken of his Head it ſhould be ſowed to an Aſſes skinne, and the reſt of his body hanged vpon a Croſſe. Which being Executed and the Army hearing thereof, the fury and alteration was ſo great in the Campe, as *Laodicea*, who knew nothing but the departure of her Husband, looking from the Fort, coniectured of that which had happened by the trouble and alteration in the Campe.

The Race of *Acheus.*

The condemnation & death of *Acheus.*

A Herald was preſently ſent vnto *Laodicea*, who aduertiſed her of thoſe things which had befalne *Acheus*, commaunding to conſider of Her eſtate, and to leaue the Fort. At the firſt they which held it made ſo great cries and lamentations, as they could giue no anſwere: Not ſo much for the affection they bare to *Acheus*, as for the accident which ſeemed to them all vnlooked for and not fore-ſeene. Finally, they were in great doubt what they ſhould do. *Antiochus* after the ruine of *Acheus*, preſt the beſieged more violently, perſwading himſelfe that in the end hee ſhould haue meanes to take it by the Souldiers themſelues: the which happened accordingly. For they beeing diuided among themſelues, they parted into Troupes, ſome holding for *Ariobaze*, others for *Laodicea*. After which, both parties yeilded for their mutuall diſtruſt, and deliuered the place.

The ſtrong fort yeilded to *Antiochus.*

To conclude, as *Acheus* had done what hee could in reaſon, (being vanquiſhed by the wickedneſſe of thoſe which aſſured him) loſt his life, ſeruing for a profitable Example to poſterity for two cauſes. Firſt, that no man ſhould relye ſimply vpon any: And next, that no man ſhould miſtake

miſtake himſelfe for his good Fortune, but be prepared for all accidents, which may happen to man. And therefore in the beginning they goe forth, as it were to take ſome ſpoiles, and come by night to the *Carthaginians* Campe: Others held the cloſe way, ſtaying at a certaine place full of Woods. But *Philimene* and *Nicon* approacht the Campe: Whom the Watch led Priſoners to *Hannibal*, they neuer diſcouering of whence nor what they were: making onely a ſigne that they would ſpeake with the Generall. He turnes his Diſcourſe to the *Carthaginians*.

Being then brought vnto *Hannibal*, they told him that they would
A ſpeake with him in ſecret. Who giuing them Audience with great affection, they excuſe themſelues and their Countrey, accuſing the *Romans* in many ſorts, to the end they ſhould not ſeeme to be come forth about this buſineſſe without cauſe. Wherefore *Hannibal* commended them much, and entertained them curteouſly: Finally, hee ſent them backe to returne ſpeedily to conferre with him, ordering for the preſent that theſe men ſhould be let go: when they were out of the Campe, and in the meane time he would conſider what ſhould be moſt ſafe. This he did to haue conference with theſe young men, and to inquire of their affaires: And to the end they ſhould keepe their credit with the Cittizens, as if by the Capraines leaue they had made incur-
B ſions for ſpoile. *Tarentum* betrayde to *Hannibal*.

When as *Nicon* had Executed his Charge, *Hannibal* was very well ſatisfied and ioyfull: For that he might haue meanes to effect his Enterprize which was then difficult. *Philimene* on the other ſide affected the buſineſſe propounded, for that they had giuen him a ſafe acceſſe to ſpeake, and he had found *Hannibal* very attentiue, promiſing him to giue ſtore of Victuals to the Cittizens. Then they not onely got credite with the *Tarentins*, but moreouer they had a good Traine, aſwell for the accord made, as for the Victuals whereof they had ſufficient. Afterwards making a ſecond incurſion, and putting euery thing
C in Execution, they aſſured *Hannibal*: and were likewiſe aſſured by him, (that is to ſay,) that the *Carthaginiani* ſhould leaue the *Tarentins* in their Liberty, not oppreſſing them with any Subſide or Tribute, nor with any other impoſt: Being alſo lawfull for them, after they had Conquered the Citty, to ruine the *Romans* Houſes. Finally they agreed, that when they ſhould come vnto the Campe, the Watch ſhould preſently take them.

Which things being concluded, they had power to come and ſpeake often with *Hannibal*: parting from the Citty ſometimes to get ſpoyle, and ſometimes to Hunt. These things being thus agreed vpon for the
D future, moſt of them had a care of the occaſion. In regard of *Philimene*, they appointed him for Hunting. For as he was much inclined to it, they thought he could do no other thing but to attend it. Wherefore they gaue him this Charge, to the end he might take wild beaſts, firſt to winne *Caius Lybius* Gouernour of the Citty, and afterwards thoſe which kept the Gates, which are called *Temenides*. Imbracing this Commiſſion, he tooke ſome Beaſts in Hunting, others were prepared for him by *Hannibal*. For his part hee continually brought his *Philimene* appointed for Hunting.

prize,

prize, whereof he ſhared part to *Caius* and to the Guards of the gates to the end they might ſpeedily open the Gate called *Rhinopile*. He entred and went forth often in the night by this Gate, vnder colour of feare of the Enemy, but in the meane time hee made vſe of it for his Enterprize.

When *Philimene* had obtained this courſe with the Guards, ſo as without ſuſpition approaching to the Wall, if he whiſtled, they opened vnto him the Gate *Rhinopile*: And withall obſeruing that the Roman Gouernour of the Gate, ſhould be on a certaine day with great Company at *Muſea* neere the Market place, they appointed that day to *Hannibal*. He had long before inuented this fiction, as if hee were ſicke, to the end the *Romans* ſhould not hold it ſtrange, that he ſtaied ſo long there; and then he feined himſelfe to be more ſicke. Hee had not beene in the Campe for the ſpace of three daies vpon the approaches of *Tarentum*. The day being come, he makes choiſe of a thouſand of the ableſt and reſoluteſt men, both Horſe and Foote: to whom he giues charge to carry Victuals for foure dayes. Finally hee marcht ſpeedily, remooving his Campe at the breake of day. He gaue commaund to foure-ſcore *Numidian* Horſes to marcht thirty Furlongs before the Campe, and that they ſhould run of eyther ſide of the Country, to the end that no man might diſcouer the whole Campe, but taking ſome of them that fled, the reſt which eſcaped might aduertiſe the Citty of the *Numidians* courſes. When as the *Numidians* were about twenty Furlongs off, they ſet downe to Supper neere vnto a certaine Riuer, in a Rocke which was not eaſie to diſcouer.

Then *Hannibal* drawing the Captaines together, he diſcouers his Enterprize vnto them; and perſwades them, that firſt of all they ſhould carry themſelues like braue men: for that there were neuer ſuch great rewards propounded vnto them: And that ſecondly euery man ſhould keepe his Souldiers in obedience during the Voyage, and puniſh thoſe ſeuerely, that ſhould abandon their places thorough Diſobedience. Finally, they ſhould haue a care of thoſe things which ſhould bee Commaunded, and that they ſhould not attempt any thing of their owne fancy, contrary to his Commandement. This Speech being deliuered in the preſence of the Captaines, he marcht, (being yet night) meaning to come vnto the Walls about mid-night. Hee had *Philimene* for his Guide, to whom hee gaue *Synagrie* for a Companion in that ſame Action.

VVhen as *Calus Lybius* with his Company were in the day time at *Muſea*, according to the conception of the Youth, they aduertiſed him that the *Numidians* ouer-ran the Country towards the Weſt, when as their deſire of drinking increaſed. Yet thinking to ſtay them, hee called for the Captaines, giuing them charge to go forth at the breake of day with halfe the Horſe-men, and repulſe the Enemy which ſpoy the Countrey. This was all the conceite he had of the buſineſſe. As for thoſe which kept Company with *Nison* and *Tragiſque*, aſſembling ſuddainly within the Citty, they looked for the returne of *Caius*. And being ſuddainly ready, for that they had drunke in the day time, ſome

retiring

retiring to certaine places ſtayed there: Others among the Youth go to meete *Caius*, ſporting and playing among themſelues, making ſhewe to bring them backe which ſhould be found at the Banquet, and moreouer as it were, tranſported by reaſon of the Drunkenneſſe of *Lybius* Company, as ſoone as they met they fell to laughter and immoderate ſport of either ſide: then turning head they Conducted *Caius* vnto his Houſe. He layd him downe to reſt as a man ſoundly drunke, after the manner of thoſe which drinke daily, hauing nothing in his braine that troubled him: finally, he was full of ioy and negligence. But *Nicon* and *Tragiſque*, hauing aſſembled the Youth, diuided themſelues A into three Band: and after aduice, they ſeazed vpon the moſt commodious approaches to the Market place, to the end that nothing might be vnknowne vnto them, of that which was practiſed, aſwell within the Citty as without.

They alſo approached neere vnto *Caius* Houſe, being reſolued that if he ſhould haue any ſuſpition of the Enterprize, to kill him firſt: And that whatſoeuer they did they ſhould beginne with him. As it often times happens at the returne from Banquets, when as the Tumult was ſuddainly paſt, and that the multitude was layd downe and a ſleep, and B by the aduancement of the night, the hope of the Enterprize remained entire, then altogether attend the Execution. The Youth had articulated and agreed with the *Carthaginians*, that *Hannibal* comming to the Citty, neere vnto *Muſacee* on the Eaſt, and to the Gates which they call *Temenides*, he ſhould make a fire vpon a little Hill, the which ſome call the Hill of *Hyacinthe*, and others of *Apollo Hyacinthe*. And that when *Tragiſques* Company ſhould ſee it, they ſhould anſwere him by the like ſigne of fire: This done, *Hannibal* ſhould quench the fire which hee had made without the Citty, and then approach with a ſlow pace.

An accord made by the youth of *Tarentum* with the *Carthaginians*.

C Theſe things thus concluded, the Youth of the Citty hauing paſt the inhabited part, they came to the Monuments of the Deceaſed. The Eaſterne part of the Citty of *Tarentum*, was full of Monuments: For that all the dead are buried within the Walls of the Citty, according to a certaine old Oracle. They ſay that God gaue the *Tarentins* to vnderſtand by an Oracle, that it would be beſt for them when they had moſt Inhabitants. For their parts they thought, that they ſhould haue a good dwelling according vnto the Oracle, if they retained the dead within their Citty. For this cauſe they interre them within their wals. When as the Youth of the Citty was come to the *Pithyonique* Hill, they D expected what would ſucceede. *Hannibal* approaching did what had beene concluded: and the Company of *Nicon* and *Tragiſque* ſeeing the fire, they tooke courage, and kindled another fire. Againe ſeeing *Hannibals* fire quencht, they made haſt and ran vnto the Gate, meaning to preuent *Hannibals* men in killing the Guards: for that the *Carthaginians* preparing to enter marcht ſlowly. When they had preuailed in their Enterprize, and the Guards being ſurprized, ſome ſlew them, others brake the Bolts. The Gates being ſuddainly opened, *Hannibals* men came with ſuch a meaſured March, as without any delay they aſſailed

Tarentum taken by *Hannibal.*

aſſailed the Citty. When they had made their entry ſafely and without Tumult, thinking they had done the greateſt part of their buſineſſe, they entred the Market place boldly, on that ſide which ioines to the Sea. In regard of the Horſe-men, they leaue no leſſe then two Thouſand within the Walls for their ſupply, as well for the accidents which might happen without, as for other expected things which do vſually chance.

When they were come vnto the places neere vnto the Market, the Army made a ſtand. *Philimene* likewiſe being much troubled, how he might execute his Charge, ſtaied without. For when they made the fire, they ranne not to that Gate: and they had ſent him with a wilde Boare, and about a Thouſand *Lybians* with him to the next Gate, meaning to execute their Enterprize, not by one meanes only but by many. When as *Philimene* was according to his Cuſtome come vnto the Walls, the Guards ſuddainly were ready deſcending to *Rhinopile*. When as he called vnto them to open the Gate, for that hauing a Boare, hee was ſoare laden, the Guard hearing thoſe words open ſpeedily, expecting to haue a ſhare of *Philimenes* prize, as formerly hee had done to others. A

Philimene being the firſt of this Battalion enters, accompanied by another, wearing a *Numidian* Habite, as if hee had beene of that Countrey: after whom followed two others, carrying Veniſon. When there were foure entred, they ſlew him which opened the Gate, running ſimply and without feare, to handle the Boare, there entred to the number of Thirty *Lybians* by the little Wicket, which followed them a ſlow pace and ſecretly. This being done, ſome brake the Hinges, others ſlew the Guards at the Gate, and others called the *Lybians* by ſignes being yet without, leading them to the Market place, as it had beene ordred. *Hannibal* ioyfull of the adiunction of theſe men, for that matters ſucceeded according to his deſire, he was attentiue to that which he had begunne. Hee therefore drawes two Thouſand *Gaules* a part: and diuiding them into three Bands, hee appoints to eyther of them two of the Youth which had mannaged this Enterprize, with ſome of his Captaines, giuing them charge, that they ſhould gaine the moſt commodious approaches to goe vnto the Market place. After which they ſhould receiue the Youth of the Citty, and haue a care to preſerue the Cittizens, and that they ſhould crye out to the *Tarentins*, to ſtay in the place which was aſſigned them for their ſafety. Finally, hee Commaunds the Captaines of the *Carthaginians* and *Celts*, that they ſhould kill all the *Romans* they ſhould encounter. Diuiding themſelues one from another, they diſpatch that which they had in charge. The Enemies entry being knowne to the *Tarentins*, the Citty was full of cries and vnexpected Trouble. B C D

They kill the porter.

When as *Caius* was aduertiſed of the Enemies entry, thinking that he ſhould not be able to preuent the danger, by reaſon of his drunkenneſſe, he gets ſuddainly out of his lodging with his family: And when hee was come to the Gate which leads vnto the Port, and that the Guard had opened the *Rhinopile*, he eſcapes that way, and imbarques with his

Caius ſaues himſelfe.

his people in a little Cocke boate which lay in the Port, and was carried to the Fort. Afterwards *Philimene* makes prouiſion of Roman Trumpets, whereof ſome ſounded neere vnto the Theater, as they had vſually done. And when the *Romans* ran in Armes according to their Cuſtome to the Fortreſſe, the Enterpize was diſpatcht to the liking of the *Carthaginians*. But they which being diſperſed and without order entred into thoſe places, ſome fell into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, others among *Celts*: Who by this ſame meanes ſlew a great number.

A The day approaching, the *Tarentins* reſted in their Houſes, not able to preuent this inconuenience. For they thought by reaſon of the ſounding of the Trumpets, that this combuſtion had beene made by the *Romans*; for that they made no ſpoile in the Citty. But when they ſaw ſome of their men ſlaine in the place, and ſome of the *Gaules* ſtripping the dead bodies of the *Romans*, they beganne to thinke of the comming of the *Carthaginians*. When as *Hannibal* had drawne his Army into the market place, and that the *Romans* were retired to the Fort, the which they held before with their Garriſon, he cauſeth a Proclamation foorthwith to be made and proclaimed, that all the *Tarentins* ſhould come vnto the Market place without Armes. In re-
B gard of the Youth, they went vp and downe the Citty crying liberty, aduiſing and perſwading the Citizens to reſt aſſured that the *Carthaginians* were there for their good. But all the *Tarentins* which held the *Romans* party, being aduertiſed of this Action, retired to the Fort: The reſt aſſembled without Armes at the ſound of the Trumpet. To whom *Hannibal* ſpake graciouſly.

When the *Tarentins* had generally conceiued by his Speech, and vnexpected hope, he ſent many of them away, giuing them charge at their returne, to be carefull to Write the name of the *Tarentins* vpon their doores: And if by fortune or chance any one did it to a
C *Romans* Houſe, he ſhould be puniſhed with Death. Wherefore hee made choiſe of men accuſtomed vnto this charge, and ſends them preſently to ſpoile the *Romans* Houſes, willing them to hold and maintaine the *Tarentins* lodgings for Enemies, which had not the marke of a *Tarentine*. Finally, hee kept the reſt in battaile to ſuccour the others. When he had drawne together great ſtore of goods by this ſpoile, and that the commodities anſwering the conceiued hope of the *Tarentins*, came to good, they then returned to Armes.

The day following *Hannibal* holding a Councell with the *Tarentins*,
D decreed to ſeperate the Citty from the Fort, and to fortifie it, to the end they ſhould be no more in feare of the *Romans* holding the Fort. Wherefore he beganne firſt to fortifie the Citty with palliſadoes, right againſt the Wals of the Hill which is before the Fort. And knowing that the Enemies would ſtirre and make ſome attempt, hee appointed ſufficient Forces: Thinking that for the future, there would bee nothing more neceſſary, to amaze the *Romans*, and to aſſure the *Tarentins*. When as they beganne to ſet vp their impalement, and that the *Romans* aſſailed their Enemies with great confidence, courage and

A skirmish betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*.

reſolution, *Hannibal* fighting with them a little, prouoked them to the Combate. But when as many of them paſt beyond the Hill, he giuing courage to his men encounters the Enemy. When the Combate grew hot, as much as might be in a ſtreight place inuironed with Wals, the *Romans* in the end beeing roughly repuls'd gaue backe, ſo as many of them fell into the *Numidians* hands: Finally the greateſt part being repuls'd, and falling into the ditches, dyed.

After this, *Hannibal* fortified the Citty with Palliſadoes without danger, and hauing done all things to his liking hee was at quiet. He likewiſe forced the Enemies to remaine ſhut vp in their Fort, in feare not onely of themſelues, but alſo of the Fort. In regard of the Citizens, hee hath ſo puſt vp their Courage, as they helde themſelues able to reſiſt the *Romans*, without the helpe of the *Carthaginians*. Afterwards *Hannibal* leauing ſome little ſpace, from the palliſadoe towards the Citty, hee made a Ditch anſwering the Palliſadoe and the wall of the Fort, from whence ſome time there were Souldiers drawn vnto the wall of the Citty. Moreouer hauing Palliſadoed this Ditch, this fortification prooued not leſſe ſtrong then a Wall. Beſides the which within towards the Citty (leauing a reaſonable ſpace) hee beganne a VVall from that part which they call the Sauior, vnto that which they call Deepe: So as without any Garriſon, theſe Fortifications would bee ſufficient to cauſe the *Tarentins* to dwell in ſafety. Leauing then a ſufficient Garriſon of Horſe for the Guard of the Citty and wall, hee planted his Campe forty furlongs from the Citty, neere the Riuer which ſome call *Gallea*, others *Erota*, which name it hath taken from that other Riuer, paſſing neere vnto *Lacedemon*, which they likewiſe call *Erota*.

A

B

The Riuer of *Erota*.

The *Tarentins* in trueth haue many ſuch, as well in the Country as in the Citty, for that vndoubtedly they haue taken their Collony and Race from the *Lacedemonians*. The wall beeing finiſhed and ended, aſwell by the diligence and induſtry of the *Tarentins*, as the helpe and aſſiſtance of the *Carthaginians*, *Hannibal* reſolues to ouer-throw the Fort. And when hee had prepared and made all things ready for the ſiege, the *Romans* hauing receiued into the Fort ſuccours by Sea, from *Metaponcia*, they were ſomething refreſht and comforted, and in the night aſſailed *Hannibals* Engines, ruining them all with their preparations. This made *Hannibal* to deſpaire of the ſiege of the Fort.

C

C

And when the Citty wals were made perfect, he aſſembles the *Tarentins*, and lets them vnderſtand, that it was very neceſſary for them to be maſters of the Sea, againſt the diſcommodities of the preſent time. But as the mouth of the Port was in the Commaund of the Fort, it was not in their power to helpe themſelues with ſhippes at their pleaſure, or goe out of the Port: VVhere as the *Romans* had all neceſſaries brought vnto them ſafely. So as the Citty ſhould neuer enioy a perfect freedome and liberty. *Hannibal* conſidering this, he let the *Tarentins* vnderſtand, that if they which held the Fort, loſt the hope of the comodity of the Sea, they would preſently yeild it to them.

Hannibals Remonſtrance to the *Tarentins*.

D

D

The

The which the *Tarentins* hearing, they allowed of his Speech, but they could not at that time effect it, vnleſſe they were aſſiſted by the *Carthaginians* Army: The which could not then be done. Wherefore they could not conceiue whereto *Hannibal* tended, propounding theſe things.

And when he maintained that they might well be maſters of the Sea without the helpe of the *Carthaginians*, they wondred more, not being able to vnderſtand his conception. When hee had viewed the place within the Wals, from the Port vnto the outward Sea, he was of opinion that the Ships might ſaile cloſe vnto the Wall towards the A South. When hee had giuen this aduice vnto the *Tarentins*, they not onely imbraced it ſuddainly, but commended *Hannibal* wonderfully. Preſently after they had made Wheeles, they prepared a way for ſhips, which was ſooner done then ſpoken, for that affection and the multitude of Worke-men preuailed much. By this meanes the *Tarentins* paſt their ſhips into the open Sea, and ſafely beſieged thoſe of the Fort, who receiued their ſuccours from abroad. In regard of *Hannibal*, leauing the Citty he raiſed his Campe, and returning three dayes after, to the Palliſadoe which he had made in the be-
B ginning, hee ſtayed to ſpend the reſt of the Winter.

C

D

A PARCELL OF the Ninth Booke of the Hiſtory of POLYBIVS.

BEhold the moſt renowned and excellent Actions, comprehended vnder the aforeſayd Olympiade, and within the ſpace of foure Yeares which it containes: Of which wee will endeauour to ſpeake of in two Bookes. I am not ignorant that our Commentaries haue beene ſomthing rough, and that they are pleaſing to a certaine kinde of Auditors, and blamed by others. In truth other Hiſtoriographers, and in a manner all, or the greateſt part, helping themſelues with all the parts of a Hiſtory, draw many men to the reading of their Commentaries. The manner to Diſcourſe of Genealogies cauſes a deſire to heare: That alſo which ſpeakes of Collonies, Voyages, Poſſeſſions, and Races, which pleaſe a curious man of little iudgement, as that of *Ephorus*. And to a ciuill man, that wherein they Diſcourſe of the Actions of Nations, Citties, and Potentates, whereunto applying our ſelues plainly, and diſpoſing all our Treaty to theſe things, wee direct and guide our ſelues by a certaine kinde of Diſcourſe, as wee haue formerly promiſed.

It is true, wee direct moſt Readers to that which is not much pleaſing and delightfull. Finally, wee haue at large deliuered the cauſe, why in reprooving the other parts of a Hiſtory, wee will thus write the Actions. There is no hinderance that for the better expreſſing and declaration, wee ſhould not briefly aduertiſe the Reader heereof.

But

But as many of theſe things are related in diuers manners, of Geneologies, Fables, and Collonies, and moreouer of Races, Alliances, and Poſſeſſions, it will be neceſſary for him that would Write, to ſpeake conſequently of ſtrange things as proper, which were an infamous thing: Or if he will not, hee muſt labour in vaine, in promiſing publiquely to purſue and Comment of thoſe things, which haue bin ſufficiently declared, and deliuered to poſterity by the ancient.

For this cauſe, and for many others we haue left them, receiuing a relation of Actions: For that firſt, that as many new things offer
A themſelues often, ſo it is very neceſſary to vſe a new kinde of Diſcourſe: The which happens not in the beginning of the Relation, ſo as we deliuer the ſubſequent Actions. And ſecondly, for that this kinde hath beene before, and is moſt profitable, by the which the experience of things and Policies, haue ſo much preuailed with vs, as they which haue a deſire to know the Actions, may helpe themſelues by an eaſie way, in all that which happens by the courſe of time. Wherefore hauing no ſuch regard to the pleaſure and delight of thoſe which ſhall reade and peruſe our Commentaries, as to the profit of the Hearers, we haue (leauing the other parts) fixed vpon this. Finally, they
B which ſhall diligently conſider of our Commentaries, wilbe more certaine witneſſes.

When as *Hannibal* had incloſed the Campe of *Appius Claudius*, being at the ſiege of *Capoua*, at the firſt hee vſed skirmiſhes, ſeeking to draw the Enemy to Battaile. But when as no man preſented himſelfe, in the end he beſieged them, which was an Enterprize wherein hee was fruſtrated aſwell as of the firſt, although the Horſe-men of the Wings aſſailed them in Troupes, caſting Darts into their Campe, with great cries: And the foote-men charge them by Bands, labouring to breake the Palliſado. Yet they could not diuert the *Romans* from their former reſolution, repulſing thoſe which aſſailed the Palli-
C ſadoe with great ſtrength and Courage: And being well armed, they went not out of the Campe with their Enſignes. *Hannibal* bearing theſe things impatiently, and the rather for that the *Romans* could not any way bee annoyed from the Towne, ſtudied what order he might take for the preſent Affaires. For my part, I thinke that the caſe falling out thus, ſeemes to haue made not onely the *Carthaginians* to doubt, but all other men to whom the knowledge thereof hath come. *Appius beſieged by Hannibal.*

Who will not wonder, hearing how the *Romans* haue often beene
D vanquiſhed by the *Carthaginians*, and durſt not preſent themſelues, nor fight with them, haue not abandoned their Fort beeing in the open field? It is certaine that in times paſt, they had alwayes Camped onely at the bottome or foote of Mountaines againſt the Enemies: But now being in a faire Plaine, and in the openeſt place of all *Italy*, beſieging a ſtrong Towne, they were aſſailed by them of all ſides, againſt whom they durſt not once thinke or immagine to make head, being ſo much diſheartned. And although the *Carthaginians* preuailed continually fighting, yet they were no leſſe annoyed by the vanquiſhed:

Finally, I hold this to be the cauſe, that they conſider the Enterprize one of another: That is to ſay, that the Troupes of *Hannibals* Horſemen, purchaſed the Victory to the *Carthaginians*, and a defeate to the *Romans*: Wherefore the vanquiſhed made ſuddaine ſallies after the fight. They alſo lodg'd their Troupes in ſuch a place, as the Horſemen could not annoy them. The caſe falling out thus neere vnto *Capoua*, was common to them both. The *Romans* in trueth durſt not come foorth to fight, beeing terrified with the Enemies horſe. They kept themſelues within their Fort, knowing well that the Cauallery vanquiſhing them in fight, they could not annoy them. A

The *Carthaginians* likewiſe could not with reaſon ſtay long with ſo great a number of Horſes: For that the *Romans* had for that cauſe waſted the whole Countrey: Neither could they giue order to haue Hay and Barley brought on Horſe-backe ſo great a way vnto their Cauallery and Sumpters: Neither durſt the *Carthaginians* beſiege the Enemy without Horſe, being fortified with Ditches and Palliſadoes: Againſt the which in fighting without Winges vppon an equall danger, they ſhould hazard an vncertaine Fortune. They feared likewiſe that the *Roman* Subiects, would ioyne with them and ſuccour them, and that cutting of their neceſſary Victualls, they would draw him into B great diſtreſſe.

A wiſe Conſideration of *Hannibal*.

Hannibal conſidering theſe things, hauing opinion that they could not raiſe the ſiege directly, he takes another aduice. Finally, he makes his reckoning, that if in ſtealing away ſuddainly, he ſhould ſhew himſelfe about *Rome*, he might do ſomething that might be profitable for the *Carthaginians* affaires, the inhabitants beeing amazed with ſuch a new accident: Or if that did not ſucceede, hee ſhould force *Appius* Army to raiſe the ſiege to ſuccour and ſupply their Countrey, or elſe foorth-with diuide themſelues, ſo as they which ſhould ſuccour the Country, and they which remained at the ſiege would be eaſie to vanquiſh. Conſidering theſe things, hee ſent a certaine *Lybian* meſſenger C to *Capoua*, perſwading him to retire to the *Romans*, and ſo into the Citty, prouiding wiſely by this meanes, that his Letters might bee ſafely carried. He feared much, that the *Capouans* ſeeing his departure would yeilde, following the *Romans* party, as deſtitute of hope. For this cauſe hee acquaints them with his intention by Letters, for the which he ſends the *Lybian*, after the departure of his Army, to the end that knowing his reſolution and diſlodging, they ſhould maintaine the ſiege couragiouſly.

When as they which beſieged *Capoua*, had intreated the people of D *Rome* for aſſiſtance, that *Hannibal* held them beſieged, they were all in great doubt and feare, for that the preſent Affaires required a finall end, and therefore they ſought by frequent Embaſſies and attempts to aſſiſt that party concerning the Generall. The *Capouans* on the other ſide (after they had receiued the Letters by the *Lybian*, and knowne the *Carthaginians* aduice) hold good againſt the Enemy, reſoluing to aduenture and trie their Fortune. Wherefore *Hannibal* hauing fedde his Army the fifth day after his comming, and leauing fires burning, he

he raiſd his Campe, ſo as he was not diſcouered by the Enemy. Taking then the difficult way by the *Saunitide*, diſcouering & gaining by his Cauallery the neareſt places to his way, he paſt the Riuer of *Annion* ſecretly, whileſt that the Inhabitants of *Rome* were in ſuſpence for *Capoua* and that Warre: Approaching in ſuch ſort, as he planted his Campe within forty Furlongs of *Rome*. And as he aſſailed it by this meanes, it happened that they of the City were troubled and diſmayed with feare, for that this accident came ſuddainly and contrary to their hope, and that *Hannibal* had not formerly beſieged the City ſo neare. They had alſo a conceit, that he approaching ſo neare the City, their Army beſieging *Capoua*, muſt of neceſſity be defeated. The men flye to the Walles, and out of the City to places of aduantage. The Women on the other ſide make proteſtions about the Temples, waſhing the pauement with their haire. It was a thing they were accuſtomed to doe, if at any time the Countrey were in great danger.

Hannibal within 40. furlongs of *Rome*.

The amazement of the *Romans*.

The ſuperſtition of the *Roman* Dames.

When as *Hannibal* was thus incampt, thinking to aſſaile the City the day following, there happened an admirable and caſuall accident, working for the preſeruation of the *Romans*. *Caius* and *Publius* had taken an Oath of the Souldiers which had beene leuied, to come to *Rome* the ſame day in Armes. They alſo made another Leuie: ſo as at a certaine time a great number of men of Warre tranſported themſelues ſuddainly to *Rome*. With the which the Captaines made a bold ſally: and planting their Campe before the City, they reſtrained *Hannibals* fury. The *Carthaginians* in truth at the firſt made ſuch an attempt, as they deſpaired not to take the City by aſſault. But ſeeing the Enemies to hold a Campe, and aduertiſed by a Priſoner of that which had happened, they deſiſted from their Enterprize to take the Towne, falling to ſpoile the Countrey, and to fire their houſes: ſo as at the firſt they brought a wonderfull booty vnto their Campe, as being come to this kind of hunting, to the which neuer Enemy thought to attaine. And when as afterwards the Conſuls taking courage, had planted themſelues within Eleuen Furlongs of the Enemies Campe, *Hannibal* loſt all hope of taking the City, notwithſtanding the great ſpoiles which hee had made; and which is more, he parts at the breake of day with his Army, keeping a good reckoning of dayes, in the which according to his aduice taken from the beginning, he was in hope that *Appius* aduertiſed of the danger of the City, would wholly raiſe the ſiege, and that he would ſuccour *Rome*; or leauing ſome portion of the Army, and taking the greateſt part, he would make haſte to ſuccour his Countrey: either of which happening, his affaires would ſucceed well. But *Publius* breaking the Bridges of the ſaid Riuer, forced him to paſſe his Army at a Fourde, being alwayes in the taile of him, and annoying him much.

The *Carthaginians* waſte the Countrey about *Rome*.

The *Romans* in Field.

It is true, he could not defeate him for the great number of Horſes, and the dexterity of the *Numidians* fit for all purpoſes: yet he retired to his Fort, hauing recouered a great part of the booty, and taken about three hundred men. Afterwards imagining that the *Carthaginians* haſtned their retreate for feare, hee purſued them in the Reare by

Skirmiſhes. In the beginning *Hannibal* made haſte purſuing his deſigne. But when as on the fift day he had beene aduertiſed that *Appius* continued ſtill at the ſiege of *Capoua*, he ſtayed: then ſuddainly receiuing thoſe which purſued him, he charg'd them in the Night, making a great ſlaughter, and chaſing the reſt out of their Fort. When as the day following he ſaw the *Romans* retired to a certaine Hill, ſtrong by ſcituation, and rampred, he deſpaires to take them: Yet making his voyage by *Daunia* and *Brette*, hee aſſailes the neighbour places to *Rhegium* ſo ſuddainly, as he had in a manner taken the City: yet he ſurpriſed all thoſe that were ſtragling in the Fields, with a great number of the *Rheginois* at his comming. In my opinion we ought with reaſon to obſerue at that time the vertue and enuy of the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians* in the conduct of the Warre.

A deſeate of the *Romans* by Night.

A

For as all the World wonders at *Epaminundas*, Generall of the *Thebeins* in this, that when he was come with the Allies of the Warre to *Tegee*, and was aduertiſed that the *Lacedemonians* were with their league at *Mantinea*, aſſembling there to giue Battaile to the *Thebeins*, hee gaue order to his Troupes to feede preſently: By this meanes hee cauſeth his Army to march in the Euening, as it were to recouer ſome conuenient places to put them in Battaile. VVhen he had drawne many into this conceite, hee parts to aſſaile the City of *Lacedemon*. VVhere entring about three houres in the Night, contrary to all hope, and finding it naked and deſtitute of helpe, he tooke it, and kept it on that ſide which was paued to the Riuer. As this diſaſter happened with a great alteration, and that a certaine Fugitiue flying to *Mantinea*, had aduertiſed King *Ageſilaus* of that which happened, and that they of the league made haſte to ſuccour *Lacedemon*, hee was out of hope to bee able to keepe it. But when he had fed neare vnto the Riuer of *Erota*, and had drawne his Army together, after that he had ſuffered many miſeries and dangers, he returnes to *Mantinea*, taking the ſame way, with hope to finde it deſtitue and vnfurniſhed of *Lacedemonians* and their league, as being gone to ſuccour *Lacedemon*: the which ſucceeded accordingly. Wherefore giuing courage to the *Thebeins*, and marching in the Night with great labour and toile, hee arriued by noone at *Mantinea*, being deſtitute and void of ſuccours. It is true that the *Athenians* who at that time held the party of the *Lacedemonians*, againſt the *Thebeins*, were come to their ſuccours. When the foreward of the *Thebeins* arriued at the Temple of *Poſſidon*, ſtanding ſeuen Furlongs from the Towne, it happened as a thing fore-caſt, that at the ſame inſtant the *Athenians* ſhewed themſelues vpon a Hill neare to *Mantinea*, who being diſcouered by them which remained in the Towne, they went to the VValles, taking courage to repulſe the *Thebeins* attempts. Hiſtoriographers therefore haue reaſon to complaine of the ſaid actions, ſaying, that the Commander had done all that was fitting for a wiſer and more excellent Captaine then the Enemies were, and that *Epaminundas* was vanquiſhed by Fortune. Some others likewiſe may ſay with reaſon, that the like hapned vnto *Hannibal*.

Lacedemon taken by *Epaminundas*.

B

C

D

Epaminundas vanquiſhed by Fortune.

For who will not wonder at this Commander, in obſerning that hee endea-

endeauoured to raiſe the ſiege, in aſſailing the Enemy by Skirmiſhes: And when hee was therein fruſtrated in his attempts, hee aſſailed *Rome* it ſelfe: And when this Enterprize did not ſucceed, for the caſuall euents, hee againe endeauoured (turning head with his Army) to charge the Enemy, and to try if hee might trouble thoſe which beſieged *Capoua*: And when in the end he preuailed not in his Enterprize, he reſolued to annoy the Enemy in ruining them of *Rhegium*. It is true that ſome one will happily iudge that at this day the *Romans* are to bee preferred before the *Lacedemonians*. Who vpon the firſt aduertiſ-
A ment parting together, deliuered *Lacedemon*, yet loſing *Mantinea* for their parts: But the *Romans* preſerued their Countrey without raiſing the ſiege from before *Capoua*, growing conſtantly obſtinate in their Enterprize, and haue in the end aſſailed the *Capouans* reſolutely. I haue propounded this Diſcourſe not ſo much to praiſe the *Romans* or *Carthaginians*, (for we haue many times ſhewed them to bee excellent) as well for their preſent Captaines, and for thoſe which hereafter ſhall haue the gouernment of theſe two Common-weales: to the end that remembring them, and hauing theſe things before their eyes with a deſire of imitation, they may take courage, not of a deſperate and dange-
B rous raſhneſſe, but of a politique reſolution, with an admirable induſtry and good diſcourſe, which ſhall neuer be ſubiect to forgetfulneſſe, retaining ſtill in memory actions well mannaged; and Enterprizes without reaſon.

For this cauſe the *Romans* haue decreed to ſet a part, and to carry into their Country the things we haue ſpoken of, not omitting any thing. If this be well done and profitable to them, or otherwiſe, it requires a longer diſcourſe: And moreouer whether it hath beene in former times, or is onely neceſſary at this day. If conſidering theſe things, they had inſtructed their men, it is certaine that according to reaſon they
C had tranſported to their vſe the things for the which they had growne great: But if leading a ſimple life, they flye abundance and ſumptuouſneſſe, and yet they vanquiſh thoſe which many times haue ſtore of ſuch good things, why ſhould not their actions be turned to vice? Some one may confidently ſay, that they erre which haue left the Victors courſe of life, to follow that of the vanquiſhed, and hauing incurred enuy, a Companion of ſuch things: which is a caſe much to bee feared in Great men. Doubtleſſe a man thus poſſeſt, will neuer hold them happy which poſſeſſe another, and beares them enuie. Moreouer, who will take compaſſion of thoſe which degenerating loſe their principali-
D ties? If Fortune ſmiles, and if a man drawes together all the wealth of another, and moreouer, inuites in ſome ſort the diſpoſſeſt to ſee it, he ſinnes doubly. Firſt the Spectators haue no compaſſion, but are admoniſhed as of their owne miſeries: whereby not onely enuy but alſo choller inflames them againſt the fortunate. The remembrance of their owne calamities is as it were a ſtirring vp to hatred againſt the Authours. It is true, that it may be there is ſome ſhew of reaſon for the drawing of Gold and Siluer. For they could not haue attained to the Empire, if they had not gotten the power taken from others.

In

In regard of those things which concerne not power, they might leaue them with the enuy in those places where they were before, and make their Countrey of better fame, in beautifying it with honesty and magnanimity, not with Images and figures. I hold this Discourse for those which Potentates alwaies vsurpe, to the end that in sacking Cities they may not conceiue that the miseries of other men, are the glory and beautifying of their Countrey. Finally, it is necessary that the accidents which happen in the Art of Warre, bee diligently considered of. It may happen they shall duly fore-see euery thing, if any one doth execute speedily that which is propounded. A

If any man will know that executions done openly with violence, are of lesse consequence then actions of policy and time, hee may easily iudge by the actions past. It would be no difficult thing to vnderstand by the euents, that in matters which are done by time, there are more found executed through errours then by reason. For no man doubts that many faults are committed through the ignorance and dulnesse of Commanders. Wherefore we must consider the reason of this kinde. It is not fit to hold for good seruice the accidents which without foresight happen in the profession of Warre, but rather for euents and casuall accidents: and wee must leaue them, for that they are not gouerned by reason; whereas those should be apparent which are done with a setled resolution whereof we now speake. But for that euery action hath time, space, and a determinate place, and hath neede of secresie, and of confident resolutions: and that it doth import by whom, with whom, and by what meanes they shall execute them: it is apparent that he which shall duly consider euery one of these things apart, shall not stray from reason: if he omits any one of them, he shall be defrauded of his whole resolution. Nature in truth makes one of all the parts, and euery one of them (although vulgar) sufficeth to cause a disaster of aduice if it be forgotten: Finally all the parts doe scarce suffice, although they be imployed to bring any worke to a good end. Wherefore Commanders should not omit any thing of this kinde. B C

The duty of a Commander.

Silence is the chiefe of those things which we haue spoken of: to the end that through ioy if any vnexpected hope presents it selfe, or for feare and amazement, they do not through familiarity or friendship, cõmunicate their enterprize to any stranger, but only to those without whom they cannot execute their resolutions: nor yet to them, but so far forth as necessity shall force them. He must be secret not onely in words but also in his affections. For it happens to many to discouer by signes, and sometime by their actions, their resolutions which the tongue hath kept silent. Secondly, it is necessary not to be ignorant of the wayes both by day and night, and the meanes to passe them as well by Sea as Land. The third point, and the most exquisite, is to know the opportunity of times by the circumstances, and to be able to coniecture it with iudgement. He must make no little esteeme of the manner how to execute it. For many times thereby things which seeme impossible, proue possible, and those which vsually haue beene possible, are made impossible. Finally, he must not disdaine the Accords and Articles annexed, D

nexed, nor the choiſe of things by the which, and with whom that which hath bin reſolued, is brought to an end. Of theſe things ſome are conſidered by the exerciſe, others by Hiſtories, and ſome by the courſe and reaſon of experience. The knowledge likewiſe of the waies, and whither he meanes to go, and its nature would be very fitting: and conſequently by whom and againſt whom they make Warre, and carefully to conſider of the buſineſſe, and not to truſt all men. It is true that they which are led and gouerned, muſt alwaies in ſuch affaires giue credit to thoſe that lead them. Moreouer, Commanders may happily
A learne theſe things and other ſuch like from a ſimple Souldier: ſome by their owne induſtry, and others by Hiſtory, in conſidering the actions by experience. It is alſo neceſſary to vnderſtand the Mathematiques, and the Theorique, eſpecially of Aſtrology and Geometry, the Art whereof is not very neceſſary in this trade: yet the vſe may helpe much in the alteration of things. Their chiefe neceſſity conſiſts in the conſideration of the Day and Night. If they had beene alwaies equall, there would be no difficulty therein, and the knowledge would bee common to all.

But as the afore-ſaid things haue a difference not onely betwixt
B them, but alſo in themſelues, it is moſt neceſſary to know what bee their augmentations and diminutions. How can the courſe and perfections of the Day and Night be knowne without the conſideration of the ſaid difference? No man can without their experience attaine vnto thoſe things which concernes a competency of time, being otherwiſe forced to worke ſooner or later then is needfull. Haſte in theſe affaires is more defectiue then the delay of an Enterprize. Hee that exceeds the time appointed, is fruſtrated of his hope: But hee may repaire it in giuing good order, knowing after what time it may be done: whereas hee that preuents the opportunity of the approaching time, and being
C diſcouered, not onely failes of his Enterprize, but is in danger to be wholly defeated. Occaſion is the Miſtreſſe of all humane affaires, and eſpecially in the Art of Warre.

A Commander therfore of an Army muſt haue knowledge of the Solſtice of Summer, and of the Equinoctials, and of the intermixt increaſes and decreaſes of Dayes and Nights. By this onely meanes hee may hold a meane in things which are to be effected, as well by Sea as Land. Moreouer, hee muſt know euery point of the Day and Night, to the end that hee may vnderſtand the time when to plant his Campe and to raiſe it. It is not poſſible that hee ſhall attaine to a good end
D which doth not conſider the beginning. It is not impoſſible to ſee the houres of the Sunne by the ſhaddowes whileſt he makes his courſe, and the diſtances which are made by it in this world: In regard of thoſe of the Night, it is a difficult thing, vnleſſe ſome doe follow and obſerue the Starres after the diſpoſition of the Heauen, and the order of the twelue Signes in the Zodiacke. It is in truth eaſie for thoſe which diligently obſerue the Celeſtiall Starres. For although the Nights be vnequall, yet in euery one of them ſixe of the twelue Signes do mooue, ſo as it is neceſſary that to euery part of the Night an equall portion of the

The knowledg of the diuerſities of Dayes neceſſary for Captaines.

Zodiacke

Zodiacke be turned, and as daily it is apparent what part the Sun driues behind, which is that which it ſeparates from the Diameter: it is neceſſary that accordingly there ſhould be ſo much conſumed of the Night, that after this part it appeares eleuated from the reſt of the Zodiacke. The Signes of the Zodiacke being knowne as well for their number as greatneſſe, it falls out afterwards that they ſhew themſelues ſuch all times of the Night. But when the Nights are cloudy, we muſt obſerue the Moone: for her greatneſſe, her light appeares vniuerſall in what part of the world ſoeuer ſhe be. And wee muſt ſometimes ſearch by the times and places of the Eaſt, and ſometimes of the Weſt: for that in this A part there is a knowledge, ſo as ſhe followes the Diurnall differences of the Eaſt. There is alſo in this knowledge a manner of eaſie conſideration. There is likewiſe the ſame end almoſt within a figure, and all are of Sence. For this cauſe they iuſtly commend the Poet, who brings in *Vliſſes* an excellent Prince, taking coniecture of the Starres, not onely to direct a Nauigation, but alſo to mannage Warre at Land. Wee may in truth exactly fore-ſee vnexpected chances, although that many times they be of great perplexity, as inundations by Raine and Riuers, Snows and violent Froſts, and finally Fogs and Clouds, with ſuch like things. Shall we not with reaſon be deſtitute and voide of many things by our B owne fault, if wee diſdaine thoſe which wee may fore ſee? Wee may not therefore contemne or deſpiſe any of theſe things, leſt wee fall into ſuch a conſideration which they ſay hath happened vnto many others: Concerning which wee muſt now ſpeake by way of Example.

Homer.

Arate Chiefe of the *Acheins*, labouring to ſurprize the City of *Cynethe*, appointed a day to them of the Towne which had the ſame intelligence: who comming by Night to the Riuer which fals to *Cynethe*, he was to ſtay there with his Army: and they of the Towne taking their occaſion about Noone, ſhould ſend forth one of them ſecretly out at the Gate, couered with a Cloake, and ſhould command him to ſtay C before the Gate vpon a Dunghill: and in the meane time the reſt ſhould take the chiefe men ſleeping, who were accuſtomed to guard the Gate about Noone. Which being done, comming out of their Ambuſh, they ſhould plant their Battalion againſt the Gate. Theſe things thus concluded, *Arate* came at the time appointed, and keeping the accord, he laid his Ambuſh neare vnto the Riuer. But about fiue of the Clocke, a man hauing weake Sheepe of thoſe which are accuſtomed to feede about the Towne, came forth of the Gate in a Cloake, as it was needfull; who according to the reaſon of the time, enquired of the life of the D Shepheard: And ſtaying vpon the ſayd Hill, looked where hee was. *Arate* thinking they had giuen him the Signe, makes haſte to gaine the Towne with his men. But when the Gate was ſuddainly ſhut by the Guards that were preſent, for that they within had nothing ready, it happened that *Arate* was not onely fruſtrated of his purpoſe and intention, but was the cauſe of extreame calamities to the Burgeſſes, with whom hee had intelligence. For being apprehended, they were preſently chaſed away or ſlaine. What ſhall wee thinke to be

The errour of *Arate*.

the

the cauſe of this accident? Doubtleſſe for that this Commander had executed this agreement with more lightneſſe then was fit, who being young had not an exquiſite knowledge of theſe two accords, nor of the things annexed. The affaires of Warre haue an alteration in a moment, wauering from one ſide to another in the Euents. When as likewiſe *Cleomenes* the *Lacedemonian*, had reſolued to take the City of *Megalopolis* by practice, he agreed with the Guards of the Walles, that hee ſhould come in the Night with his Army to the Gate which they call *Pholee*, at the third renewing of the Watch. For they which held his party, had then the guard of the Wall. But when he had not foreſeene, that the Nights were ſhorter at the riſing of the *Pleiades*, hee parting from *Lacedemon* with his Army at Sun ſetting, and as hee could not come thither in time, arriuing when the Sunne was vp, he was repuls'd, making his attempts in vaine and without reaſon, with a great and ſhamefull loſſe of his men, and in danger to loſe all: Whereas if hee had aim'd truely at the time appointed by the agreement, and had brought his Army when as his Confederates had power to let him in, he had not failed in his Enterprize. The errour of *Cleomenes*.

In like manner *Philip* (aswee haue formerly ſayd) hauing plotted a ſecret ſurprize of the City of the *Meliteens*, failed doubly. He brought not Ladders of a ſufficient length, as the buſineſſe required, neither did he obſerue the time. For hauing reſolued to arriue at Mid-night, when as all the World ſlept, hee diſlodg'd before the time from *Lariſſe* with his Army, and came too ſoone into the *Meliteens* Countrey. For this cauſe as he could not ſtay, fearing to be diſcouered by the Citizens, nor yet ſteale away, he gaue an aſſault to the City, the Inhabitants being yet awake. So as it was not in his power to get to the top of the Walles by his Ladders, for that they were not of a iuſt length, neither could hee enter by the Gate, for that the Confederates which hee had in the City, could not ſuccour him being excluded by the time. And as hee had incenſed the Citizens, and made a great loſſe of his men, hee returned with ſhame and diſgrace, it being a warning and caueate vnto all others, not to put any truſt or confidence in him hereafter. The errour of *Philip*.

As likewiſe *Nicias* which was Chiefe of the *Athenians*, might haue preſerued the Army which hee had neare vnto *Saragoſſe*, and had taken a fit occaſion in the Night to lay an Ambuſh, to the end hee might not bee diſcouered by the Enemy, hee retired into a ſafe place: Afterwards hee remooued not his Campe through ſuperſtition, for that the Moone was Eclipſed, as if ſhee had fore-told ſome enſuing danger and misfortune. But it happened vnto all, as well to the Army as Captaines, to fall into the hands of the *Saragoſſins*, when as the Night following *Nicias* raiſed his Campe, being diſcouered by the Enemies. Notwithſtanding hee might in ſuch affaires haue beene made wiſe by ſuch as haue had experience, that the cõmodity of time ought not to be neglected for ſuch things, making the ignorance of the Enemy his comfort. Ignorance in truth giues a great helpe to men of experience, to bring their affaires to a good end. The errour of *Nicias*.

Wee muſt then for the afore-ſaid things haue recourſe to Aſtrology, in regard of the meaſure of ladders, the manner is as followeth. If any one of the Conſpirators haue giuen the height of the Wall, they may preſently know of what length the ladder ſhall be: As if the Wall bee ten foote high in ſome places, the ladders muſt be twelue foote long. Finally, they muſt giue vnto the ladder good footing, according to the proportion of the ſtaues: leſt burthening it too much, it breake not eaſily by reaſon of the multitude: and againe ſet vp ſtraight, it will be very dangerous vnto them. If there be no meanes to take the meaſure, nor to approach the Wall, let them take the greatneſſe of thoſe things which are eleuated on the Plaine, by the ſpace of all the height, which is a kinde of meaſure not onely poſſible, but alſo eaſie for thoſe which ſtudy to learne the Mathematiques.

What a Ladder for the Warre ought to be.

A

Wherefore it is neceſſary for them that will aime truely in their reſolutions of the courſe of Warre, to know the vſe of Geometry: If not perfectly, yet at the leaſt that they haue the knowledge of proportions, and conſideration of Similitudes. It is not onely neceſſary for this, but alſo for the comprehenſion of Deſignes in the ſcituation of a Campe: to the end that when as wee ſometimes change its generall diſpoſition, we may obſerue the ſame proportion of things which are there comprehended: And if ſometimes we retaine the ſame Deſignes of Camps, we may extend the place comprehended by them, or ſtraighten it; according to the reaſon of things before decreed, or ſet apart: the which we haue declared more exactly in our Commentaries for the ordring of Battailes. I doe not beleeue there is any man that will be diſcontented with our ſtudy, for that wee charge the profeſſion of Warre with many things, commanding thoſe that loue it, not to diſdaine Aſtrology nor Geometry. For my part, I ſtriue eſpecially, and with great deſire to command things neceſſary, as I doe reproue and blame the exceſſe of vaine and ſuperfluous things, in regard of the ſubtilties and dreames in euery Science: So doe we thoſe which are out of neceſſary vſe. It is a ſtrange thing that they which practiſe Dancing, or playing of the Flute, take the preparatiues which concernes the accords and Muſicke: And likewiſe Wreſtling, for that this kind of Art ſeemes behouefull to bring this exerciſe to an end: And yet they which terme themſelues Souldiers, are diſcontented if they muſt allow of any other Studies: So as they which practiſe Mecanique Arts, are more carefull and ſtudious then thoſe which challenge an Excellency in things which are of great honour and glory: the which no man of Sence will deny. But wee haue ſpoken enough of this Subiect.

Geometry neceſſary for the Warre.

B

C

The careleſnes of Souldiers for the Sciences.

D

Many coniecture the greatneſſe of things by the Circuite: to whom notwithſtanding it ſeemes incredible, that although the City of *Megalopolis* bee contained within the Circuite of fifty Furlongs, and that of *Lacedemon* within forty eight, yet it is twice as great as that of *Megalopolis*. And if any one (meaning to make this doubt greater) ſayth, it is poſſible that a City, or the Palliſadoe of a Campe, hauing the Circuite of forty Furlongs, may bee more ample and compleate

The circuite of *Megalopolis* and *Lacedemon*.

compleate then that of a hundred, this will ſeeme vnto them a mad and extrauagant ſpeech: the cauſe is, for that wee remember not the things which inhumane Diſciplines are deliuered vnto vs by Geometry. This is the cauſe why I haue vndertaken this Diſcourſe. For that not onely many people, but alſo ſome of thoſe which gouerne the Common-weale, and likewiſe Commanders and Captaines are amazed and wonder how it can be poſſible, that the City of *Lacedemon* ſhould be greater then that of *Megalopolis*, ſeeing the circuite is leſſe: and that conſequently they coniecture the number of men by the cir-
A cuite of the Campe.

There is another ſuch like errour which they commit in the deſcription of Townes. For many conceiue, that Cities containe more houſes which are crooked and hilly, then thoſe which are in a flat Countrey. But this is not true, for that the houſes are not of a good building in a declining Streete, but in a plaine Countrey, for the which it happens that the Hils yeeld: the which may appeare by that which is apparent in a Plaine. If thou doeſt conſider the houſes which are built high, and ſet vpon the declining of a Hill, ſo as they are all of an equall hight, it is apparent that their tops being leuell, the diſtance is equall, as well of thoſe which are built vnder the Hils, as thoſe which are ſeated on the
B Plaine neare vnto the foundations of the Wall. It ſufficeth at this time to haue ſpoken to thoſe which (deſiring the preheminence ouer others, and to gouerne Common-weales) are ignorant of theſe things, being amazed and wonder at this relation. The City of *Agragas* is not onely more excellent among many other Cities, but alſo for the force of its Rampire, and for the grace and building. It is built eighteene Furlongs from the Sea, ſo as euery man may be partaker of her commodities, the Walles are excellently fortified by their ſcituation and the induſtry of man. The Wall is ſeated vpon a hard and inacceſſible Rocke, as well by Nature as by Art. It is enuironed with Riuers. For towards the
C South runs a Riuer of the Townes name, and on the Weſterne part towards the Winter Solſtice, paſſeth the Riuer of *Hypſe*. The Fortreſſe is ſeated vpon the ſide of the Summers Eaſt. The which hath without an inacceſſible valley and within it one approach to the City. On the top is built the Temple of *Minerua*, and of *Iupiter Atabarin*, like as at *Rhodes*. For as *Agragas* hath beene peopled by *Rhodiens*, their God hath good reaſon hath the ſame name, as at *Rhodes*. Finally the City is richly adorned with Temples and Porches. In regard of the Temple of *Iupiter* Olympian, it is none of the moſt ſumptuous: But likewiſe it ſeemes not leſſe in its height and greatneſſe then any other of
D *Grecce*.

The City of *Agragas*.

The Oration of *Chlenee*, Embaſſadour for the *Etoliens* to the *Lacedemonians*.

A

IT is ſo true my Maiſters of *Lacedemon*, that your power hath beene the beginning of Seruitude to the *Grecians*, the which I hold ſo certaine, as no man at this day will ſay the contrary. Wee may iudge of it in this manner. For what a multitude of *Grecians* are there in *Thrace*, whereof the *Athenians* and *Calſidonians* haue planted Collonies? What City hath had a greater eſtate and power then that of the *Olynthiens?* The which when as *Philip* had made Captiue, and ordained to ſerue for an Example, hee hath not onely beene Lord of all the Cities of *Thrace*, but hath moreouer made ſubiect the *Theſſalians*, being terrified with feare. And when as afterwards hee had ſubdued the *Athenians* by Armes, he vſed his Fortune nobly, not ſo much for the good of the *Athenians* (for there wanted much) but to the end that by the fame of his benefits towards them, he might draw others to a voluntary obedience.

B

Philip ſubdued the *Theſſalians.*

In regard of the authority of your City, it ſeemed for a time to fauour the other *Grecians*. Wherefore propounding what hee thonght good, he went to Field with an Army, and in ſpoiling the Countrey, he hath ruined and ſack't your houſes, and finally your Countrey, diſtributing part to the *Argiues*, part to the *Tegeates*, ſome to the *Megalopolitains*, and the reſt to the *Meſſeniens*: ſeeking without reaſon to benefit others, to the end he might endammage and and annoy you. *Alexander* hath ſince taken vpon him the power and command. Who thinking that there was yet remaining ſome comfort for *Greece* in the City of *Thebes*, I conceiue you all know how hee hath ruined it. But what neede is there to relate in particular the Deeds of thoſe which haue ſucceeded them, and how ill they haue intreated *Greece?* There is no man ſo negligent of the actions of Warre, which doth not know how *Antipater* (the *Grecians* being vanquiſhed neare vnto *Lamia*) did moſt wickedly intreate the miſerable *Athenians* and others: To whom hee was ſo outragious and vniuſt, as hee ſent Inquiſiters for Fugitues, and ſent to the Cities, againſt thoſe which had contradicted him, or in any ſort offended the honour of the *Macedonians*. Whereof ſome being violently drawne out of the Temple, and others from the Altars themſelues,

C

Alexander ruined *Thebes.*

D

Antipater.

themſelues, haue beene miſerably defeated and ſlaine: the other Fugitiues haue beene chaſed out of *Greece*. There was no freedome but onely in the Nation of the *Etoliens*. In regard of the executions done by *Caſſander*, *Demetrius*, and *Antigonus*, *Gonas*, who is ignorant of them? The knowledge hath beene manifeſt, ſeeing they haue beene done without any diſguiſing. Some of them placed Garriſons in Townes, others ſetled Tyrants: By which meanes there hath not beene any City free from the name of this kind of ſeruitude.

But leauing this Diſcourſe, I come in the end to *Antigonus*: to the
A end that none of you conſidering plainely my intent, may thinke himſelfe beholding to the fauour of the *Macedonians*. *Antigonus* in truth hath not made Warre againſt you for the preſeruation of the *Acheins*: neither for that he was offended with the Tyranny of *Cleomenes*, he deſired to ſet the *Lacedemonians* at liberty (it were too great a folly, if you were of this opinion) but for that he ſaw his power was not aſſured, if the principality of *Morea* were vnder your gonernment, and withall he ſaw the induſtry of *Cleomenes*, and that Fortune ſmiled vpon you, the which he feared with enuie. He came not to giue ſuccours to *Morea*, but to rauiſh your hopes, and abate your greatneſſe. Wherefore the *Macedonians* are not ſo much worthy of loue, Lording it ouer this
B City which they haue ruined, as to be held for Enemies and odious, ſeeing he hath alwaies hindred you, when you had meanes to command all *Greece*. In regard of the iniquity of *Philip*, what neede is there to vſe any long diſcourſe? His execration towards the Gods, for the outrages committed in the Temple of *Thermes* is plainely declared: And as for his cruelty to men, it is fully expreſt by this preuarication, and the accord violated with the *Meſſeniens*. Finally, the *Etoliens* haue alone among the *Grecians* made head againſt *Antipater* in the view of all the World: ſo as they liued in ſafty which were outragiouſly afflicted. They haue alſo withſtood the attempt of *Brennus* and
C the *Barbarians* which accompanied him: And they alone being called, haue endeauoured with you to ſet the principality of *Greece* at liberty. But it is enough of this Subiect: Wee muſt now aduiſe in ſome ſort, and take order touching this preſent Councell, as with them that reſolue for the Warre. Wee muſt conſider it according to the truth.

Antigonus.

The blaſme of *Philip*.

I am alſo of opinion that as the *Acheins* as the weaker, ſhould not onely forbeare to ſpoile your Countrey, but alſo giue great thankes vnto the Gods if they may preſerue their owne: The *Eliences* and *Meſſeniens* will make Warre againſt them for the league they haue with vs,
D the like you will doe. As I vnderſtand, *Philip* will deſiſt from his Enterprize, being aſſailed by the *Etoliens* at Land, and by the *Romans* and *Attalus* by Sea. It is moreouer eaſie to iudge of the future by the actions paſt. For making Warre onely againſt the *Etoliens*, hee could neuer ſubdue them, how then will hee ſupport this preſent Warre? Take theſe words according to my firſt propoſition: that it may be notorious to all men, that you ought not by a raſh and vnaduiſed Councell, but by a mature & ſetled deliberation rather giue ſuccours to the *Etoliens*

the *Macedonians*. And if you haue formerly preuented, and giuen order for those, what meanes can there remaine? If you haue granted vs present succours, before you haue receiued the benefits of *Antigonus*, wee must with reason enquire, if it be fit that in yeilding to the succeeding benefits, you should contemne the precedent which you haue enioyed. How this liberty and safety being published hath beene consumed by *Antigonus*, there are some which reproach it vnto you, and urne these things to euill, demaunding often whither you should follow the party of the *Etolians* or *Macedonians*: You would enter League with vs in many things, to whom in these affaires you haue A giuen your faith, and you haue it mutually from vs, hauing mannaged the former Warres with vs against the *Macedonians*. Who can doubt iustly of these things.

It is certaine that the Affaires which you haue with *Antigonus* and *Philip*, is palliated vnder the Title of courtesie. Finally, what neede is there to declare that, which since hath beene done vnto you? Either in regard of the outrage of the *Etolians*, or the bounty of the *Macedonians*, or for any other thing which hath beene auaileable vnto them? How can you being now changed, confirme the Accords and Oathes with them, (which are great Testimonies and Tyes among men) to whom formerly you had wisely resolued not to obey? When as *Chlenee* had Discoursed of these things, and had spoken in such sort, as hee thought no man could contradict him, hee made an end of his Speech. After whom *Luciſque* Embassadour for the *Acarnanians*, entring, contained himselfe at the first, seeing many discoursing of the aforesayd things: But when silence was made, hee beganne in these Termes.

C

The Oration of *Luciſque* Embassadour of the *Acarnanians* to the *Lacedemonians*.

YOu Masters of *Lacedemon*, we are come hither, as sent by D the Common-weale of the *Acarnanians*. We conceiue that this our Embassie, is common to Vs and the *Macedonians*: For that in a manner daily, they and wee are Companions in the same hope. And as in dangers wee involued together, by reason of their excellency and the greatnesse of their Vertue, to the end that by their forces wee may liue in safety: In like manner the commodity of the *Acarnanians*, is according to the care of the Embassadours, contained in the right of the

the *Macedonians*. Wherefore you haue nocauſe to wonder, if we make a long diſcourſe of *Phillip* and the *Macedonians*. *Chlenee* making an end of his Oration, addes a briefe recapitulation of the right by the which you were bound vnto them: For hee hath ſaid, if theire bee nothing which hath beene done Since by the *Etoliens*, which doth hurt or diſcontent, after the Succours granted vnto them: or any courteſie done by the *Macedonians*, this preſent deliberation, is of a iuſt conſideration. If likewiſe they haue not committed, in producing the things which concerne *Antigonus*, the which formerly haue beene allowed by you, I am of opinion that you are the ſimpleſt men in the World, if you renew the Oathes and Accords. For my part, I ſay you are the ſimpleſt men in the World, and take the vaineſt reſolution, if when as there hath beene nothing done according vnto his Speech, and the *Grecians* Affaires remaine ſuch as they were before, when you made the League with the *Etoliens*.

But if this cauſe hath a very different diſpoſition, as I will ſhewe in continuing my Diſcourſe, I thinke it will appeare plainly, that I ſay ſomething which will be commodious vnto you, beeing vnknowne by *Chlenee*. We are come hither to that end, being perſwaded that we are to ſpeake it, to make it knowne. Wherefore it is neceſſary, if it may be done, that when you haue heard the calamities which hangs ouer all *Greece*, you ſhould reſolue on that which may be honeſt and fit, and to enter into League with vs in the ſame hope. If this cannot be done, but at this preſent you will reſt your ſelues. Yet I hold it neceſſary, that in Diſcourſing in few words of this Subiect, (for that the others haue preſumed to accuſe the Houſe of the *Macedonians*) we ſhould cleare the ignorance of thoſe, which haue giuen credit to their Speeches.

Chlenee hath ſayd that *Philip* the ſonne of *Amintas*, Conquered the Principallity of *Theſſaly* by the ruine of the *Olynthiens*. Contrariwiſe I am of opinion, that not onely the *Theſſalians*, but the reſt of the *Grecians* haue beene preſerued by *Philip*. Who is there among you, that knowes not that at ſuch time as *Nomarche* and *Philomale*, going to *Delphos*, had vſurped the Gouernement vniuſtly, and rauiſhed the Treaſure of the Gods execrably, what great forces they then rayſed, againſt the which none of the *Grecians* durſt once open his mouth publickely. As they were wicked towards God, ſo they laboured for to vſurpe the Principallity of all *Greece*. At what time *Philip* imploying his forces willingly, defeated the Tyrants, and reſtored the things ſafely which belonged to the Temple: Deliuering withall vnto the *Grecians* an occaſion of liberty, as the effect doeth teſtifie to Poſterity. The *Grecians* did not make choiſe of *Philip* to be their Commaunder, both at Sea and Land, as hauing offended the *Theſſaliens*, as this man hath preſumed to ſay, but as a Benefactor vnto *Greece*: Which dignity no man before had euer receiued. It is true, hee came to *Lacedemon* with an Army. This was not by his owne aduice, as you know: But being called and often preſt by his Friends and Allies of *Morea*, whom hee obeyed vnwillingly. And when hee arriued there, conſider *Chlenee*

The blame of *Nomarche*, and *Philomale*.

how hee carried himſelfe. When it was in his power to make vſe of the fury of their neighbours, aſwell in the ſpoile of the *Lacedemonian* Region, as in debaſing the Citty; whereby hee ſhould purchaſe their fauour, but he would not follow this aduice: But terrified both the one and the other, and forced them to make an end of their Quarrell, for their common good and profit. Neither did hee Conſtitute himſelfe a Iudge in this Contention, but eſtabliſhed men choſen throughout all *Greece*.

Is this an Act worthy of reproach and reprehenſion? Thou haſt likewiſe made the ſame reproach to *Alexander*, as if hee had wrongfully afflicted the *Thebeins*: But thou haſt made no mention of the puniſhment which hee inflicted vpon the *Perſians*, to reuenge the common outrage done to all the *Grecians*: Nor how hee deliuered you from great miſeries, reducing the *Barbarians* into ſeruitude, and defeating their Succours, with the which they ruined *Greece*, making Warre ſometimes againſt the *Athenians*, and their Anceſtors, ſometimes againſt the *Thebeins*: and that in the end he made *Aſia* ſubiect to the *Grecians*. As for his Succeſſours, how dares he preſume to ſpeake? They haue beene themſelues many times the cauſe of good to ſome, and of hurt to others, during the Calamities of their time: Againſt whom ſome happily may haue cauſe to remember outrages: But it becomes not you, from whom they neuer diuerted any good, but contrariwiſe preſerued you many times from harme. Who are they which haue called *Antigonus* the ſonne of *Demetrius* to ſubuert the *Acheins*? Who are they moreouer which haue made a League, and ſworne it with *Alexander* the *Epirote* to ruine *Acarnania*, and to diuide it: Haue not you done it? Who hath ſent ſuch Commaunders contrary vnto the publique good, as you haue done? Who were not aſhamed to infringe the liberties.

Alexander the *Epirote*.

How hath *Tymeus* ſackt the Temple of *Neptune* in *Taſmare*, that of *Artimedes* at *Luſes*? In regard of *Phariques*, he hath ruined the Temple of *Iuno* in *Argos*. And *Polycrates* that of *Neptune* in *Mantinea*. What hath *Lattabe* and *Nicoſtrates* done? Haue they not infringed the Accords of the *Pambiolates* with *Panegyre*, and practiſed the cruelty of *Sytheans*, and *Gallatians*, or *Gaules*, ſo as nothing hath beene done by the Succeſſours? And when you could not excuſe them, you holde it a glory that you haue broken the attempts of the *Barbarians*, falling vpon *Delphos*: Saying moreouer that for this cauſe the *Grecians* ought to giue you thankes. And if they muſt acknowledge this commodity from the *Etoliens*, what honour do not the *Macedonians* deſerue, who imploy the greateſt part of their liues continually, to maintaine the ſafety of the *Grecians* againſt the *Barbarians*? What is hee that doeth not know that the *Grecians* haue beene continually ſubiect to great dangers, if the *Macedonians* and the bounty of their Kings had not ſerued them for a Rampire? VVhereof behold a great Argument: For when as the *Gaules* diſdaining the *Macedonians*, had vanquiſhed *Ptolomy* ſirnamed *Ceraune*, they came preſently into *Greece* with *Brennus* Army: The which had often happened, if the *Macedonians* had not had the charge.

charge. And although I could holde a long Diſcourſe of ancient deedes, yet I thinke theſe preſents will ſuffice. But for that which among other things *Philip* hath done, hee turnes to cruelty the ruine of the Temple: But hee doth not adde their outrage and inſolency, which they haue committed in the Temples and Oratories of the Gods, which are in *Die* and *Dodone*, the which hee ſhould haue ſpoken firſt. You relate the wrongs and miſeries you haue indured, and make a greater ſhew then is needfull, paſſing ouer in ſilence, thoſe which you haue formerly committed in great numbers: For you know, that euery outrage and wrong that is done, is by all men reiected vpon thoſe, who haue firſt done the wrong vniuſtly.

A

As for the deedes of *Antigonus*, I will onely make mention, to the end his Actions may not ſeeme to you worthy of contempt: neither muſt you lightly regard a deede of great eſteeme. I doe not thinke there were euer ſo great a benefit ſeene, as that which hee hath imparted vnto you. It ſeemes vnto me ſo excellent, as there cannot be a greater: The which may appeare by this. *Antigonus* made Warre againſt you, then in giuing you Battaile, he vanquiſhed you by Armes: Hee was in the end Lord of the Country and Citty, hee might by the Law of Armes haue intreated you roughly: But hee was ſo far from offering you any outrage, as beſide other Benefits, he hath (chaſing the Tyrant) reſtored your Lawes and proper rights. For which Fact ordaining a Teſtimony to the *Grecians* by publicke praiſes, you haue called him *Antigonus* your Benefactor and Sauiour. VVhat ſhould you then doe? I will tell you, ſeeing there is hope of your good Audience: The which I will doe, and not without reaſon, not to charge you with reproaches, but for that the quallity of matters forceth mee, to ſpeake that which is neceſſary in publicke. VVhat ſhall I then ſay? That in the former VVarre you ſhould haue imbraced the League of the *Macedonians*, and not of the *Etoliens*: And that at this day you ſhould rather reunite your ſelues with *Philip*, ſeeing hee calls you then with them.

B

C

You anſwere, that in doing ſo, you ſhall breake your Accords. But tell me, if you ſhall commit a greater miſchiefe, in leauing the Accord which you haue made in particular with the *Etoliens*, then in Tranſgreſſing thoſe which concerning all the *Grecians*, are grauen and Conſecrated vpon a Pillar? Why doe you ſo ſuperſtitiouſly flie the diſdaine of thoſe, from whom you neuer receiued any benefit: And beare no reſpect to *Philip*, nor to the *Macedonians*: from whom you haue the power to hold this Councell? Thinke you that right and equitie, ought to bee preſerued to Friends? Yet the Sanctitie is not ſo great to obſerue the Faith reduced in Writings, as the ſinne is prophane and execrable in bearing Hatred, and making Warre againſt a publicke body. What the *Etoliens* require now of you? But we haue ſpoken enough of this Subiect, the which would be held by the Enuious, not to concerne the preſent buſineſſe. I returne therefore to the Continuation and Diſcourſe of the cauſe which conſiſts in this. If the Affaires be at this day a like, as when you made an Alliance of Warre with them,

D

the

the election of things propounded in the beginning muſt remaine in you. If they be altogether changed, it is fit you ſhould conſider iudiciouſly vpon that which they require.

I demand of you *Cleonice* and *Chlenee*, what allies had you when as you called theſe men to a Common warre. Had you all the *Grecians*? With whom at this day haue you communication of your hope? Or to what league doe you inuite theſe men? Is it not of *Barbarians*? Thinke you this preſent warre is like vnto the precedent, and not different? You contended then with the *Acheins*, and your kinſmen the *Macedonians*, and with *Philip*, for principality and glory: And now the warre is made by ſtrangers againſt *Greece* for its ſeruitude, whom you thinke to draw againſt *Philip*. Are you ignorant that their forces are call'd in againſt your ſelues and all *Greece*? Like vnto thoſe which during a warre retire into their City a greater Garriſon then their owne forces for their owne ſafety, make themſelues ſubiect to their friends, as ſoone as they are freed from the feare of their Enemy: The *Etoliens* thinke the ſame at this day. Whilſt they deſire to vanquiſh *Philip*, and to humble the *Macedonians*, they doe not obſerue how they blind themſelues with a weſterne fogge, the which happily may bring ſome darkneſſe to the *Macedonians*, and in the end be the cauſe of great miſeries to all the *Grecians*. It is therefore neceſſary for all *Greece*, to prouide for the threatnings of this time, and eſpecially for the *Macedonians*. Otherwiſe what cauſe thinke you my Maſters of *Lacedemon*; had your Anceſtours, when as *Xerxes* demanded by an Embaſſadour which he ſent vnto you Water and Earth, they caſt him that was ſent into a Well, and caſt Earth vppon him: Then taking him out againe, they gaue him charge to tell *Xerxes* that hee had Water and Earth in *Lacedemon*? Moreouer, for what reaſon did the Company which was ſlaine with *Leonides*, caſt themſelues vppon the Enemy in view of all the World? Was it not to the end they might ſee them vndergoe the danger, not only for their owne liberty, but alſo for the reſt of *Greece*? Conſider now, if it be decent and fitting for their poſterity, to take Armes, and to make VVarre with the *Barbarians*, in allying themſelues with them, againſt the *Epirotes*, *Acheins*, *Acarnanians*, *Beocians*, *Theſſaliens*, and in a manner againſt all the *Grecians*, holding nothing infamous, ſo as it were profitable. VVhat muſt they attend that doe ſuch vnlawfull things?

As the *Romans* haue beene vnited to them, ſo the others haue endeauoured (hauing the ſaid comfort and aide from the *Sclauonians*) to make the warre by Sea, and to breake the Accord at *Pyles*: And haue by Land beſieged the Citty of the *Clitoriens*, ruining that of the *Cynetheins*. It is true, they firſt made an Accord with *Antigonus*, in regard of the *Acheins* and *Acarnanians*. But at this day they are Confederate with the *Romans* againſt *Greece* in generall. Theſe things vnderſtood, who doth not ſuſpect the comming of the *Romans*, and deteſt the ſottiſhneſſe of the *Etoliens*, who preſumed to enter into ſuch a League? They ſpoile the Vines, and the Iland of *Acarnania*, and haue already taken the Cittie of the *Tallaneins* and *Anticyra*, which they

they with the *Romans* haue ruined, who carry away their VViues and Children, ſuffring (as it ſeemes) the common accidents of thoſe which fall into the hands of ſtrangers: in regard of the ſoile of theſe miſerable people, the *Etoliens* enioy it. It were without doubt a very honeſt and pleaſing thing that the *Lacedemonians* ſhould imbrace this League, who would haue the *Thebeins* alone among the *Grecians* liue in peace, when the *Perſians* deſcended: and haue reſolued to make vowes vnto the Gods to vanquiſh the *Barbarians*.

Your dutie and Honor, my Maſters of *Lacedemon*, depends thereon, to the ende that hauing recourſe vnto your Anceſtors, and fearing the A comming of the *Romans*, and ſuſpecting the bad intent of the *Etoliens*, and putting you in minde of the deedes of *Antigonus*, you may deteſt the League of the wicked, and flie the amitie of the *Etoliens*, allying your ſelues by a common hope with the *Acheins* and *Macedonians*. And if ſome of the chiefe yeild not vnto it, at the leaſt budge not, neither make your ſelues Companions of their Outrages. It is true, that affection to friends is very profitable, if it bee commodiouſly made: But if it be forced, and finally ſlow and defectiue, it hath no comfort; and therefore you muſt obſerue, if onely in words, or elſe in actions B they will keepe their League with you.

A parcell of the Riuer of Euphrates.

EVphrates takes its ſourſe and beginning in *Armenia*; running its courſe by *Syria*, drawing towards *Babylon*, and falls as it ſeemes, into the Red Sea; whereof the ſigne is. It looſeth it ſelfe in hollow places vnder ground made in that Region, before it falls into the Sea. VVherefore it hath a different nature to other Riuers. The courſe of others augment as they paſſe by many places, and are very high in C VVinter, and low in Summer. But *Euphrates* growes very high at the riſing of the Canicular, eſpecially in *Syria*, and continuing its courſe decreaſeth. The cauſe is for that it is not augmented by the concurrence of the winter raine, but by the melting of the Snow: It decreaſeth likewiſe for that it extends vpon the plaine, and is diſperſed for the watring of the Land. Then the tranſport of Armies is ſlowly made, for that the ſhippes ſtay in regard of the burthen, the Riuer beeing low; and finally the ſwift courſe of the water is ſome hinderance vnto the Nauigation.

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A

A PARCELL OF the Tenth Booke of the Hiſtory of POLYBIVS.

B

The Coaſt of *Tarentum.*

AS from thence vnto the Sea, and from the Citty of *Rhegium* vnto *Tarentum*, there be aboue two Thouſand Furlongs, yet the Coaſt of *Italy* hath no Ports, except thoſe which are at *Tarentum*. That Coaſt turnes to the *Sicylian* Sea, and bends towards *Greece*. It is much peopled C with *Barbarians*: So there are very famous Grecian Citties. For the *Brucians*, *Lucain*, and ſome Countries of the *Samnites*, and moreouer the *Calabriens*, and many other nations inhabite this Country: Euen as among the *Grecians*, lies *Rhegium*, *Caulone*, *Locres*, and *Croton*. Moreouer the *Metapontins*, and *Thurins*, poſſeſſe this Maritine Region. And therefore they which come from *Sycily* and *Greece*, are (when as they ſaile vnto any of the ſaid places) by neceſſity carried to D the Ports of *Tarentum*: And are forced to Traffique with their Merchandizes in that Cittie, with all the inhabitants of that Coaſt. Some happily may coniecture, that the Commoditie of this place, proceedes from the abundance and fertillitie of the *Crotoniates*. And although The *Crotoniates* they haue ſome Summer ſtations of ſmall reuenew, yet it ſeemes they will challenge to themſelues a great fertillitie, and from no other thing but from the fruitefulneſſe of the place, which is not to bee compared to the Ports and Region of the *Tarentins*. There is alſo a Commoditie from

from this place to the *Adriaticke* Ports, at this day great, but in former times greater. All they which ſailed from high *Pouille* vnto *Sipuntes* in Front, and were carried into *Italy*, landed at *Tarentum*, and made vſe of this City for their Commerce and Trafficke, as in affaires. Then the City of the *Bretenſins* was not yet built. Wherefore *Fabius* much eſteeming this abode, was addicted vnto it, leauing all other things. All others hold him for a very fortunate man, and that many times, and for the moſt part, he ended his Enterprizes without reaſon and accidentally: holding this kinde of men to bee more diuine
A and admirable, then thoſe which attempt all things by a diſcourſe of reaſon: Being ignorant withall, that by theſe words the actions of the one are worthy of Commendations, and thoſe of the other happy and fortunate. Moreouer, the one is common vnto the people: But the other is proper to wiſe and iudicious men, whom we muſt hold diuine and beloued of the Gods.

Vnderſtanding more commendable then Fortune.

For my part *Fabius* ſeemes to me to haue a Nature and diſpoſition like vnto *Lycurgus*, the Law-giuer of the *Lacedemonians*. We muſt not thinke that *Lycurgus* had beene ſo ſuperſtitious, as obeying *Pitheas*, he had eſtabliſhed the *Lacedemonian* Common-wealth: Nor likewiſe *Publius Scipio* moued with Dreames and Diuinations, had purchaſed ſo
B great a power in the Countrey. But for that the one and the other ſaw many men not greatly to affect doubtfull affaires, nor likewiſe to preſume to vndertake matters that were graue and dangerous without the hope of the Gods: For this cauſe *Lycurgus* making vſe of the fame drawne from *Pytheas* in his opinion, hee made them more pleaſing and certaine. *Publius Scipio* in like manner had made an impreſſion in many of a conceite of him, that hee executed his Enterprizes by a certaine Diuine Councell: By this meanes he made his men more aſſured, and willing to attempt difficult things. That he hath brought euery thing to an end by ſufficient reaſon and wiſedome, and that
C for this cauſe all his actions haue had an end concurrent to reaſon, will appeare manifeſt and plaine by the Diſcourſe which I ſhall hold concerning him.

It is certaine he was bountifull and generous: But as for his induſtry, ſobriety, and vigilancy in his reſolutions, no man can conceiue them, but ſuch as haue liued with him, and haue exactly ſearcht the depth of his diſpoſition: amongſt the which was *Lelyus*, who had beene his Companion from his Infancy in all his actions and diſcourſes vnto his Death: for that hee ſeemes to ſpeake likely things, and conformable to his actions. Firſt hee reports this Noble deede of *Publius*,
D when as his Father had reſolued to fight with *Hannibal* neare vnto the Riuer of *Poe*. For at that time being as it ſeemes but ſeuenteene yeares old, going into the Field, hee had receiued from his Father a Troupe of the beſt and ſtrongeſt men for his defence and guard.

The diſpoſition of *Publius Scipio*.

And when he ſaw his Father in danger, and enuironed by the Enemy, accompanied onely with two or three Horſe, hauing receiued a dangerous wound, he began at the firſt to encourage his company to ſuccour

his Father : But when they wauered, for the great multitude of the
The courage of *Publius*. Enemies, hee caſt himſelfe deſperately as it ſeemes, and charged them couragiouſly. Afterwards when the reſt were forced to fight, the Enemies amazed with feare, ceas'd the Combate. Old *Publius* being thus preſerued contrary to all hope, hee was the firſt who (in hearing of them all) called him his Sauiour. When by this action the fame of his proweſſe and dexterity began, he afterwards ingag'd himſelfe in greater dangers, whenſoeuer the ſupreame hope of the Countrey required it by neceſſity : This was not with a courage relying in For- A
tune, but of a iudicious Captaine.

Afterwards *Lucius* his elder Brother, aſpiring to the Dignity of *Edile*, the which among the *Romans* was the Nobleſt command of the Youth, and that by cuſtome they made choiſe of two *Ediles* among the *Patricij*, and that there were many at that time which aim'd at it, he was long before he durſt demand it of his Brother. When the Election grew neare, and that he had made a coniecture by the humour of the multitude, that his Brother would hardly obtaine it, ſeeing himſelfe on the other ſide in great fauour with the people, and might attaine vnto his attempt, if with their conſent he vndertooke the cauſe, he fell into this conceit. When he ſaw his Mother viſite the Temples, and ſa- B
crifice vnto the Gods for his Brother, and that ſhe entertained a great hope of the future, which ſhe had in ſingular recommendation, and that his Father being then Commander of the Army in the ſayd War, had ſayled into *Spaine*, he told his Mother that hee had one dreame twice, and that it ſeemed vnto him that he returned being made *Edile* with his Brother, from the place to goe vnto their houſe : And that running vnto the doore, ſhee had ſaluted them with imbracings. When hee had ended this Speech, the Mother being very paſſionate with an effeminate affection, and anſwering I know not what, ſhee added; Oh that I might ſee that Day : will you ſaies he, that wee make a tryall? C
Whereunto conſenting, for that ſhe did not thinke he would dare to attempt ſo great a matter, conſidering that he was very young, ſhee required (as it were in ſport) that he ſhould preſently prouide him a long Cloake. For they which ſtand for gouernment, are accuſtomed to be ſo attired. In regard of his Mother, ſhee had no confidence in his words.

Publius when he had this braue Robe, went ſuddainly to the place, his Mother being yet aſleepe. When the Multitude had receiued him with amazement, as well for this nouelty contrary to all hope, as for
Publius Scipio and his Brother created *Ediles*. the loue and affection they had formerly borne him, and afterwards D
drawing to the place appointed, he was neare vnto his Brother, many adiudg'd this gouernment not onely to *Publius*, but alſo to his Brother for the loue of him : and being both of them created *Ediles* in this manner, they returned to their houſe. When the Mother had receiued the newes, ſhe ran vnto the Gate, and with affection and loue ſaluted them. Wherefore although that *Publius* diſdained Dreames, yet it ſeemed by this action to all thoſe which haue heard ſpeake of it, that he had ſpeech with the Gods, not only ſleeping, but much more in the day waking.

waking. But for that he was bountifull and pleaſing in his words, and had well obſerued the affection of the Commons towards him, and had accommodated the time to the people and his Mother, hee not onely perfected his Enterprize, but alſo ſeemed to haue diſpatcht it by ſome Diuine inſpiratinn. They without doubt which cannot duely conſider the occaſions, nor the cauſes and diſpoſitions of euery thing by the vice of Nature, or ignorance and dulneſſe, referre vnto the Gods and Fortune the cauſes of things which are decided by induſtry and diſcreete reaſon. Theſe things I ſpeake for the Readers, to the end that falling
A through errour into the vulgar opinions of this man, they ſhould not leaue good and commendable graces that were in him, that is to ſay, his Dexterity and Induſtry. In regard of that which I ſpeake of him, it will appeare manifeſt by his actions.

Publius Scipio being then Generall of the Army in *Spaine*, calling his Troupes together, he aduiſed them not to be amazed for the aduentures and diſgraces paſt. For the *Romans* had neuer beene vanquiſhed by the proweſſe of the *Carthaginians*, but by the treaſon of the *Celtiberians*: And the raſhneſſe of the Commanders ſeperated one from another, for that they truſted in them: which are things he ſayd were then among the Enemies. For beſides that they made Warre being farre
B diſtant one from another, they offer'd outrages to their Allies, and made them Enemies: And that for this cauſe ſome were already ſent home: and the reſt will ſpeedily (when they ſhall be aſſured) come when you haue once paſt the Riuer, not ſo much for the good will they beare you, as to ſeeke a reuenge for the wrongs receiued by the *Carthaginians*. But moreouer the Captaines are in diſſention among themſelues, and will not willingly ioyne together to fight with you: And being thus diuided, they would be defeated, and fall eaſily into their hands. Wherefore he perſwaded them, that conſidering theſe things they ſhould paſſe the Riuer boldly, promiſing to giue good order for
C the reſt. When he had vſed this ſpeech vnto the other Captaines, he left his colleague *Marcus* vpon the paſſage of the Riuer, accompanied with three thouſand Foote and fiue hundred Horſe, to the end hee might ſuccour his Companions being in the Riuer: hee himſelfe paſt with the reſt of his Army, holding his intention ſecret from all the World. Hee reſolued things which he did not impart to many men. His reſolution was to lay ſiege to the City of *Carthage* ſcitnate in *Spaine*, by the way of courſe: The which euery man might vnderſtand, and that it is an excellent preſumption of his eſteeme, where-
D of I haue formerly ſpoken. For as hee was but ſeuen and twenty yeares old, he gaue himſelfe firſt to things which in the iudgement of the World ſeemed deſperate, for the great precedent dangers and misfortunes: leauing all things that were vulgar and eaſie: and reſolued and attempted thoſe which ſeemed impoſſible vnto the Enemie, euery one of which required an exact wiſedome, knowledge, and vnderſtanding.

A remonſtrance of *Publius Scipio* to his Army.

In the beginning being yet at *Rome*, when hee had conſidered by himſelfe, and eniquired diligently of the treaſon of the *Celtiberians*, and

of the diuiſion in the Armies, what might happen, and what fortune had befalne his Father, he was nothing amazed at the *Carthaginians*, neither did he faint as many vſually doe. But after that he vnderſtood that the Allies on this ſide the Riuer of *Ebro*, continued conſtant in their Friendſhip, and that the Commanders of the *Carthaginians* were in diſcord, and oppreſt the Subiects, hee affected the Warre with an aſſured courage, hauing no confidence in Fortune, but in wiſe Councell. When he arriued in *Spaine*, he moued them all, and hauing enquired of the Enemies actions, he vnderſtood that the *Carthaginians* Armies were diuided into three : and that *Mago* made his A abode within the Pillars of *Hercules*, at certaine places called *Conies*: And that *Aſdrubal* the Sonne of *Scone*, was neare the mouth of a Riuer by *Portugale*; the other *Aſdrubal* in the *Carpentins* Countrey held a City beſieged : Either of which places were many dayes iourney diſtant from the City of the *Ceneteins*. Studying then whether he ſhould reſolue to giue Battaile vnto the Enemy, if it were againſt all their forces, he ſhould be in danger to be defeated, as well in regard of that which had befalne his Predeceſſors, as for that their Armies were great. If likewiſe he laboured to fight with the one, it was to be feared that in flying the Battaile, the other Armies would B come, and by this meanes hee ſhould be incloſed, falling into the like Diſaſters, whereunto his Vncle *Caius* and his Father *Publius* had beene ſubiect.

Wherefore leauing this aduice, when he vnderſtood that *Carthage* was a great eaſe vnto the Enemies, and would be a great annoyance to him in this Warre, he conſidered of euery thing, wintring among the *Zilotes*. When he was aduertiſed in the beginning that it had Ports which might containe all the Sea-army of *Spaine* : hauing likewiſe a Maritine ſcituation, ſpacious and commodious for the *Carthaginians*, for the Nauigation which comes from *Lybia* : and likewiſe for that the C Treaſure and Baggage for the Army, with all the hoſtages of *Spaine*, were kept there : adding thereunto the great aduantage, for that the Fort had not aboue a thouſand Souldiers in Garriſon, for that they neuer ſuſpected that any man would preſume to beſiege it, the *Carthaginians* being in a manner Maiſters of all *Spaine* : and that finally the reſt of the people are in great number, yet they were Artizans, Mechannickes and Fiſhermen, who had no great experience in the Warre : He imagined that his comming to this City would be vnexpected with amazement. He was not ignorant of the ſcituation of the Towne, nor of its fortification, nor likewiſe of the diſpoſition of the Poole : which things D he had learned from Fiſhermen which had frequented the place : This Poole was generally muddy, and yet wadeable for the moſt part : and withall the water retired daily about Sun-ſetting. Wherefore concluding that if he preuailed in his Enterprize, he ſhould not onely annoy the Enemy, but it would bee a great benefit for the Warre: And if his aduice and councell ſucceeded well, hee might preſerue his Subiects as Maiſter of the Sea, if he might once fortifie and ſtrengthen his Army. The which was eaſie, for that the Enemies were far off.

Leauing

Leauing therefore all other reſolutions, hee attends this during Winter.

And when he had once reſolued, being of the age we haue mentioned, he concealed his reſolution from all the World, (except to *Caius Lelius*) vntill he thought it fit to manifeſt it. Although that Hiſtoriographers giue teſtimony of this reſolution, yet when they come to the end of the action, they attribute this excellent worke to the Gods and to Fortune, and not to him nor his wiſedome; without any probable arguments, and the teſtimony of thoſe which liued with him:
A for that *Scipio* himſelfe declares plainely in an Epiſtle which he had written to *Philip*, that making vſe of the aduice which wee haue mentioned, he had vndertaken the Warre of *Spaine*, and the ſiege of *Carthage*. Moreouer, commanding *Lelius* ſecretly touching the Army at Sea, he gaue him charge to ſaile aboue the City. Hee alone was priuy to his deſigne, as I haue ſayd. Himſelfe taking the Troupes of Foote-men, marcht ſpeedily. There were in the Army at Land about fiue and twenty thouſand Foote, and two thouſand fiue hundred Horſe. Being come vnto the City on the ſeuenth Day, hee planted his Campe on the North part, and fortified it without with a double Rampire and Ditches from one Sea vnto the other, without doing any thing to-
B wards the City. The Nature of the place had fortification enough.

The number of *Scipio's* Army at Land.

Carthage beſieged.

To vnderſtand well how this City hath beene beſieged and taken, I hold it neceſſary in ſome ſort to deſcribe the neighbour Countries and its ſcituation. It is ſeated in *Spaine* about the middle of the Maritine Region, in the Gulfe which hath its aſpect towards *Affricke*: whoſe depth is about twenty Furlongs, and the breadth at the entrance about ten: All this Gulfe makes a kind of Port, where there lies an Iland at the mouth of it, leauing on either ſide a little entrance. And when the Sea is troubled with any torment, then all the Gulfe is calme, but when the Weſterne Winds of the Winter Solſtice, beating vpon
C the two entrances, cauſe the ſtorme: But as for the other Winds it is not troubled, by reaſon of the firme Land which enuirons it. Behinde the Gulfe there riſes a Cape, whereon the City is ſcituated, enuironed with the Sea towards the Eaſt and South, and with a Lake vpon the Weſt and North, ſo as the ſpace which remaines from one Sea to another, by the which the City is ioyned to the firme Land, is not aboue two Furlongs.

The ſcituation of *Carthage*.

In regard of the City, one moiety of it is concaue: and towards the South it hath the approach of the full Sea: Finally, it is full of Hills,
D whereof two are rough and difficult: the other three are very lowe, but ſtrong and hard to paſſe, whereof the higheſt bends towards the Eaſt, aduancing to the Sea: There the Temple of *Aſclepie* is built. Right againſt the which is another of the ſame ſcituation, whereon ſtands a ſumptuous royall Pallace, the which ſome ſay had beene built by *Aſdrubal* affecting a Regall power. The reſt of the leſſer Hills haue their tops towards the North. That of the three which lookes directly towards the Eaſt, is called *Pheſte*; to the which is ioyned that of *Alete*. It ſeemes that *Pheſte* hath beene the in-

uentor of Siluer mettals, and for this cauſe purchaſed diuine honours. The third is called *Crone*. In regard of the Lake ioyning to the Sea: it hath taken its courſe by the worke of man, for the benefit of Fiſher-men, and others trafficking by Sea. But at the breach of the Banke by the which the Lake and Sea are diuided, they haue made a Bridge, to the end that Sumpters and Carts might bring things neceſſary from the Countrey.

This was the ſcituation of thoſe places, the *Romans* Campe was fortified in Front, without any prouiſion as well by the Lake, as Sea on either ſide. A In regard of the ſpace which ioynes the City to the firme Land, he did not fortifie it, for that it was in the midſt of his Campe: to the end he might amaze the Citizens, and make vſe of it for Skirmiſhes, and to ſally forth and retire to his Campe. The Walles in the beginning had not aboue twenty Furlongs: Although that many haue giuen it forty: which is not true. Wee ſpake not by heare-ſay, but vpon a certaine knowledge, for that we haue ſeene the places: and at this day they containe no more.

Scipio hauing drawne his Army together with that at Sea, began to make remonſtrances vnto them, without vſing any other arguments and reaſons, then ſimply to propound the things whereof wee haue partly B ſpoken, and ſhewing them that this attempt was feazable: and in relating in particular things done by proweſſe, he extenuated that of his affaires. Finally, he promiſed Crownes of Gold to thoſe which ſhould firſt aſcend the Wall: and the accuſtomed rewards to others which ſhould carry themſelues openly like braue and valiant men. And in the meane time he affirmes that *Neptune* had appeared vnto him in ſleepe, and had ſhewed him this kind of attempt to aſſaile the City: And conſequently promiſed, that during the aſſault, he would worke ſo apparently, as the efficacy of his Succours ſhould be manifeſt to the whole Army. By his remonſtrances and euident reaſons, together with the promiſe of Crownes of Gold, and moreouer by the prouidence of God, C he imprinted a vehement deſire and courage in the Youth.

The next day hee drew his ſhips into the Maritine places, furniſhed with diuers Engines to caſt, whereof he gaue the charge to *Caius Lelyus*: And taking at Land two thouſand able men with thoſe that carried Ladders, he began the aſſault three houres after. *Mago* on the other ſide who had the guard of the City, diuiding his Battalion of a thouſand men, leauing the one halfe within the Fort, and plants himſelfe on the Hill which lookes towards the Eaſt: and appoints about two thouſand ſtrong men, furniſhed with Armes which were in the City, to the Gate which drawes to the *Iſthmus*, and the Enemies Campe: Commanding the reſt to runne vp and downe the Walles, and to defend them with all their power. When as *Publius Scipio* had cauſed the Trumpet to ſound to the aſſault, *Mago* cauſed a ſally to be made by the Gate, hoping to terrifie the Enemies, and to fruſtrate their attempt. As they fought valiantly with thoſe that came marching in Battaile towards the *Iſthmus*, there was a braue Combate, euery man giuing courage to his Companion. But the attempt was not equall, for that their

The beginning of the fight for *Carthagena*.

Succours

Succours were not alike: For that the *Carthaginians* came running forth but by one Gate, within the ſpace of two Furlongs: whereas the *Romans* came ſuddainly and from many places. *Scipio* reſtrained his men neare the Campe, to drawe the Enemy farre from the City, being confident that if he defeated this Battalion of Commons, he ſhould ſubſequently defeate the reſt, and that no man would dare to make a ſally. It fell out that the Combate was for a time equall: for that on either ſide they had made choiſe of their ableſt men to make the point. But in the end the *Carthaginians* being repuls'd by the force of thoſe which A came running from the Campe, turne head: ſo as many were ſlaine during the Combate and retreate. There were many likewiſe ſlaine at the Gate.

The *Carthaginians* repuls'd.

After this all the people of the City were ſo amazed, as they which were on the Walles fled: and the *Romans* had like to haue entred with the Run-awayes. Moreouer, they ſet vp the Ladders diligently, whereas *Scipio* vndertooke the danger: the which he did wiſely. He was accompanied with three men carrying Targets, (the which couering *Scipio*, hindred the ſight from the top of the Wall) defended him thus couered. By this meanes ſtriuing vpon the flankes and difficult places, B he was of great vſe in taking this City. When he ſaw what was done, being alſo diſcouered to all the Souldiers fighting, he gaue them great courage, ſo as no danger was auoided: and hee imployed himſelfe cheerefully with the reſt (as it was reaſonable) in euery occaſion that was offered to purpoſe. When the firſt aſcended the Ladders reſolutely, the multitude of Defendants did not make the aſſault ſo dangerous, as the height of the Walles. For this cauſe they which defended it, were more aſſured ſeeing the difficulty which happened. For ſome of the Ladders brake by reaſon of the multitudes which mounted on them. They alſo which aſcended firſt, were ſo dazeled with the height of C the Ladders, as if the reſiſtance and defence had beene any thing, they muſt haue caſt themſelues downe headlong: And when as any ſuch accident happened, ſtriuing to get ouer the Wall, they were ouerthrowne to the ground. And although ſuch things happened, yet they could not repulſe the *Romans* from their aſſault: ſo as when the firſt were fallen, their next neighbours ſtept into their places.

Carthage aſſaulted by the *Romans*.

But as the day was farre ſpent, and the Souldiers tired with the toile of the aſſault, the Commander cauſed a retreate to be ſounded. Wherefore they of the City reioyced as if they had repuls'd the danger. But *Scipio* attending the time when the Tide ſhould retire, appointed fiue D hundred men for the Lake with Ladders. In regard of the Gate and *Iſthmus*, he ſet freſh men: and after that he had preacht vnto them, he deliuered them more Ladders then formerly, to the end they might mount vpon the Walles more thicke. When they had ſounded to the aſſault, and that the Souldiers went vp the Ladders with great courage, there grew a great trouble and alteration in the City. For when they thought they had beene free, they ſaw the danger renewed by another aſſault. But when they found themſelues deſtitute of Darts, and were heauy for the great number of thoſe which periſhed, they were diſ-

A ſecond aſſault giuen to *Carthage* by the *Romans*.

contented at that which happened, yet defending themſelues no leſſe valiantly. Finally, the ebbing of the Sea beganne during the Combate of the Ladders: The height of the Poole was much diminiſhed, by the ebbing of the Tide, the which was great, falling by the mouth into the Sea, ſo as it ſeemed incredible to thoſe which ſaw it without conſideration.

Scipio hauing his guides ready, commaunds thoſe which he had appointed, to enter and to carrie themſelues valiantly. Hee was as fit and induſtrious as any man, to put courage into his Souldiers, and to make them reſolute to whom he preacht. When they obeyed him, and A ſtriued thorough the mud, all the Army held that which happened to be done by ſome Diuine prouidence. Wherefore remembring thoſe things which they had heard, and the proweſſe of *Scipio*, they were ſo inflamed, as they drew to the Gate cloſe and with a violent courſe, and ſeeke to breake it open with Hatchets and Axes. The others approaching the VValls through the mud, and finding the toppe naked of men, they ſet vp their Ladders not onely without danger, but they paſt the Wals without difficultie. The Citizens in truth were drawne to other places, neither did they thinke that the Enemy would euer aſſaile the Wall by the Lake. Moreouer by reaſon of the extreame crie B and the confuſed noiſe, they could neither ſee nor heare any thing that was done.

Carthagena taken by aſſault.

The *Romans* hauing gotten the VVall, ſeeke firſt vnder colour of making the round, how they might draw the Enemies vnto them. For the effecting whereof their Armes was of great ſeruice. Finally, they come to the Gate, where as ſome going downe cut the barres, others entred from without. In regard of thoſe which made their attempts at the *Iſthmus* with Ladders, after they had defeated them which defended the VValls, they lept ouer, and by this meanes the VVall was gotten. As for the Hill ſcituated towards the Eaſt, they which entred by the Gate recouered it, chaſing away the Guards. VVhen as *Scipio* C ſaw that there was a ſufficient number entred into the City, hee ſent many of them according to the Cuſtome, againſt the Citizens, giuing them charge to kill all they met without taking any to mercy, and not to buſie themſelues with ſpoile vntill they had a ſigne giuen them. The *Romans* doe this to terrifie them. And therefore wee often ſee, that when they take Cities by force, they doe not onely kill the men, but they cut their Dogges in pieces, and diſmember their other Cattle. Many ſuch things happened in that Citie, by reaſon of the multitude of Priſoners.

Scipio aſſailes the fort.

Mago deliuers the fort.

Finally *Publius Scipio* accompanied with a Thouſand men aſſailes the D Fort: whereunto making his approaches, *Mago* at the firſt ſtriues to defend it: But when hee vnderſtood the Truth of the taking of the City, hee ſends men to parley for his ſafety, and by this meanes hee deliuers the Fort. This done, a ſigne being giuen, the maſſacre ceaſed, and they fell to ſpoile. And when as night approached, ſome remained in the Campe ordained for that end: And the Generall ſpent the night in the Fort, accompanied with a Thouſand men: Appointing the

reſt

reſt being retired from the Houſes, by the Captaines of Thouſands, to carry the booty to the Enſignes in the market place. In regard of them that were lightly armed, called from the Campe on the Hill, hee ſent them to the Eaſterne parts. The *Romans* tooke *Carthage* in *Spaine* after this manner. The day following after they had carried the baggage of the *Carthaginian* Souldiers, and the ſubſtance of the Burgeſſes and Artizans to the place, the Captaines of Thouſands according to Cuſtome, diuided it among their Bands.

Among the *Romans* this order is obſerued touching Cities taken. Sometimes to euery day they number the men, and diſtributing them according to the greatneſſe of the City, ſometimes they diuide them by Enſignes. They neuer appoint aboue halfe the Army for this buſineſſe. The reſt remaine in Battaile for the Guard, ſometimes they are without, and ſometimes within the City, vnto the end they may be alwayes ready. The Army being diuided for the moſt part in two of *Romans*, and two of Allies, they which are deputed for the diuiſion, do euery man bring his booty vnto the Campe. This done, the Millanneers or Captaines of Thouſands diuide it equally to them all: Not onely to thoſe which remaine in Battaile, but alſo to the Guards of the Tents, to the ſicke, and vnto all thoſe which are ordained for any publicke ſeruice. The order of the *Romans* in the diuiſion of the ſpoile of a Towne.

When they are together in Campe to go vnto the War, they ſweare not to commit any fraud in the pillage, and that they keepe their faith according vnto the oath which they haue taken. But wee haue ſpoken ſufficiently heereof in Diſcourſing of their pollicy. Finally when an Army is thus diuided, one part attending the Booty, and the reſt ſtanding in Battaile for their Guards, yet the *Romans* had neuer any difference through Couetouſneſſe. For when as none of them are fruſtrated for the Hope of gaine, and that in the meane time ſome follow the ſpoile, and the others remaining in Battaile guard them, no man abandons his Enſigne: The which many times is the cauſe of great loſſe and danger to others. Many ſuffer loſſe, and are in danger in regard of gaine: For it is apparent, that they which remaine in Campe, or are in Battaile, containe themſelues vnwillingly: for that moſt commonly all the ſpoile vnder his Commaund and power which rules, if he be an abſolute Monarch: And if he be a Commaunder, euery man holds that his owne, which may be hidden and purloin'd, although that all things be carefully brought together. And for that moſt part of men deſire booty, and for this cauſe are in danger, hauing no meanes to obtaine an abſolute Victory, it fals out that they are in danger to loſe all. The which happens to many, who although they haue preuailed in their Enterprize, whether they haue caſt themſelues into the Enemies Campe, or haue taken a City, yet they haue not onely beene repuls'd, but moreouer had loſt all, and for no other cauſe but that aboue mentioned. Whereefor Cõmanders ought to haue nothing in greater recommendation and care, then that whereof wee ſpeake: which is, that (as much as may be poſſible) this hope may remaine to the greateſt part: that if ſuch an accident happens, the diuiſion may be The Souldiers Oath touching the pillage.

equall

equall to them all. Then the Captaines of Thouſands gaue order ſo the Booty: and the *Roman* Commander hauing drawne together their Priſoners, (which were little leſſe then a thouſand) hee commands them firſt to ſeparate the Citizens with their Wiues and Children, and then the handy-crafts-men. This done, hee aduiſeth the Citizens to imbrace the Friendſhip of the *Romans*, and to remember the fauour which they receiued, and then hee ſent them backe to their houſes. Whereof ſome weeping, and others ioyfull for their vnexpected ſafety, they retire, hauing done their duties to the Generall.

Scipio's prouidence concerning the Priſoners.

A In regard of the Worke-men and Artizans, hee told them, that for the preſent they were publique Seruants to the City of *Rome*: But if euery one did his duty cheerefully and willingly, he promiſed them liberty, if the Warre vndertaken againſt the *Carthaginians* had a good end. Then he gaue charge to the Queſtor to take the Names of theſe men, and that he ſhould appoint thirty *Roman* Commiſſaries, for the whole multitude contained in a manner two thouſand. He alſo made choiſe of the ſtrongeſt, and the moſt flouriſhing in age and forme, to furniſh the Troupes: and fill'd the captiue ſhips with all the Marriners, exceeding the former one halfe: ſo as euery ſhip had in a manner twice B as many men. There were eighteene captiue ſhips, and in the beginning they had beene fiue and thirty. To whom he promiſed liberty if they ſhewed themſelues friends and valiant, and that if in this Warre he ſhould happen to vanquiſh the *Carthaginians*. When he had declared himſelfe in this manner, he made the Burgeſſes affectionate and loyall, as well to himſelfe as to the *Roman* Common-weale: The Worke-men and Artizans are in like manner ioyfull vpon the hope of liberty.

The number of ſhips that were taken.

But when he had by this ſupply much augmented the Troupes, in the end he ſeparates *Mago* and the *Carthaginians*. For he had two Senators and fifteene Councellors: whom hee gaue in charge to *Caius Lelius*, C commanding him to haue a ſpeciall care. Moreouer, hee calls all the hoſtages vnto him, which were aboue three hundred. Then he makes much of the Children, willing them to reioyce, and that within few dayes they ſhould ſee their Parents. In like manner he perſwades the reſt to be of good hope, and to write vnto their Cities and Friends, that firſt of all they had their liues ſaued, and were well intreated: And that ſecondly the *Romans* would ſend them all home to their houſes in ſafety, if their Friends could imbrace their alliance. This Speech being ended, he gaue the moſt commodious ſpoiles of the Army to euery one according to his Race and age, as to Children Feathers and Bracelets, D and to young men Swords. When as among the Captiues the Wife of *Mandonin*, the Brother of *Andobale*, King of the *Lecheteins*, had caſt her ſelfe at his feete, demanding with teares that he would haue a better reſpect to her honeſty then the *Carthaginians* had had, being moued with compaſſion, he demanded of her what neceſſary things ſhe wanted. Shee was an aged woman, and carried the ſhew of ſome great Dignity. And when ſhe held her peace, he calls for thoſe which had the charge of the women, who preſenting themſelues, and affirming that the

The Wife of *Mandonin*.

Carthaginians

Carthaginians had furniſhed the Women with all things neceſſary: ſhe touching his knees againe, repeated the ſame words. *Scipio* viewing her, and thinking that they vnto whom he had then giuen the charge, ſhewed themſelues lyers through negligence, commaunded the Women not to be diſcontented, and that hee would giue order to place other Commiſſaries, to the end nothing ſhould be wanting that was needfull for them. Then ſtaying a little, Captaine ſhe ſaid, thou miſtakeſt my words, if thou doeſt thinke that I require thy aſſiſtance to content the bellie.

A Then *Scipio* hearing her conceite, and obſeruing in her face the vigour of *Andobales* daughters, and of many other Potentates, was forced to weep; for that this Lady diſcouered her Calamitie in few words. Wherefore when it appeared that he vnderſtood her conceit, taking her by the Hand, as he did the reſt, willing them to reioyce: promiſing to haue them in as great recommendation, as his owne ſiſters and children: and that according to his promiſe, hee would appoint truſty and confident men to haue the Charge ouer them. Finally, hauing deliuered vnto the Queſtors all the Wealth found in the publicke Treaſure of the *Carthaginians*, which amounted to aboue eighteene hundred Thouſand Crownes: So as ioyning them vnto other twelue hundred Thou-
B ſand, which the Queſtor of *Rome* had, the whole ſumme would be aboue three millions.

At the ſame time certaine Young men hauing taken a Virgin, paſſing in the flower of her age, and the beauty of her body all the reſt of the Women, knowing that *Scipio* tooke delight in it, they came vnto him bringing this Virgin, and ſtaying him, told him that they preſented her vnto him. *Publius* amazed and wondring at her beauty: if I were (ſayth he) a priuate perſon, there is no gift could be more pleaſing vn- The chaſt an-
to me: But being a great Commaunder, there is nothing leſſe in my ſwere of *Scipio*.
C affection: Letting them vnderſtand (as it ſeemes by this anſwere) that in time of reſt and idleneſſe, the vſe of ſuch things is pleaſing to young men: But when affaires do preſſe, it ingenders in them which vſe them, great hinderances both in body and minde. Finally hee thankt the young men: And calling for the father of the Virgin, hee reſtored her vnto him, giuing him charge to marry her as he thought good, to ſome Cittizen. By this meanes hauing made ſhew of the Chaſtity and modeſty of his Heart, he became very pleaſing to the Subiects. Theſe things being thus ordained, and the reſt of the Priſoners deliuered to the Captaines of Thouſands, hee ſent *Caius Lelyus* to *Rome* to the fiue
D Yeares Sacrifices, with the *Carthaginians* and the other priſoners of note, to make knowne in their Countrey, the accidents which had happened.

Many in truth which deſpaired of the Warre in *Spaine*, applied themſelues vnto the preſent in diuers manners, reſuming Courage againe, where as the newes was directed publickly. *Scipio* ſtaying ſome time at *Carthage*, practiſed the Army at Sea continually: And hee taught the Captaines of Thouſands this kinde of Exerciſe for the Foote-men. He appointed the Souldiers to runne thirty furlongs armed on the firſt day;

Exercises appointed by *Scipio* for his Army both at Sea and Land.

day: And on the second they should all furbush and cleanse their armes: And on the third they should rest: But on the fourth they should fight with Swords of Wood couered with Leather, and with plummets, teaching them to cast Darts: And on the fift to fall to their running, as in the beginning. In like manner he solicited the Artizans and Workemen carefully, to the end that nothing should bee wanting in the true Exercises of Armes. He also appointed part of the Commissaries to this Worke, and went vp and downe daily, soliciting euery man vnto that which was necessary.

A Finally, whilst the Armie at Land practised often before the Citie, the Mariners vsed their Exercises at Sea, with their turnings and returnings. And they which should be in the Citie, should Furbush, Forge, and Worke: and that all should be carefully imploied to prepare Armes. There is no man but would haue held the City for a shoppe of Warre, according to the saying of *Xenophon*, if he had seene it then. As all things seemed good vnto him, and conueniently dispatcht for necessary vse, and that consequently hee had put a Garrison into the Citie, and rampred the Wals, he dislodgeth with his Army, as bending both by Sea and Land towards *Tarragone*, hauing the Hostages B with him. He marcht with his Army, as in his iudgement such marches are requisite in all occasions. In the which hee must alwayes accustome the Horse-men, as to mannage a Horse, to handle a Iauelin, and moreouer to bound and gallop, and to turne on the right hand or the left. Sometimes they disbanded the Commanders of ten out of the midst of the Army, and they which commaunded twenty vpon the two wings: and sometimes they drew them together, and stayed them according to the troupes of horsemen vpon the wings: or else they made an extent of two wings by an interposition, or by the pollicy of the Captaines of the reareward. In regard of their exercise in a throng, hee sayed it was not necessary, as hauing one C course vpon the way.

They must in all alarums bee accustomed to charge the enemy, and to make their retreate, that they should alwayes approach as nimbly as they could, marching vnited and in the same order. They must moreouer obserue the spaces betwixt the bands, for if the horsemen vndergoing the danger breake their rankes, there was nothing so dangerous nor preiudiciall. When hee had taught them all these things, especially to the Captaines, hee enters into Citties, to inquire first if most of them obeyed the things which had beene commanded them, and finally if they which had the gouerment of Citties, D were sufficient to execute the constitutions with iudgement: holding nothing more necessary then the Prudence of Gouernors. These things being thus ordred, hee assembles the horsemen of Citties in a certaine place, and himselfe making certaine bounds and Cur[illegible] hee taught them all the managing of Armes. Hee did not [illegible]n in the head of the army, as Captaines vsually doe at this day, thinking the first place to belong vnto them. This without doubt takes away the cõmanders experience, and draws him into danger

It

It is true that he is ſeene by them all, but ſees not any. It is neceſſary that the Commander of an Army ſhew example, not by a Military authority, but by experience of a Captaine, and his proweſſe in Armes, marching ſometimes with the fore-ward, and ſometimes with the reare-ward, and ſometimes in the Battaile: the which this man did, riding and conſidering them all, who being doubtfull hee taught, correcting their errours in the beginning: the which ſeldome happened by reaſon of the precedent diligence. *Demetrius Phalerius* hath ſhewed it, ſaying, that as in buildings where the houſes are comprehended vnder one Roofe and ligature, it happens that the continuance is the ſtronger: So a whole Army is made more firme, in the which all is diligently purſued in particular, and by the Chambers. That which is done at this day, is very like to the gouernment and order of a Battaile. Light things and thoſe which are moſt vſuall in an Army, many times periſh wholly in it. In regard of the Role of thoſe which diſband, and are armed with aduantage, the Battalion containes them. Now the *Etoliens* fight like a forlorne hope: So doe they of *Morea* their Allies: whereas the *Romans* make head holding the order of a Battalion. And if the others bee repulſt, and returning from the Combate periſh, the *Romans* retire without loſſe: and if they vanquiſh, which God forbid) they will make all the reſt of *Greece* ſubiect.

The duty of the Commander of an Army.

A Parcell of Media.

Media according to the Circuite of the Countrey, is the moſt defencible among all the Potentates of *Aſia*, in regard of the multitude and vallour of the men, and likewiſe of the Horſes. It doth furniſh in a manner all *Aſia* with this kinde of Cattell: ſo as the Royall Races which are bred and entertained there, are of great benefit to the *Medians*. It is alſo inhabited with *Greciã* Cities, the which *Alexander* cauſed to bee built for the guard thereof, by reaſon of the neighbour-hood of the *Barbarians*; except the *Ecbatanes*, whoſe City is built vpon the Northerly marches of *Media*. Yet it is neare the parts of *Aſia* which confine vpon the blacke Sea and the *Euxine*.

In the beginning the Royall City of the *Medians* was amongſt all the reſt the moſt excellent in riches and ſumptuous buildings. It is ſituated vnder the Mountaine Countries, and neighbours to *Oronte* without Walles, hauing onely a Fore-that is well furniſhed and fortified with great Art. Vnder which is ſeituated the royall City of the *Perſians*. It is a queſtion whether we ſhould ſpeake of it in particular, or be ſilent. Beleeue mee, it giues a ſtrong argument to thoſe whoſe intention and cuſtome is to relate rare and admirable things: both to ſpeake ſome adding much vnto them: which breeds a doubt in thoſe which wiſely receiue all that which is out of common fancy.

The Royall City of the *Perſians*.

This royall City hath in greatneſſe and circuite almoſt ſeuen Furlongs, and the ſumptuouſneſſe of euery building ſuch, as it ſhewes a great

great abundance of wealth in those that first founded them. For as all the Carpenters worke is of Cedar or Cipresse, yet they haue not left one cloud, but haue lin'd the Ioists, Wainscot, and Pillars with the vaults of the Galleries, with plates of Gold and Siluer: and in regard of the Vessell it was all of Siluer. Yet the greatest part was carried away at the comming of *Alexander* and the *Macedonians*: and the rest vnder the gouernment of *Antigonus*, and of *Seleucus Nicanor*, and likewise at the comming of *Antiochus*, when as the Temple of *Enee* had about it many Pillars gilt, and a great quantity of Siluer vessels, and finally, there were some small number of Tiles of Gold, A but many more of Siluer. Moreouer, there was a great heape of Siluer within the Royall City, coyned of the aforesaid things, to the number of about two Millions and foure hundred thousand Crownes.

B

A Parcell of *Antiochus*, and of his Army into *Hyrcania*.

ANtiochus hopes to come vnto those places. *Arsaces* like wise thinkes that he dare not passe the Desarts there confining with so great an Army, especially for the want of Water. It is true that in the said places the Water shewes it selfe vpon the superficies, and that there are many Ditches hauing deepe Wells, but vnknowne to those which did not frequent them. C Of which they haue a Tale in the Countrey: that at such time as the *Persians* enioyed *Asia*, this Countrey had in certaine places (in the which formerly there was no Water) fiue Springs or Fountains. And therefore as *Tauris* hath many great Riuers, they imployed great labour and cost to fill the Ditches from farre, the which succeeded: neither doe they know which vse these Waters, the Spring of these Ditches, nor whence they come. When as *Arsaces* saw him take the way by the Desart, hee resolued to shut vp the Wells and to corrupt them. The King hauing this newes, he dispatcht some from *Nicomedia* with a D thousand Horse, who finding *Arsaces* gone with his Army, leauing some Horse-men to fill vp the Ditches. To whom suddainly after their comming they gaue the chase, and then returned to *Antiochus*. The Desarts being past, the King arriued at a City called *Hecatomphilon*, scituated in the midst of *Parthyene*. It hath taken its name for that all the passages of the neighbour Countries ioyne there: Here he refresht his Army, and made his reckoning that if *Arsaces* had beene able to ioyne Battaile with him, hee would not haue retired leauing his Countrey,

Many Riuers comes out of *Tauris*.

Hecatomphilon.

Countrey, nor ſought other places more commodious for his Army to fight in, then thoſe which are about *Hecatomphilon*. By his departure therefore it is manifeſt to him that will conſider this action, that hee had taken another reſolution. Wherefore *Antiochus* reſolued to take his way to *Hyrcania*.

But when he was come to *Tages*, and had notice of the difficulty of the places by thoſe of the Countrey, the which hee was to paſſe vnto the tops of the Mountaines which bend to *Hyrcania*, and that the *Barbarians* held the moſt difficult places, hee reſolued to take a
A good number of the ableſt men, and to ſeparate their Captaines, and to informe euery one of them how to performe the way, and likewiſe hee appointed Pyoners, marching with them to leuell the way for the Souldiers, Leginaries, and Baggage. This being concluded, he gaue the firſt Battalion to *Diogenes*, adding thereunto the Archers and Slingers, who from the Mountaines might caſt their Darts and Stones: the which held no order of Battaile, but came alwayes in time to the place of danger, and were of great ſeruice in difficult places. Hee accompanied them with about two thouſand *Candiots* armed with Targets, of which *Polixenides* had the charge. In the Reareward hee ordaines the armed men and the Targeteers: The
B Commanders whereof were *Nicomedes* of *Chio*, and *Nicolas* the *Etolien*.

As theſe men march before, it fell out that the roughneſſe and ſtreights of the paſſage were found more difficult then the King had conceiued. All the length of the aſcent was about three hundred Furlongs, and for the moſt part by the deepe Fourd of a Torrent, into the which were fallen from the high Rocks Stones and Trees which made the paſſage inacceſſible. To the which the *Barbarians* gaue great aſſiſtance: caſting continually Trees which were cut downe, and gathered together great heapes of Stones: and ſeazed (keeping with-
C all the length of all the Valley) on the Hills of aduantage, which might ſerue them for defence: ſo as if they had not beene fruſtrated, *Antiochus* had giuen ouer his Enterprize as deſtitute of his forces. For as it was neceſſary for the Enemies to take their way, and to aſcend by that Valley, they ſeazed on the ſayd places and fortified them. But they did not obſerue that it was impoſſible for the Leginaries to paſſe there with their Baggage vntill the way were made: for theſe could not approach or come neare the Confines of the Mountaines.

D They that were lightly armed and the valiant men, could not aſcend the Leucopetres. For this cauſe the Ordonance changed when they were ioyned vnto the firſt Guard of *Diogenes* Troupes who aſcended out of the Torrent. Suddainly the Combate began as the accident ſhewed: *Diogenes* Troupe marching ſlowly through the Countrey, gaue a rough charge to the Enemy: And in throwing of Darts and Stones preſt the *Barbarians*, annoying them much with their Slings which they caſt from their Palliſadoe. Hauing chaſed the firſt, and had taken their place, they gaue charge to the Pyoners to make

Diogenes fights with the *Barbarians*.

the passage euen, the which was presently performed by reason of their great number.

By this meanes when the Slingers, Archers, and Darters had marcht to the higher places, scattred here and there, and sometimes together, seazing on the most commodious places, and the Targeteers held the lower Countrey, marching in Battaile a slow pace along the Torrent: The *Barbarians* stayed not, but abandoning the place, they drew together on the top of the Mountaines. In regard of *Antiochus* Troupes, it past the difficult passages safely after this manner: But slowly and with great difficulty: They could hardly eight in a Ranke recouer the top of the neare Mountaines. And when the *Barbarians* were there assembled, hauing an humour they should bee able to keepe the Enemies from gaining the top, there fell out a braue Combate. By these reasons the Enemies were repuls'd, who reuniting themselues fought against the Leginaries, and made head against them with great courage and vallour. A

In the Night the braueſt of them turning about recouered the top, and the places lying behind. The which the *Barbarians* seeing, and suddainly amazed, they turned head. The King is very carefull to restraine the fury of his Souldiers pursuing the Enemy, causing a retreate to be sounded, desiring they should enter into *Hyrcania* vnited and in good order. This kinde of march being ordained according to his will, hee comes to the City of *Tambrace*, destitute of Walles, yet hauing a royall and large Pallace: where hee campt and besieged it. Bnt when as many, as well Souldiers as of the Countrey had retired to the City of *Syringe*, (it was not farre from *Tambrace*, and was as it were the Capitall of *Hyrcania*, as well for its fortification as for its wealth) hee resolued to ruine it by force. B

The City of *Tambrace*.

Marching therefore with his power, and planting his Campe about it, he besieged the Citie. The greateſt part of his worke was to make platformes in the fashion of a Tortoise. The Ditches were triple, being about seuen Fathome and a halfe broad, and foure deepe. Vpon either banke there was a double Pallisadoe with a strong outwall. There were continuall Skirmishes whileſt they wrought: from whence they carried from either side men slaine and hurt: for that they fought very valiantly, not onely vpon the ground, but also vnder it in the Mines. But by reason of the multitude of Pyoners and the Kings diligence, it happened that the Ditches were suddainly fill'd vp, and the Walles fell being shaken with the Mines. This done, the *Barbarians* being confounded, and much terrified and amazed with feare, they kill the *Grecians* which were in the City, and taking their richeſt stuffe retire by Night. The King seeing this, sends *Hyparbase* with the Mercenaries: with whom the *Barbarians* fighting, and in the end abandoning the Baggage, retire againe into the City. But when the Targeteers preſt them valiantly, not able to beare the burthen being so grieuous, they presently yeeld hauing no more hope. C D

Syringe besieged by *Antiochus*.

Syringe taken by *Antiochus*.

A defect in the Text.

The Commanders of the Army being desirous to see the Enemies Troupes

Troupes enuironed on the Hill, they command thoſe which were in the Palliſadoe not to budge: in regard of themſelues they goe to view the places, being accompanied with two Troupes of Horſe, and ſome Footmen lightly armed, with thirty executioners of Iuſtice. Certaine *Numidians* accuſtomed to Darts, comming out of the Enemies Fort to lye in Ambuſh, they had by chance ſtolne from the Hills: who hauing notice giuen them by a Spye, that ſome were on the top of the Hill higher then they, they prepare themſelues and march croſſe the Hill, and caſting themſelues betwixt them and their Campe, they ſhut them in and take them. *Claudius Marcellus* the Conſull was at the firſt charge wounded, and taken with ſome others, forcing the reſt being wounded to flye into Caues and Pits. The which they of the Campe ſeeing, they could not relieue them in this danger. For whileſt they cryed out and wondred at this accident, and that ſome bridled their Horſes, and others arm'd themſelues, the Execution was ended. The Sonne of *Claudius* ſaued himſelfe with difficulty, and contrary to all hope being wounded. Finally, *Claudius* fell into theſe dangers more through ſimplicity then by any true iudgement of a Captaine.

Claudius Marcellus wounded and taken.

For my part I am forced to admoniſh the Reader of theſe kind of aduentures through the whole tract of our Worke, where I ſee not onely ordinary Souldiers, but euen Captaines themſelues to haue erred by manifeſt ignorance. What profit can a Prince or Commander reape, which hath not the knowledge of dangers which hee muſt auoide, leſt the whole Army periſh with him? Who knowes not that if neceſſity doth force them to attempt a thing, that a great part of the Troupes muſt periſh before the Commanders feele it? The tryall muſt be ſuddainly made not by the Commander. That which they vſually ſay, I did not thinke it: and who would euer haue thought that ſhould haue happened? Seemes to be a great argument of ignorance, and of a weake iudgement in the Commander.

Common excuſes of ignorance and negligence.

For this cauſe I hold *Hannibal* among the good Captaines for many reaſons, and which may herein be commended, who hath imployed much time in the profeſſion of Armes, and who making vſe of iudgement in many and diuers occaſions, hath many times by his induſtry fruſtrated the Enemies in particular encounters, and was neuer circumuented in ſuch great Battailes: who as it appeares hath preſerued himſelfe with great prouidence. And that with good reaſon. For the Commander being ſafe, although all the reſt periſh Fortune produceth many occaſions by the which the damages receiued by thoſe miſerable accidents may be repaired: But if he periſh like vnto a Pilot in a ſhip, there growes no profit, although that Fortune giue the Victory to the reſt againſt the Enemy: For that the hope of all depends vpon the Commander. I ſpeake theſe things againſt thoſe who by a glorious preſumption, or a youthfull humour, or by ſtupidity, or diſdaine, fall into this inconſideration. One of the ſaid things muſt of neceſſity be the cauſe of theſe misfortunes.

Of *Publius Scipio* and of the VVarre of the *Romans* against the *Carthaginians.*

AS *Publius Scipio* Generall of the *Romans* in *Spaine*, being in the Region of *Tarracona*, had first drawne the *Spaniards* to his Friendship, and made them faithfull, for that he had restored them their hostages, he had in this action *Edecon*, a powerfull Prince for a voluntary assistance: who suddainly after the taking of *Carthage*, and his Wife and Children reduced vnder the power of *Publius*, considering the alteration of the *Spaniards* towards him, he resolued in the beginning to be the Authour, beleeuing confidently that by this meanes he might recouer his Wife and Children, and that hee should seeme to ioyne vnto the *Romans* willingly, and not through necessity: The which succeeded accordingly. For when the Army had beene newly sent to winter, he came to *Tarracona* accompanied with his Friends.

A Remonstrance of *Edecon* to *Publius*.

Being admitted to the speech of *Publius*, he sayd, that he was wonderfully bound vnto the Gods, that before all the Princes and Potentates of the Countrey, he had retired himselfe vnto him: and that of the rest, some sent and depended on the *Carthaginians*, and in the meane time they sued vnto the *Romans* with ioyned hands: and that for his part he was come not onely to yeeld himselfe but also his Friends. Wherefore if he receiued him into his Friendship and alliance, he was confident that he should be able, not onely for the present, but also for the future to doe him great seruice. For as soone as the *Spaniards* should see him admitted to his Friendship, and to haue obtained his demands, they will likewise come all to recouer their Friends, and to purchase the alliance of the *Romans*: and that for the future they would imploy themselues with emulation in his other affaires, if their hearts were once possest with this honour and humanity. He required to haue his Wife and Children, and that being admitted into Friendship, he might returne to his house, where hauing found some good occasion, hee might shew his affection, and that of his Friends towards him and the *Roman* Common-weale. This Speech being ended. *Edecon* was silent. As *Publius* had long expected this, and considered of *Edecons* reasons, he deliuered him his Wife and Children, granting the alliance. Moreouer

ouer during his preſence, he drawes the Spaniard by many meanes to his Deuotion, and imprinted in his followers a great hope for the future, ſending him backe to his Houſe. When this accident was diuulged, all the Spaniards inhabiting within the Riuer (being formerly no friends to the *Romans*) followed their party in a manner with one accord. Theſe things fell out to the content of *Publius Scipio*. After their departure hee ſent backe the maritime Bands, ſeeing no ſhewe of danger at Sea. Yet he made choiſe of thoſe that were moſt ſeruiceable, and diuides them among the Enſignes, to the end he might make
A the Bands of foot-men the more compleat.

Andomale and *Mandonin*, men at that time of great power among the Spaniards, attended a fit occaſion, hauing long carried a ſecret ha- *Andomale and Mandonin.*
tred in their hearts againſt the *Carthaginians*, although they helde them for their truſty and confident friends: For that *Aſdrubals* men (making ſhew to haue no great confidence in them) they had exacted a great ſumme of money, and their Wiues and Children for Hoſtages, whereof wee haue formerly ſpoken. When as then they immagined they had found a fit opportunity, they retire their Bands from the *Carthaginian* Campe, and in the Night recouered certaine places of great
B ſtrength, where they might remaine free from all danger. This done, many other Spaniards abandoned *Aſdrubal*, hauing beene long diſcontented with the pride of the *Carthaginians*: Hauing recouered this *Aſdrubal abandoned by many Spaniards.*
firſt occaſion to ſhew what friendſhip they bare them: the which many others had done.

You muſt vnderſtand that the Execution of great matters, and a Victory gotten by force vpon the Enemy, be of great conſequence, yet there is required great prudence and Wiſedome, to make good vſe of things decided by Armes. So as there are more that enioy Prerogatiues, then they which vſe them well: The which happened to the *Carthagi-*
C *nians*. For after they had defeated the *Roman* forces, and ſlaine *Publius* and *Caius Scipio*, father and Vnckle of this *Publius*, of whom we now Treat, thinking that *Spaine* was then in no more danger of Warre, they intreated the Inhabitants roughly. For this cauſe in ſteed of friends and Allies, their Subiects were incenſed and deadly Enemies. The which fell out iuſtly. They had an humour that the meanes to Conquer Principallities, differed from that of preſeruing them. They were ignorant that they keepe their preheminence well, which obſerue the ſame will and humour, wherewith principallities haue beene firſt Conquered.

D It is manifeſt and obſerued in many, that men are of that Nature, that whereas proſperity offers it ſelfe, they ſhewe themſelues kinde to their Neighbours, promiſing hopefull things. But when they haue attained to their deſires, then they deale wickedly, and raigne ouer their Subiects as ouer ſlaues. Wherefore not without reaſon the affections of Subiects, change with the alteration of their Princes: The which hapned to the *Carthaginians*. *Aſdrubal* takes much aduice vpon this accident for the euent of things. The retreate of *Andomale* troubled him. So did the hatred and abandoning of the other Commaunders.

Finally, hee was discontented at the comming of *Publius*, whom hee still expected to come against him with his Army. When he saw himselfe abandoned by the Spaniards, and that all in one League retired to the *Romans*, he tooke this aduice. He resolued that in making preparation of a good Army, hee would fight with the Enemy. If thorough the fauour of Fortune he had the Victory, he would then consider safely and wisely of the rest, but if it should be auerse vnto him in fighting, hee would retire into *Gaule* with the remainders of the Battaile, and from thence with a multitude of *Barbarians* draw into *Italy*, and ioyne with his brother *Hannibal* vnder the same hope. *Asdrubal* being of this aduise prepares himselfe. *Publius* hauing receiued *Caius Lelyus*, and vnderstood the decrees of the Senate, marcheth, hauing retired his Army out of the Garrisons: To whom the Spaniards come at the passage, and march with him with willing and ioyfull hearts. *Andobale* had before sent vnto *Publius*, but when he approached neere vnto this Country, he came vnto him accompanied with his friends: Where after he had spoken vnto him, hee concluded the League of friendship which he formerly had with the *Carthaginians*, giuing him to vnderstand what seruice and loyalty hee had obserued towards him; and finally he exposeth the outrages and iniuries which hee and his had suffered, intreating him to be the Iudge of that which he sayd: And if he seemed to accuse the *Carthaginians* vniustly, hee might certainly know that he would neuer keepe his faith to the *Romans*: If being forced for the necessary respect of many iniuries, hee had desisted from his affection, yet he had good hope that ioyning to the *Romans* to keep his faith firme with them. After he had vsed many such Speeches, he made an end.

The aduice of *Asdrubal* for the Warre.

Andobale speaks to *Publius Scipio*.

To whom *Publius* answering, sayd, that he beleiued it, and had vnderstood the outrages of the *Carthaginians*, which they had vsed to other Spaniards, and their lasciuiousnesse towards their Wiues and daughters. Of whom notwithstanding he hauing taken many, reduced rather into the estate of Captives and slaues, then Hostages, hee hath kept them with such honesty, as the Parents themselues could not haue done. And when as *Andobale* and his Company confest it, and making an obeisance vnto him, they saluted him as King, the assistants obserued those words. *Publius* blushing, commands them to be of good hope, promising them they should finde curtesie and fauour with the *Romans*, and presently deliuers them their Daughters: and the day following makes an accord with them. The principall Articles of their Accord was, that they should follow the Roman Princes and obey them willingly.

publius answer to *Andobale*.

Publius saluted King.

The Spaniards ioyne with the *Romans*.

These things thus concluded, they returne vnto their Campe, and come with their Army to that of *Publius*, and making Warre with the *Romans*, they march with them against *Asdrubal*. The Commaunder of the *Carthaginians* staying neere to *Catelogne*, fast by the City of *Babylis*, and neere vnto the Mines of Gold and Siluer, he changed his Campe when he was aduertised of the comming of the *Romans*, so as he had the Riuer at his backe in manner of a Rampire: and in front and

on

on the ſides a Palliſadoe with a ſufficient depth for the Fortification: there was finally a length in the Vallies ſufficient to put them in battaile. And as for the ſide of the Hill there were vſually men. When as *Publius* approacht, he was ready to hazard the Combate: although hee were in doubt ſeeing the aduantage and force of the places, where the Enemy lay in Campe. But when he had contained himſelfe two daies, and was in feare that *Mago* and *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Geſcon* comming, he might be inuironed round, he reſolued to fight and to hazard a battaile: Making therefore another Army, he labours to gaine the Pal-
A liſado. In regard of thoſe that were lightly armed and the choiſe footmen, he ſends them to the ſide of a Hill, giuing them charge to aſſaile, and to view the Enemies forces.

And when that this was done with great Courage, the Commander of the *Carthaginians* attends the euent from the beginning. But when he ſaw his men preſt, and in danger by the courage of the *Romans*, he drawes his Army into the field, and plants it neere the ſide of the Hill, relying vpon the opportunitie of the place. At the ſame time *Publius* ſends his braueſt men to ſuccour thoſe that were in danger; and ſtayed the reſt ready: He takes the one halfe and aſſailes the Hill vpon the left
B ſide of the Enemy, fighting againſt the *Carthaginians*: And deliuers the reſt to *Lelyus*, giuing him charge to aſſaile the Enemy on the right hand. When this was done, *Aſdrubal* drawes his Army out of the Fort. He had hitherto kept it, relying vpon the fortified places, hauing an opinion that the Enemies durſt not aſſaile him. But for that this charge of the *Romans* came vnexpected, hee puts his Army into Battaile later then was needfull.

The *Carthaginians* aſſailed by the *Romans*.

The *Romans* vndergoing the danger of the fight, whileſt that the Enemies were not yet vpon the Wings, they not only aſſailed the Hill without danger, but in approaching ſlew thoſe which croſt them,
C whileſt that the Enemies made ready their battaile: forcing thoſe to turne which prepared themſelues and made head againſt them. When as *Aſdrubal*, according to his firſt reſolution, ſaw his Army giue backe and ſhamefully repuls'd, hee had no will to fight vnto the laſt gaſpe. Taking therefore the Treaſure and the Elephants, and all thoſe hee could draw together in the flight, he retires to the Riuer of *Tagus*, and to the Hills of the *Perinee* Mountaines, and to the *Gaules* inhabiting there. *Scipio* held it not fit to purſue the Victorie ſuddainly, doubting the comming of the other Commaunders: Finally, he gaue the bootie of the Fort to the Souldiers.

The deſeate of *Aſdrubal*.

D The day following, he drawes together all the Priſoners, whereof there were ten Thouſand foote, and two Thouſand horſe, to diſpoſe of them. All the Spaniards of that Countrey which were allied vnto the *Carthaginians*, come and ſubmit themſelues to the fauour of the *Romans*. And when he had giuen them audience, they ſaluted *Scipio* as King. The which *Edecon* beganne when he did his obeiſance; and after him *Andobale* with his friends. *Scipio* at that time regarded not their words but was ſilent: But when after the Battaile all ſaluted him as King, he was mooued therewith, ſo as hee forbad it. Drawing

Scipio ſaluted king of the Spaniards.

all

all the Spaniards together, he told them that he would be truely Royall, and so held; but hee would not be called a King by no man liuing. This done, hee ordained they should call him Chiefe or Commaunder.

The Commendation of *Publius Cornelius Scipio.*

It is not without cause, that we may iustly commend the magnanimity of this man: By the which being yet young, hauing the fauour of Fortune such, as all the Subiects had him in so great esteeme, as they saluted him by so excellent a name, yet hee was alwaies so continent, as hee would not accept of this will and humour of the Subiects. But he will wonder much more at the excellency of his magnanimitie, if hee A lookes to the last daies of his life: when besides the valiant exploits which hee hath done in *Spaine*, hee hath ruined the *Carthaginians*, and made subiect vnto the *Romans* many good Countries in *Lybia*, from the *Philenin* Altars, to the pillars of *Hercules*. Hee hath also ruined *Asia*, and the *Assirian* Kings. Finally, hee hath reduced to the obedience of the *Romans* the best and greatest part of the World. And therefore if hee had pleased hee might well haue imbraced the opportunity to vsurpe a royall power, in these Countries which hee hath inuaded and taken. The disdaine of such things (as *Scipio* hath wisely done) surpasseth not onely humane nature, but a diuine. This magnanimity doth B so much excell other men, as no man would demaund of the Gods a greater fauour: I meane then a Crowne, the which hee hath so often refused, being deliuered vnto him by fortune, and hath had his Country in more esteeme, and his owne honour then the great command of a royall power. Hee gaue leaue to all the Spaniards, being set a part, to returne into their Country without ransom, except three hundred horse whereof hee gaue the choise to *Andobale*, giuing the rest to those which had not any. Finally, being now seazed on the *Carthaginians* Campe, hee stayed there in regard of the firtility of the Country, expecting the *Carthaginian* Commanders which were remaining: hee also sent forces to the topps of the *Perenee* Mountaines to watch *Asdruball*, and then C when the season was come hee retired to *Tarracona*, to winter his Army there.

Hee returnes to the History of the Grecians.

AS the *Etoliens* lifted vp their hornes for the new hope and confidence they had in the *Romans*, and the arriuall of *Attalus*, they amazed all the world, making Warre by Land as *Attalus* and *Publius* did by Sea, for this cause the *Acheins* intreate *Phillip* to succour them, for in truth they not onely feared the *Etoliens*, but also D *Machains*, for that he had seaz'd vpon the Argiue Mountaines with an Army, the *Beocians* fearing the enemies Army at Sea, require a commander and succours. The *Negrepontins* demanded instantly some prouision against the enemy, the like did the *Acarnanians*, there was also an Embassadour from the *Epirotes*, they said likewise that *Scerdilaide* and *Pleurate* assembled their Armies, and that moreouer the *Thracians*, who confine vpon *Macedony* would indeauour to assaile it if the King should retire from thence, in regard of the *Etoliens*, they had seazed vpon

vpon the ſtraights of *Thermopiles*, and fortified them with Ditches, Palliſadoes, and a great Garriſon, hoping they ſhould be able to keep in *Philip*, and wholy to ſtoppe vp the paſſage in ſuccouring his Allies within *Pyles*.

Theſe aduentures ſeemes worthy of Conſideration,) and not without reaſon) by the Readers, in the which is the true Experience and practiſe of Princes according vnto their Corporall power. For as in Hunting Beaſts are mooued with their Forces and Power, when they are ingaged in an apparent danger, ſo it befals Princes: the which they
A might then diſcouer in *Philip*. Hee diſmiſſeth all the Embaſſadours, promiſing them to doe what poſſibly hee could. His whole inclination was the Warre, expecting by what meanes and againſt whom hee ſhould firſt beginne. But when the forces of *Attalus* were come againſt him, and had aſſailed the Iland of *Peparethon*, hee ſends men to guard the Citty: And diſpatcheth *Polyphantes* with a ſmall Army towards *Phocea* and *Beocia*, and *Menippus* to *Chalcis*, and the other *Negrepont*, with a thouſand Targetteers, and fiue hundred *Agrians*. In regard of himſelfe, hee went to *Scotuſe*, whether he Commanded the *Macedonians* to repaire. *Attalus* againſt *Philip* by Sea.

B When he had newes that *Attalus* Army had taken the route of *Nicea*, and that the Chiefe of the *Etoliens* aſſembled at *Heraclea*, to conferre of the Affaires of the Warre, hee parts from *Scotuſe* with his Army, and made haſt to diſſolue their Aſſembly. Hee arriued too late, yet hee waſted their Corne, and after that hee had ſpoiled the Inhabitants about the Gulfe of *Enee*, he returned, leauing his Army at *Scotuſe*, and taking his way to the *Demetriade*: With his ableſt men and the royall Wing, hee ſtayed there expecting the comming of the Enemy. And to the end nothing ſhould bee vnknowne vnto him, hee ſends to the *Peparethiens*, and *Phociens*, and likewiſe to the *Negreponc*
C *tius*, giuing them charge to make him a ſigne by fire of all things that ſhould be done, vpon the *Tiſee* which is a Mountaine in *Theſſaly*, which in regard of the places is very commodiouſly ſcituated. But as this manner of ſigne by fire, is of great commodity for the Warre, and hath formerly not beene vſed, I doe not hold it good to paſſe it, but in this paſſage to make ſome reaſonable mention. No man is ignorant that opportunity and occaſion are the principall parts in all things: But much more in the profeſſion of Warre, to bring enterpriſes to an end: But among thoſe things which are vſefull, fires are of great efficacy. They vſe them at this day, and are the cauſe of ſome opportunities, to
D be able to aduertiſe him who hath the care of that which is done, although it be three or foure dayes diſtant, or more: To the end that by the ſigne of fire, they may ſuddainly giue ſuccours vnto them that demaund it, although that in former times they haue held it of ſmall moment, for that the moſt part knew not how to vſe it. But the vſe ought to bee ordered and ſetled vppon certaine and determinate agreements. But whereas things which they will ſignifie are not reſolutely ſet downe, they cannot make vſe of theſe fires, as thoſe are whereof wee will ſpeake. Aduertiſements by fire.

If

If the Army at Sea were come to *Orea*, or *Peparethon*, or *Chalcis*, they might ſignifie it to thoſe, with whom this hath beene reſolued. But if any of the Cittizens will turne their Coates, or practiſe a Treaſon or Murther within the Citty, or any ſuch thing as hath vſually happned, and yet cannot be diuined (matters which happen ſuddainly and vnlookt for, haue neede according to the occaſion, of Counſell and aide) yet it may be ſignified by fire. For of thoſe which conſideration cannot preuent, they cannot make any Concluſion. *Eneas* ſeeking to correct this kinde of doubt and perplexitie, hath in few words made the Commentaries, of the inſtitution of the heads: And hath abundantly comprehended for the vnderſtanding, the ſumme of thoſe things which are required; the which may eaſily be diſcouered by this ſpeech, ſaying: That they which will giue notice by the aduertiſement of fire of any of great and preſſing buſineſſe, muſt make prouiſion of pots of earth, whoſe breadth and depth muſt be equall, and they muſt haue three foote in depth, and one and a halfe in breadth: Then hee muſt make ſlender Corkes in the mouth of it; in the middeſt whereof hee muſt tie them in equall parts of three fingers diſtant; and in euery part a great Circumference, in the which are alſo painted the moſt vulgar and generall things which happen in the profeſſion of Warre. As by the firſt, that Horſe-men are ſuddainly entred the Countrie: In the ſecond, that foote-men armed; in the third, that men lightly armed: And conſequently in others, that foote and Horſe-men, or an Army at Sea, and that there is Corne. You muſt in this ſort paint the things which do vſually happen in Regions, according to the prouidence and time of the motions of Warre.

The aduiſe of *Eneas* touching ſignes by fire. A B

This being done hee Commaunds to obſerue dilligently the pots of the one and the other, ſo as the pipes may bee equall and runne equally: And when the pots ſhalbe full of Water, they muſt put in the Corkes with ſtickes; and then let the pipes runne together. This happning it is apparent, that all being equall, the Corkes of neceſſity abate as the Water runnes, and the ſtickes hide themſelues in the Veſſells. When theſe things are equally ordered, and they are to vſe them, then they muſt tranſport them to the places, where the one and the other are to obſerue the fires, and then muſt ſet them on either ſide vpon the Veſſels. Finally, in what thing ſoeuer that any portraite of the ſticke ſhall fall, hee ordaines they ſhould ſet vp a light which muſt continue vntill the Deputies anſwere him with the ſame. And when both fires are diſcouered, then hee muſt take them away and ſuffer the pipes to runne. But as for the falling of the Corke and the ſticke, that which of the Images ſhall approach vnto the brinke of the pot which wee will let you ſee, hee orders that they ſhall ſet vp a light: and that they ſhould ſtoppe the pipes, and ſee what image of thoſe which are figured vpon the ſticke, comes to the brinke. C D

This may be done when as all the things which they manifeſt, are of either ſide mooued with the ſame dilligence. The which may bee in ſome ſort by a light ſet vp by agreement to ſerue for an aduertiſement, vnleſſe they be vndetermined: For it is impoſſible to ſee future

future things, or that that bee figured vpon the ſticke which wee foreſee. Finally if by Fortune any vnexpected accident happens, it is certaine that it cannot be declared by this inuention: Nor any thing of that which is figured in the ſticke be determined. They cannot giue aduertiſement of the number of Horſe-men or of foot, or of ſhips, nor of the quantitie of Corne. For wee cannot diſpoſe of things, whereof the knowledge cannot be made before they be done. And by conſequence how can any man reſolue of ſuccours, if he knowes not the multitude
A of the Enemies, and the place where they are? How can a man worke ſafely, or otherwiſe? Or how can hee plot any Enterprize, which knowes not the number of the Enemies, nor the quantity of Corne which is come vnto them from their Allies?

Another kinde of aduertiſement by fire inuented by *Cleomenes* and *Democrites*.

A latter kinde hath beene inuented by *Cleomenes* and *Democrites*. In regard of that which is vulgar and of ready vſe, we haue determined: the which may aduertiſe exactly all that which is neceſſary to bee knowne. The vſe whereof requires dilligence, and an exact obſeruation; and it is in this manner. You muſt diuide the Letters according to their order in fiue parts, euery one conſiſting of fiue: But in the ende
B there ſhall want one, which is no matter of Conſequence. And when as they which ſhall make vſe of lights for an aduertiſement, ſhall prepare fiue little Tables, and write vpon either of them the parties according to their order, and then they agree together, that hee which giues the aduertiſement, ſhall ſet vp the firſt lights and two together, which ſhall not bee taken away vntill the other hath anſwered in like manner. This ſerues to the end that by this light they may vnderſtand, that they are diſcouered. Theſe others being taken away, they muſt ſhew the firſt which are on the left hand, and declare by the Table the things whereunto they muſt haue a care. As if the firſt Table he lifted
C vp, it ſignifies one: if the ſecond two; and ſo conſequently. They muſt alſo lift vp thoſe which are on the right hand, after the ſame manner, to aduertiſe what letters he ſhall write that takes the light. When they which haue agreed together vpon theſe matter, come vnto the place, they muſt firſt haue a Dioptre, hauing two Cauels: to the end that hee that is to lift vp the light right againſt it, may ſee the place both on the right hand and left.

The Tables muſt bee fixed ſtraight and by order, neere vnto the Dioptre, and the places on the right hand and the left muſt bee ſeparated ten foote, and the height of a man. Moreouer they muſt be carefull that the lights may be viſible when they ſet them vp, and likewiſe
D hidden when they take them downe. Theſe things being thus prepared on eyther ſide, and that they haue an intent to giue ſome aduertiſment, as that a hundred Souldiers are retired to the Enemy, they muſt firſt vſe the Dictions which by the ſmall Letters may ſignifie that which we haue ſaid; as that a hundred (*Candyots*) haue abandoned vs. The letters now are leſſe, and yet that is ſignified. This which is written in the Table will ſhewe it ſelfe thus. The firſt letter is thus κ, the which is in the ſecond part and ſecond Table: they muſt alſo ſet vp the lights vpon the left hand, to the end that he which hath the charge, may vnder-

Κρῆτες.

ſtand that he muſt looke to the other Table. Then on the right hand he muſt ſet vp fire, to let him know that this x is the fifth Letter on the right hand, the which hee which obſerues the lights, muſt write in
p.r. the Table. Then p wherefore hee muſt lift vp two on the right hand, which ſignifies the ſecond of the fourth part: For this cauſe hee that
p.r. obſerues the Lights, writes the letter p and ſo conſequently of the reſt. By this meanes whatſoeuer happens, it may be certainly knowne, following this inuention. Moreouer they muſt haue many lights, for that there muſt be two to euery Letter. And if any one doth duly obſerue A
theſe things, which ſerue to this vſe, that which is required may bee done. Moreouer, they which make vſe of theſe two inuentions, muſt giue order when as they will vſe them, to be able to giue full and certaine ſignes. Whoſoeuer pleaſeth, may eaſily know in many kinds how great ſoeuer the difference of the ſayd things make ſhew of, and which they haue beene accuſtomed to obſerue. For many things not onely difficult, but which ſeeme impoſſible hauing gotten the ſucceſſion of time and cuſtome, become moſt eaſie.

There are many and diuers examples which deſerue credite; but the moſt excellent is that which happens in the Arte of reading. If any B
one inſtructs a man without Experience, and not accuſtomed to read, although hee be induſtrious, and that finally hee produceth an infant bred vp to it, and that a Booke being giuen him hee appoints him to read the Contents, it is manifeſt that the other will not beleeue, that hee can know firſt how hee may by the looking of it read euery letter, know their powers, and how they ought to be ioyned; forth at either of the ſaid things require much time. Wherefore when he hath not attained this Art, and ſees this little Boy continue with one breath fiue or ſixe lines, he would neuer eaſily beleeue, but that hee hath formerly read the Booke. And if moreouer he hath a good pronunciation, and obſerues the points, aſpirations, and pauſes, he will not be perſwaded C
and beleeue no more.

Wherefore wee muſt not diſdaine any thing that is profitable, in regard of the euident difficulty: But we muſt apply our ſelues to that which makes all good things comprehenſible to men, and namely in thoſe wherein moſt commonly the ſupreame ſafetie doth conſiſt. Wee haue vndertaken to ſpeake theſe things, according vnto that which we haue promiſed in the beginning. For wee haue ſaid that all Speculations haue ſo preuailed with vs, as for the moſt part they are methodicall Sciences. Wherefore it is a very profitable portion of a well compoſed Hiſtory. D

Of

Of *Antiochus.*

A THe *Aſpaſiens* dwell betwixt *Oxus* and *Tanais*: Of which Riuers, the one fals into the *Hyrcanian* Sea, and *Tanais* into the Lake of *Meotis*. They are Nauigable for their greatneſſe: So it ſeemes wonderfull how the *Tartarians* paſſing *Oxus* aſwell by foote as Horſe-backe, come into *Hyrcania*. There are two opinions conceiued: The one is credible, the other ſtrange although poſſible. *Oxus* drawes his Springs from Mount *Caucaſus*, but augmented much in *Bactria* by the deſcent of ſmaller Riuers, it paſſeth by a violent Courſe by the Country of *Pedia*. There it fals into a Deſart, and runs with
B a violent ſtreame, thorough certaine Rockes and Pits, for the great number and vehement beating of the places lying vnder it, ſo as its violence ouer-flowes the Rocke in the lower Countries aboue a Furlong. By this place neere vnto the Rocke the *Aſpaſiens*, as they ſay, paſſing the Riuer both on Foot and Horſe-backe, deſcend into *Hyrcania*. The other opinion hath a more propable reaſon, ſaying, that for that place hath great Ditches, into the which this Riuer fals with its force, ſhee makes hollow and opens the bottome by the violence of her Courſe: And by this meanes the Riuer takes its courſe vnder ground, for a ſmall ſpace, and then riſeth againe. The *Barbarians* hauing experience here-
C of, paſſe there on Horſe-backe into *Hyrcania*.

When as *Antiochus* was aduertiſed, that *Euthideme* was about *Tagure* with an Army, and that a thouſand Horſe kept the paſſage of the Riuer of *Aria*, hee proceedes and reſolues to beſiege it, hauing no more confidence in his reſolution. And when he was within three daies iourney of the Riuer, he marcht the two firſt ſlowly: And on the third hauing fed his men, hee cauſes his Campe to march at the breake of day: Then taking the Horſe-men and his ſtrongeſt ſouldiers, with a thouſand Targetteers, he makes haſt in the night. Hee had vnder-
D ſtood that the enemies Cauallery was at the guard of the Riuer in the day time, but at night they retired to a City ſome twenty Furlongs off. When hee had performed the reſt of the way in the night (for thoſe Countries were conuenient for Horſemen) he paſt the Riuer at the break of day with the greateſt part of his Army. The *Bactrian* Horſe-men being aduertiſed by their Scouts, crie out and fight with the Enemy vpon the way.

The King ſeeing that hee was to maintaine their firſt Charge, giues Courage to thoſe which had beene accuſtomed to accompany him in

A skirmish of the *Bactreans* with *Antiochus*.

such encounters, which were two thousand Horse: and commands the rest to cast themselues betwixt both, with their Troupes put into battaile as of custome. Finally, hee fights with the *Bactrian* Horse which presented themselues. *Antiochus* seemed in this danger to haue fought more valiantly then his men: so as many perished on either side. Yet the Kings men defeated the first troupe of Horse: But when the second and the third charged them, they were repuls'd turning their heads basely. But when as *Etole* had giuen charge to the great power of the Horse to march in Battaile, he freed the King and his Company, terrifying the *Bactrians* who were in disorder, and put them to flight. A
Wherefore when they were charged by all the *Etoliens*, they ceased not to flie vntill hauing make a great losse they were ioyned vnto *Euthideme*. And when as the Kings Horse-men had made a great slaughter, and taken many in the Citty, they presently retired, and planted their Campe neere the Riuer. It happened that in this same Combate *Menippe* was wounded and dyed, loosing some of his Teeth with a blow: Finally, hee purchased a renowne of Valour.

After this Combate *Euthideme* retired with his Army to *Zariaspe* a Citty of the *Bactrians*. B

C

A

D

A

A PARCELL OF the Eleuenth Booke of the History of POLYBIVS.

B

Asdrubal did not allow of any of theſe things. But (ſeeing the Enemies march in Battaile) when as matters changed not, hee cauſed the Spaniards and *Gaules* that were with him to fight. Setting the Elephants in Front, beeing ten in number, and after hee had ioyned the Battalions cloſe, vnited, and in length, and had put all the Army in battaile in a ſhort time, caſting himſelfe in the middeſt of the Ordonance neere to the Elephants, hee aſſailes the Enemy vpon the left flancke, hauing reſolued to die in that battaile. The *Lybian* preſents himſelfe with great Courage to the enemy, and in charging fights valiantly with his troupes. *Claudius Nero* one of the Conſuls, appointed for the right ſide could not ioyne with the enemy, nor yet incloſe them, for the vneuenneſſe of the ground: wherein *Aſdrubal* truſting, he had charged the enemy on the left hand. Wherefore as he was perplexed and in doubt, for that he loſt time, hee learned what he had to doe. Taking therefore the Souldiers of the right wing, he goes beyond his Campe neere vnto a paſſage behind the Battaile and on the left hand, and giues a charge vnto the *Carthaginians*, neere vnto the wing where the Elephants had their ſtation. At that time the Victory wauered. For in truth the danger was equall of both ſides, conſidering that neither *Romans*, Spaniards, nor *Carthaginians* had any hope of ſafety remaining, if they were fruſtrated of their intention. Finally, the Elephants were of vſe to both of them in the fight: For

A Battaile betwixt *Aſdrubal* and the *Romans* in *Italy*.

when they were incloſed in the middeſt, and aſſailed with Darts they aſwell brake the rankes of the Spaniards, as of the *Romans*. But when as *Claudius* Troupe had charged the enemy in the reare, the Combate was vnequall, for the charge giuen vnto the Spaniards both in Front and behind. So as it happened that in the beginning of the Combate, there was a great ſlaughter made of Spaniards: So likewiſe there were ſixe Elephants ſlaine by the force of the men they carried; the other foure brake their rankes: being alone and deſtitute of their Indians they were taken.

Aſdrubal brother to *Hannibal* ſlaine.

And when as *Aſdrubal* had beene formerly and vnto his ende an able man, hee loſt in fighting valiantly his life, worthy to be commended. Hee was brother to *Hannibal*, who vndertaking the Voyage of *Italy*, gaue him the Conduct of the Warres of *Spaine*. And afterwards being practiſed by many encounters againſt the *Romans*, hee hath indured many and variable Fortunes: And in this alſo that the *Carthaginians* ſent Commaunders to ſucceede him, hee alwaies carried himſelfe like a man worthy of his Father *Barca*, bearing vnto the ende like a man of Courage all diſgraces and loſſes. Wee haue declared theſe things in regard of the precedent. But now we will decide the laſt Combats, in that which ſeemes worthy of Conſideration. A B

Seeing before our eyes many Kings and Commanders which hauing great Combates concerning their whole eſtates, haue alwayes caſt their eyes vpon the moſt excellent Actions, and of Conſequence; and who often enquire and Diſcourſe how they ſhall helpe themſelues in euery good Fortune: And who moreouer care not for miſchances, nor conſider of the meanes, nor that which they are to doe in euery action and euent: For that this other is in their hands, and this requires a great preparation. And therefore many hauing beene vanquiſhed, carry themſelues poorely by their baſeneſſe and inconſiderations: Although that the Souldiers haue many times fought valiantly, and with good direction: And haue by this meanes diſhonoured their precedent actions, making the reſt of their Liues infamous. It is an eaſie thing for him that will know how many Commaunders faile, and are fruſtrated heerein, and that there is much difference betwixt man and man. Precedent times haue affoorded many examples in theſe things. In regard of *Aſdrubal* he was no leſſe prouident in dangers, then for his ſafety, whileſt he had any hope conformable to reaſon, to be able to do any thing worthy of his Predeceſſours. But when as Fortune had depriued him of all hope for the future, and had concluded him to his laſt end: omitting nothing for the Victory, nor that which concerned the preparation and danger, hee carried himſelfe like a man of prouidence: And although that all was in danger, yet hee obeyed the preſent time, neither did he ſuffer any thing vnworthy of his Predeceſſors. Behold the reaſon which I haue deliuered concerning thoſe which apply themſelues to the mannaging of Warre: to the ende that vndertaking dangers raſhly, they draw not them into deſpaire which are vnder their Charge, nor by deſire of an infamous life, they make their deaths diſhonorable and blame worthy. C D

The

The *Romans* hauing gotten the Victory by force, preſently breake the Palliſadoe of the Enemy, and kill like Sacrifices many *Celts* ſleeping in Drunkenneſſe vpon their Mattreſſes, and aſſemble together the reſt of the Priſoners: By the which there did accrew nine ſcore thouſand Crownes to the Common-weale. There died in this Battaile as well of *Carthaginians* as *Gaules*, neare ten thouſand men, and about two thouſand *Romans*. Some Nobles among the *Carthaginians* were taken, the reſt were ſlaine. When this Newes came to *Rome*, they were ſcarce beleeued for that they deſired wonderfully to ſee it done, but as there A came many men declaring not onely what had beene done, but euery thing in particular, then the City entred into an immoderate ioy: all the Temples were adorned, and fill'd with Sacrifices and Oblations: Finally, they grew ſo confident and aſſured, as at that time they did not thinke that *Hannibal* (whom they had formerly ſo much feared) was in *Italy*.

The *Celts* ſlaine ſleeping.

The number of the dead.

B

An Oration to the *Etoliens* of the Warres of *Greece*.

C MY Maſters the *Etoliens*, I thinke it is very manifeſt that King *Ptolomy*, the Citizens of *Rhodes* and *Conſtantinople*, with thoſe of *Chio* and *Miteline* make no great accompt of your League. It is not the firſt nor the ſecond time that wee haue treated with you of Peace: But euen at that time when you moued Warre, applying your ſelfe vnto it, and imbracing all occaſions, wee haue not ceas'd to admoniſh you. Now we conjecture the ruine of your ſelues and the *Macedonians*, and for the future we are in care for your health and for all *Greece*. As fire thruſt into a Forreſt is no more in his power that hath kindled it, but conſumes all that it encounters: Being moreouer gouerned by the Winds, and by the conſumption of the Forreſt, and that many times it ſweepes away ſuddainly the Incendiary himſelfe: ſo the Warre being once inflamed by ſome, ruines them firſt: Then it runnes without reaſon, deſtroying all things it encounters, agitated by raſhneſſe, and the beaſtlineſſe of thoſe which kindle it, as it were driuen by the Winds. Wherefore my Maſters the *Etoliens*, ſeeing that the Ilanders, and the *Grecians* which inhabite *Aſia*, doe often ſue vnto you, that diſdaining Warre, you would make choiſe of Peace, for that the caſe concernes you: reſume your ſences, conſenting with thoſe who with reuerence admoniſh you. If with ſome good fortune you did mannage a Warre which

were profitable, commodious, and glorious (it is that vndoubtedly which they expect moſt therein) according to your firſt intention and deſigne of euents, they might with reaſon pardon you as men of great courage. This Warre is altogether infamous, full of ignominy, and curſed, is it not neceſſary to ſtay and deferre it? Aduice without doubt ſhould be freely giuen, you will heare (if you be wiſe) my words patiently. It is much better for you to be preſerued with a commodious reprehention, then in hearing pleaſing words, to periſh the firſt ſoone after: and then ſubſequently the reſt of *Greece*, ſet your ignorance before your eyes. You ſay you make Warre againſt *Philip* for *Greece*, to the end that being preſerued they ſhould not obey his Commandments: But in truth you make Warre to its ruine and defeate. It is that which your accord with the *Romans* declare, the which in the beginning conſiſted in writing, but now they are ſeene in actions. The letters were then diſhonourable vnto you, but at this day they are viſible to the eye, and manifeſt by your workes. Finally, *Philip* carries the Name, and is made the colour of this Warre: although hee ſuffers nothing that is grieuous: But as he hath many Allies in *Morea*, as the *Beocians*, *Negrepontins*, *Phociens*, *Locrines*, *Theſſalians* and *Epirotes*, you haue concluded againſt them vnder conditions, that the bodies and moueable goods ſhould belong to the *Romans*, and the Cities and Countries to the *Etoliens*.

A

An accord betwixt the *Romans* and the *Etolians*.

B

But as you are Lords of this City, you would not endure they ſhould offend any Free-man, nor ſet fire of your City, holding ſuch actions cruell and barbarous: and yet you haue made a League, according to the which you haue deliuered the reſt of *Greece* to *Barbarians* as your owne by gift, by an outrage and a moſt ignominious iniuſtice. Theſe are the things which in the beginning you vnderſtood not: But at this day you are made manifeſt vnto the World by the miſery of the poore *Oretins* and *Eginetes*, for that Fortune hath of purpoſe rais'd your ignorance vpon a Theater. The beginning of this Warre and of the actions which happen are ſuch. But what can wee expect more, if in the end all things ſucceed according to your deſire: ſhall it not be a beginning of great miſeries to all the *Grecians*? Beleeue me, that after the *Romans* haue ended the Warre in *Italy* (the which will ſoone happen, *Hannibal* being ſhut vp in a Corner of *Brutia*) they will imploy all their forces againſt *Greece*, vnder colour to giue ſuccours to the *Etoliens* againſt *Philip*, but the truth is to make all *Greece* ſubiect: the which will ſoone be manifeſt. For whether they are reſolued to carry themſelues like honeſt and honourable perſons, hauing the Victory, the thankes ſhall be theirs: If otherwiſe they ſhall haue the profits of the Defeates, and the power ouer them that eſcape. Then you will call vpon the Gods, when as none of them or any man will offer to aſſiſt you. You ſhould then in the beginning fore-ſee all things: This was lawfull for you. But as many future things are out of humane prouidence, now at the leaſt you ſhould take a better aduice, hauing ſeene the euent of this Warre. I intreate you and exhort you not to enuy your owne ſafety and liberty, nor that of the reſt of *Greece*.

C

D

And

And when by his Speech (as he conceiued) ſomewhat moued the opinions of many, *Philips* Embaſſadour entred: who leauing the things which might be ſpoken in particular, he ſayd, that he had two points in charge: That if the *Etoliens* brake the peace, he was ready to appeale vnto the Gods, and to the *Grecian* Embaſſadours there preſent, that they were to be held for the Authors of thoſe things which hereafter ſhould fall vpon *Greece*, and not *Philip*. Glory ſaith he, doth much amaze the Enemy, but a reaſonable preparation of Armes is of greater ſeruice for neceſſity. Then they ſhould doe that which is neceſſry,
A if they transferre the diligence and care which they haue at this day for their apparrell, to the preparation of their Armes, obſeruing in their apparrell the ancient negligence. For by this meanes they may giue order for their priuate courſe of life, and preſerue their Common-wealth. And therefore (ſaith he) it is not needfull that he which giues himſelfe to Armes, and to the profeſſion of Warre, ſhould looke when he puts on his Boots, whether they be handſome, and if his ſtrops and pantables be braue: nor whether his Cloake and Iacket be rich, when he muſt put on a Head-peece. Beleeue me, the danger is manifeſt which they muſt expect, which haue an exteriour ſhew in more recom-
B mendation then things neceſſary. Finally, it were fit they ſhould conſider, that this curioſity in habits ſauoured of a woman, I meane that is not much chaſt: whereas the charges in Armes and ſeuerity, reſtraine a good man, deſiring to preſerue himſelfe and his Countrey.

All the aſſiſtants found this Speech ſo good, in wondring at the aduice of this remonſtrance, that after they were gone out of the Court, they pointed at thoſe that were richly clad, forcing ſome to leaue the place: and finally, they prepared themſelues to Armes and to make Warre accordingly. Behold how one ſole Oration pronounced by a man of eſteeme and in ſeaſon, not onely retires men from great vices,
C but alſo incites them to great Enterprizes. But if he which giues good aduice, leads a life anſwerable to his words, it is neceſſary that his councell ſhould purchaſe credit: the which happened in this man. He was ſober and ſimple in his apparrell and liuing, and in the vſage of his body. Finally, he was of a pleaſing ſpeech without enuy and rancour. He ſtudied wonderfully to be found veritable in all his life, and therefore when he vſed any ordinary ſpeech, the Auditors gaue him great credit. And as his life ſerued for an example in all things, ſo the Auditors had no great neede of any long Diſcourſe. Wherefore he hath often in few words, by his credit and knowledge in things, ouerthrowne the
D long ſpeeches which ſeemed to haue beene deliuered ſufficiently by the Enemies. When the Councell was ended, euery man retired to his Countrey: And in commending as well the man as his words, they had a conceite that they could not doe amiſſe vnder his gouernment.

Finally, *Philopemen* went ſpeedily to the Cities to make preparation for the Warre. Then he trained vp a multitude aſſembled: and when he had not imployed eight Moneths in the preparation of theſe forces, he leads his Army to *Mantinea* to fight with the Tyrant for the liberty of all *Morea*. *Machanides* likewiſe taking courage, and thinking

Phylopemen makes Warre againſt *Machanides*, Tyrant of *Lacedemon*.

thinking to preuaile ouer the *Acheins* at his pleaſure, giues the *Lacedemonians* to vnderſtand the things that were then neceſſary, as ſoone as hee was aduertiſed of the aſſembly of the *Tegeans* at *Mantinia*: Then ſuddainly the next day at Sun-riſing hee takes his way towards *Mantinia*, marching on the right wing with the Legionaries, and placing the Mercenaries on the right and left, going a ſlow pace in the beginning of his voyage: He addes moreouer Chariots carrying a great abundance of inſtruments of Warre and Croſ-bowes.

The order of *Philopomens* Battaile.

At the ſame time *Philopomen* hauing diuided his Army into three, A he cauſed the *Sclauonians* and *Corſlets* to goe forth by the Gate which tends to the Temple of *Neptune*, and withall the ſtrangers and ſtrong men: then by that which lookes to the Weſt, the Legionaries: and the Horſe-men of the City by the next. Moreouer, he ſeazed (with the beſt of his aduenturers) of a little Hill lying right againſt the City, the which extends vpon the way of ſtrangers and the Temple of *Neptune*. And ioyning the *Corſlets*, he lodgeth them on the South, ordring the *Sclauonians* in a place neare vnto them. Then caſting the Legionaries behind them in a round, he lodgeth them in the ſpace neare the Ditch which drawes to *Neptunes* Temple, by the midſt of the *Mantinians* Plaine, and ioynes vpon the Mountaines neare vnto *Eliſſaſiens*. B He orders moreouer vpon the right wing the *Acheian* Horſmen, of which *Ariſtonete* of *Dymee* had the leading: and vpon the hee had all the Strangers, hauing their diſtinct Ordonance amongſt them.

When the Enemies Army approacht, he comes to the Legionaries, admoniſhing them in few words, but with the efficacy of the preſent danger. But moſt part of his words were not heard: for the multitude preſt the cauſe ſo much for the affection they bare him, and the impetuoſity of the people, that the Army as it were moued with a certaine diuine fury, perſwaded him to worke without feare. Finally, The order of *Machanides* Army. he endeauoured (if time would haue permitted him) to declare vnto C them diligently, how this preſent danger concerned ſome in regard of infamy and a baſe ſeruitude, and others in regard of liberty alwayes memorable and glorious. Moreouer, *Machanides* inſtructs firſt the Battalion of the Legionaries which they call *Orthie*, that it ſhould fight with the right wing of the Enemies. Then he marcheth, and after he had gain'd a meane ſpace, makes the forme of a Snaile, and drawes his Army in length, putting his right wing in Front to the left of the *Acheins*. In regard of the Targetteers, he placeth them before the whole Army with ſome ſpace.

Philopomen ſeeing his attempt, who thought by the Targeteers to D giue a Charge to the Legionary Bands which offended the Souldiers, and cauſed a great alarum in the Army, ſo as hee delayed no longer, making vſe in effect of the *Tarrentins* at the beginning of the Combate neare to *Neptunes* Temple, vpon the Plaine which was commodious for Horſe-men. *Machanides* ſeeing this, is forced to doe the like, and to cauſe the *Tarrentins* (which were with him) to march. Finally, they fought valiantly in the beginning. But when thoſe that were lightly

lightly armed, preuailed ſomething ouer them that were weaker, it fell out in a ſhort time that the Combate began of either ſide betwixt the forreine Souldiers. And when as they had ioyned together, and had fought long like braue men, the danger was equall, ſo as the reſt of the Armies, expecting the iſſue of the Battaile, could not fight there, for that many times both the one and the other in fighting, exceeded their firſt ſtation. Yet the Tyrants ſouldiers had for a time the better, conſidering their multitude and dexterity, with their Armes and Experience. The which did not happen without cauſe. For as the mul-
A titude in Comminalties, is more cheerefull in Combats in Warre, then the Subiects which are Enemies to Tyrants, ſo ſtrange Souldiers taking pay of Monarches, excell thoſe of Common-weales. And as ſome Subiects fight for liberty, and ſome are in danger of ſeruitude, ſome alſo of the Mercenaries fight for a certaine profit, others for the defence of their Liues. But a popular power puts not her liberty into the hands of Mercenaries, after they haue defeated their Enemies: Whereas a Tyrant the greater Enterprize he makes, the more ſouldiers he hath need off. For as he doth more outrages, ſo he hath more watchers ouer his life.

The ſafety then of Monarches conſiſts in the good affection, and
B forces of his forreine Souldiers. Wherefore then it hapned that the forreine Souldiers fought with ſuch great Courage and Reſolution, as the *Sclauonians* and *Heraclites* being in front of them could not indure their Charge: flying all as repuls'd towards *Mantinia*, ſeauen Furlongs diſtant. Then that which ſome men held in doubt was made plaine and certaine. It is manifeſt that many actions in Warre breed Experience of things, ſo do they ignorance. It is a great matter for him that hath purchaſed Authority in the beginning, to extend it farther: But it is a farre greater matter to fixe vpon him whoſe firſt attempts haue not beene ſucceſſefull: and to conſider the indiſcretion of the vn-
C fortunate, and to obſerue their faults. The ſafety of Monarches.

You ſhall oftentimes ſee that they which ſeeme to haue the better, are within a ſhort ſpace fruſtrated of all in generall: And againe, they which at the firſt were beaten, haue by their induſtry reſtored all: the which appeared then betwixt theſe two Princes. For when the bands of Souldiers which the *Acheins* had wauered, and that the left wing was broken, *Machanides* leauing his good Fortune and the Victory of thoſe of the Wing, and to aſſaile the others in Front, and finally to attend the Victory, he did nothing of all this, but ſcattred with the Mercenaries, without order like a young man, he purſued the
D Chaſe, as if feare had not beene able to purſue thoſe which fled vnto the Gates. The Chiefe of the *Acheins* imployed all his power to ſtay the Mercenaries with cries and perſwaſions, calling to the reſt of their Commaunders. But when he ſaw them forcibly repuls'd, he was not amazed if they turned head, or deſpairing, abandoned the place, but he with-drew the Wing which charged and purſued them. And when the place where the danger was, was abandoned, he ſent preſently to the firſt Legionaries, that they ſhould couer themſelues with their

their Targets; and in keeping order he went ſpeedily before. Being come ſuddainly to the place abandoned, hee defeated the purſuers, hauing great aduantage vpon the Enemies battailion. Hee likewiſe perſwaded the Legionaries to haue a good Courage and reſolution, and not to budge, vntill hee gaue them order to march cloſe in Battaile againſt the Enemy. And as for *Polybius* the *Megalopolitaine*, hauing gathered together the remainder of the *Sclauonians* which had turned Head, with the armed men and the Strangers, he enioynes him to haue a great care to keepe the Battallion in good order, and to looke to thoſe which were retired from the Chaſe. The *Lacedemonians* A likewiſe reſuming Courage and ſtrength, for that they were eſteemed the moſt valiant, charged the Enemies with their Iauelings without Commaund.

And as in this purſuite they were come vnto the brinke of the Ditch, and had no more time to returne, for that they were in the Enemies hands, and that finally they forſooke and diſdained the Ditch, for that it had many deſcents, and was drie and without Trees, they ranne into it without any diſcretion. As this occaſion offers it ſelfe againſt the Enemy, *Phylopomen* hauing fore-ſeene it long before, he then Commaunded all the Legionaries to aduance with their Iaue- B lings. And when as all the *Acheins* with one reſolution had caſt themſelues vpon the Enemies with horrible cries, hauing formerly broken the battalion of the *Lacedemonians*, deſcending into the Ditch, they turne Head with great Courage againſt the Enemy which held the higher ground. It is true, that a great part was defeated aſwell by the *Acheins* as their owne men. That which I haue ſpoken happens not by chance, but by the prouidence of the Commaunder, who had ſuddainly made this Ditch. *Philopomen* fled not from the Battaile as ſome had conceiued: But conſidering and aduiſing dilligently like a good Commaunder of all things in particular, that if C *Machanides* ſhould lead his Army thither, it would happen that by ignorance of the Ditch, he would fall into danger with his Battalion, as it ſucceeded in Effect. And if conſidering the difficulty of the Ditch, hee ſhould ſeeme to feare and turne Head, hee ſhould then be wonderfully fruſtrated of his Enterprize and Deſigne, for that hee ſhould haue the Victory without fight, *Machanides* beeing defeated by a vnfortunate diſaſter. It had happened to many which had vndertaken a Battaile, that finding themſelues inſufficient to ioyne with the Enemy, ſome in regard of the diſaduantage of places, others for the multitude, and ſome for other cauſes, and by this ſame meanes D ſhewing and expreſſing themſelues in their flight to bee of little Experience, ſome hoping to be ſtronger vpon the Reare, and others that they might eſcape the Enemy ſafely. Among the which were theſe Commaunders.

But *Philopomen* was not deceiued in his fore-ſight: by whoſe endeauour it happened, that the *Lacedemonians* made a ſpeedy flight. And when hee ſaw his Legions to vanquiſh, hee laboured to bring that vnto an ende which remained of an abſolute Victory. Which

was

was, that *Machanides* ſhould not eſcape, and therefore knowing him to be at the purſuite of the Chaſe, on that ſide of the Ditch which lay towards the City with his Mercenaries, had not beene retired and with drawne, he attends his comming. But when as *Machanides* flying after the Chaſe, ſaw his Army turne head, and hearing that all hope was loſt for him, he laboured with his forreine Souldiers in turning head, to eſcape thorough the Enemies diſperſed, and ſcattred in their Chaſe. Whereunto they likewiſe hauing regard, ſtayed with him in the beginning, feeding themſelues with the ſame hope of ſafety:
A But when as at their comming they ſaw the *Acheins* keepe the Bridge vpon the Ditch, then all amazed they abandon him and fled, euery man looking to his owne preſeruation. And when the Tyrant deſpaired of the paſſage of the Bridge, he went directly to the Ditch, and endeauours to finde a paſſage.

Philopomen knowing the Tyrant by his purple Robe, and the caparriſſon of his Horſe, leaues *Polybius* there, and giues him charge to keepe the paſſage carefully, not ſparing any of the Mercenaries, for that moſt commonly they fauour and ſupport the Tyrant of *Lacedemon*. In regard of himſelfe, he takes *Polyene*, *Cyparisſee*, and *Simie*, of whom he then made vſe, marching againſt the Tyrant and his Company on
B the other ſide of the Ditch. *Machanides* had at that time two men with him, that is to ſay, *Anaxidamus* and a ſtrange Souldier: When hee preſt his Horſe to take a certaine commodious paſſage of the Ditch, *Philopomen* doubling vpon him, gaue him a mortall wound with a Iaueling, and ſoone after another, killing the Tyrant valiantly. The like happened to *Anaxidamus* by the Horſe-men which marcht with him. The third man deſpairing of the paſſage, eſcaped the danger by flight, whileſt they ſlew the other two. After their death *Simies* Company ſtript them, and brought away the Head and Armes of the Tyrant, to make his death knowne vnto the Troupes: whereby they might with
C more diligence purſue the Enemies into their City: the which ſerued much to moue the Commons. For by this meanes they reduced the City of *Tegea* vnder their obedience: after which prize they camped neare vnto the Riuer of *Erota*, after they had made themſelues Maiſters of the Champion Countrey. And as they could not chaſe the Enemy out of their Countrey for a long time, they then waſted all the *Lacedemonian* Prouinces without feare, hauing loſt few men in Battaile, and the *Lacedemonians* aboue foure thouſand, beſides many Priſoners, and the taking of all their Baggage and Armes.

Machanides ſlaine

Anaxidamus ſlaine.

Tegea taken

D

Of *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginians*.

The excellency of *Hannibal*.

AND therefore who will not wonder at the gouernment, vertue and power of this man, in his valiant exploits of War decided in Field, hauing regard to the length of time, and knowing *Hannibal* as well in Battailes as encounters, as in sieges of Townes, alterations, and euents of times, and in the fulnesse of all the Enterprizes and resolutions, according to the which hee hath made Warre in *Italy* against the *Romans* for the space of seuenteene yeares, and hauing neuer broken vp his Campe, but kept it still entire as vnder a good Leader, and commanded so great a multitude either without mutiny towards him or among themselues, although he did not imploy in his Army men of one Nation, nor of one Race. He had vnder his command *Lybians*, *Spaniards*, *Phenicians*, *Italians*, and *Grecians*: among the which the Lawes nor customes, nor the Language had any thing common. But the industry of the Commander made this great multitude of different Nations obedient to the Commandments of one man, according to his desire: although the Euents were not alwayes answerable, but diuers: and that many times Fortune smiled vpon him, and was sometimes opposite. These things considered, you may safely say (in wondring at the vertue of this Commander, in that which concernes this point) that if hee had first assailed the other Countries of the World, and then the *Romans*, he would haue preuailed in all that he had attempted. But seeing at this day hee hath begun the Warre against those which hee should haue assailed last, hee hath made both the beginning and the ending.

Diuers Nations vnder the leading of *Hannibal*.

Asdrubal hauing drawne together the Souldiers from those places where they had wintred, prepares for his voyage, and campes neare vnto a City called *Elinge*, building a Pallisadoe on the side of the Mountaine, with plaine spaces before, fit for skirmishes and encounters. Hee had three score and ten thousand Foote, foure thousand Horse, and two and thirty Elephants. *Publius Scipio* on the other side sends *Marcus Iunius* to *Lochis* to receiue the Bands which hee had leuied: being three thousand Foote and fiue hundred Horse. In regard of the other Allies, he accompanies them, taking his way to the place appointed.

Asdrubal camps neere to *Elinge*.

Publius Scipio drawes his Army together.

When hee was come to *Camulongne*, and to the places which were about *Becyle*, and had ioyned his Army with *Marcus*, and with

with the Troupes of *Colichante*, he fell into a great perplexity for the apparent dangers. For in truth he had not a ſufficient *Roman* Army without the forces of the Allies to hazard a Battaile. It ſeemed an vnſafe thing, fooliſh, and raſh for thoſe which put their hope in the forces of their Allies to hazard a Battaile. But as he was for a time in ſuſpence, and that the affaires concluded that he muſt vſe the Allies, he came to fight with the *Spaniards* : to the end that by this meanes he might make the Enemy imagine that hee fought with his whole Army.

A This being reſolu'd, he marches with all his Troups, being forty fiue thouſand Foot, and about three thouſand Horſe. And when he was neare the *Carthaginians*, ſo as he might well be diſcouered, he camps about certaine little Hils right againſt the Enemy. *Aſdrubal* thinking to haue found a fit time to charge the *Romans* in Camping, he fell vpon their Campe with the greateſt part of his Horſe-men, and *Maſſaniſſa* with the *Numades*, hauing a conceite to ſurprize *Scipio* ſuddainly. But he hauing formerly fore-ſeene the future, he layd an Ambuſh of Horſe-men behinde a certaine Hill, equall in number to thoſe of the *Carthaginians* : who charging by ſurprize, many in the B beginning turning head, in regard of this vnexpected Charge of the *Romans*, fell from their Horſes, others affronting the Enemies fought valiantly. But for the dexterity of the *Roman* Horſe-men in fighting, the *Carthaginians* being troubled and diſcontented, after ſome little reſiſtance gaue backe, retiring in the beginning in good order : But when the *Romans* purſued them, they tooke their flight vnder the Campe. This done, the *Romans* aſſure themſelues the more to vndergoe the danger : and the *Carthaginians* did the contrary. The dayes following they draw their Armies into the Plaine which lay betwixt them, and making skirmiſhes as well of Horſe-men, as of C their moſt valiant Foote, and trying one another they reſolued to Battaile.

Aſdrubal chargeth the *Romans*.

A ſuddaine charge of the *Romans* againſt the *Carthaginians*.

It ſeemed then that *Scipio* had practiſed a double ſtratagem. For when he ſaw *Aſdrubal* ſlow in ordring of his forces, and to put the *Lybians* in the midſt; and the Elephants vpon the two wings : Then as hee was accuſtomed to obſerue the opportunity of the time, and to make head againſt the *Lybians* by *Romans*, and to mingle the *Spaniards* vpon the wings, on the day which hee reſolued to fight, hee doth now the contrary, giuing by this meanes great comfort to his forces for the Victory, and weakning the Enemy. Preſently at the D Sunne-riſing he giues all the Souldiers notice by men appointed, that all they which were to fight armed, ſhould ſtand before the Palliſadoe. This done, when they had obeyed him cheerefully, for the hope they had conceiued for the future, he ſends the Horſe-men before, and the ableſt Souldiers, giuing them charge to approach the Enemies Campe, and that in skirmiſhing couragiouſly they ſhould begin the Battaile. For his part, he marcheth at Sun-riſing with the Foot-men. And being come into the midſt of the field, he drew his Army in-Battaile after another forme then he had bin accuſtomed. For he put the

The double policy of *Scipio*.

Scipio puts his men in battaile

Spaniards in the midſt, and the *Romans* vpon the wings. When as the Horſe-men approacht the Palliſadoe, and that the reſt of the Army was in ſight and ready, the *Carthaginians* had ſcarce time to arme.

Aſdrubal puts his men in Battaile.

Aſdrubal being then forced to drawe the valianteſt of his men to field againſt the *Romans*, being yet faſting without preparation and in haſte both the Foot-men and Horſe-men: and to plant his Army of Foot-men not farre from the Mountaines, and the Ordonance in the Plaine as they had beene accuſtomed. The *Romans* ſtayed ſome time: but for that the day was well aduanced, and that the Combat of either ſide A was vncertaine and equall, and that there was danger that they which ſhould be preſt, turning head, would retire vpon their Battalions, then *Scipio* retiring the Skirmiſhers by the ſpace betwixt the Enſignes, he diuides them vpon the wings after thoſe which had beene formerly appointed. Then he giues order to aſſaile the Enemy in Front, firſt to the Iauelings, and then with Horſe-men: and being a Furlong from the Enemy, he commands the *Spaniards* which were in Battaile, to march in the ſame order, and that they ſhould turne the Enſignes vpon the right hand, and they of the left doing the contrary. And when he began on the right ſide, *Lucius Marcus* and *Marcus Iunius* led three B braue Troups of Horſe-men on the left hand, and before were thoſe which were lightly armed and accuſtomed to the Warre, with three Bands of Foot men (the *Romans* call a Band of Foot-men a Cohort) to whom the Targetteers ioyned on the one ſide, and the Archers on the other.

In this ſort they marched againſt the Enemy, making by this meanes an attempt with effect, conſidering the continuall repaire of thoſe which ioyned with them by files. As by chance theſe men were not farre from the Enemy, and that the *Spaniards* which were on the wing were farther off, as they which marched a ſlow pace, they C make an attempt vpon the two Battalions of the Enemy, drawne in length with the *Roman* forces, according to that which had beene reſolued in the beginning. The following alterations (by the meanes whereof it happened that they which followed, ioyned with the former, encountring the Enemies in a direct line, had betwixt them diuers orders) ſo as the right Battalion had on the left ſide the Foot-men mingled with the Horſe. For the Horſe-men which were on the right wing, mingling with the Iauelings of the Foot lightly armed, laboured to incloſe the Enemies. The Foot-men on the other ſide couered themſelues with their Targets. They which on the left D hand were in the Troups charged with their Iauelings, and the Horſ-men accompanied with the Archers with their full ſpeed. By this motion there was a left wing made of the right wing of the Horſe-men, and of the moſt valiant Souldiers of the two Battalions: But the Commander made no great accompt, being more carefull to vanquiſh the enemy with the other Battalion: wherein he had good iudgement. We muſt know things as they are done, and vſe a fit obſeruation according to the occaſion offred.

By

By the charge of theſe men the Elephants aſſailed by the Archers, and the Horſe-men with Darts and lauelings, and tormented of all ſides were wounded, making as great a ſpoile of their Friends as of their Enemies. For they ran vp and downe and ouer-threw men of all ſides, breaking the *Carthaginian* Battalions. In regard of that of the *Lybians* which held the middle part, and was of great ſeruice, it ſtood idle vnto the end. For not able to ſuccour thoſe which on the wings abandoned the place, by reaſon of the *Spaniards* charge: nor remaining in their ſtation, doe that which neceſſity required: for that A the Enemies which they had in Front, did not giue them Battaile. A diſorder by the Elephants.

It is true that the wings fought for a time valiantly: Conſidering that all was in danger. And as the heate was vehement, the *Carthaginians* brake, ſeeing that the end of the Combate ſucceeded not according to their deſire, and that their chiefeſt preparation was hindred: The *Romans* on the other ſide had the aduantage both in force and courage: and in that principally, that by the prouidence of the Generall the beſt furniſhed among the *Carthaginians* were made vnprofitable. Wherefore *Aſdrubal* being thus preſt, retired in the beginning with a ſlow pace from the Battaile: Then turning in Troupe, he recouered the neighbour Mountaines. And when as the *Romans* purſued them neare, B they poſted to their Palliſadoe. If ſome God had not preſerued them, they had ſuddainly loſt their Fort. But for that the diſpoſition of the Aire changed, and the raine fell continually with violence, the *Romans* could hardly recouer their Fort.

And although that *Publius Scipio* had ſufficient experience of the Warre, yet he neuer fell into ſo great a doubt and perplexity, the which happened not without reaſon. For as wee may fore-ſee and preuent exteriour cauſes and diſcommodities of the Body, as cold, heate, labour, and wounds, before they happen: and cure them when they come: being on the other ſide difficult to fore-ſee thoſe which proceed C from the Body, and are hardly cureable when they happen: we muſt iudge the ſame of policies and Armies. It is true, there is a ſpeedy meanes and helpe to preuent the Warres and Ambuſhes of Strangers when they are contriued: But againſt thoſe which the Enemy doth practiſe in the State, as ſeditions and mutinies, the Phiſicke is difficult, and requires a great dexterity and ſingular induſtry in the gouernment of affaires. But in my opinion one aduice is neceſſary for all Armies, Cities, and bodies politique: which is, that in that which concernes the things aboue mentioned, they neuer ſuffer too much ſloth and idleneſſe: eſpecially in time of proſperity, and the abundance of D all things neceſſary. A defect in the Text. A good Comparison.

Scipio as a man of excellent diligence, and conſequently induſtrious and actiue to mannage great affaires, propounded a certaine courſe to decide the preſent combuſtions, after he had aſſembled the Captaines of thouſands. He gaue order that they ſhould promiſe vnto the Souldiers the reſtitution of the victuals and taxes: and to giue credit to his promiſe, they ſhould leuie the ordinary taxes ordained in Cities diligently and openly for the reliefe of the whole Army, to the end The wiſedome of *Scipio*.

it might be apparent that this preparation was made for the inſtitution of their Victuals. And that moreouer, the Milleniers ſhould command the Commiſſaries of the Victuals, and admoniſh them to haue a care, and to take charge of the Victuals: and that conferring among themſelues, they ſhould make knowne, if part of them or altogether would vndertake it. He ſayd, that they muſt conſider of that which was to be done. The others thinking of the ſame things, had a care of the Treaſure. And when as the Milleniers had made knowne the things which had beene ordayned, *Scipio* being aduertiſed, imparted vnto the Councell that which was to be done. They concluded that A they ſhould reſolue on the day when they were to appeare: So as the people ſhould be ſent backe, and the Authors ſeuerely puniſhed: who were to the number of fiue and thirty.

And when the Day was come, and the Rebels there preſent, as well to obtaine pardon, as for their Victuals, *Scipio* ſecretly commands the Captaines Milleniers, that they ſhould goe and meete with the Rebels, and in chooſing fiue of the chiefe of the Mutiny (euery man carrying himſelfe courteouſly at their encounter) they ſhould bring them to his Pauillion: if this could not be done, yet at the leaſt they ſhould conuay them to the Banquet, and to this kind of aſſembly. B And as for the Army which was with him, he gaue them notice three dayes before, to make prouiſion of Victuals for a long time: as if *Marcus* ſhould goe to *Andobale* to fight: whereof the Rebels being aduertized, they were the more aſſured. They expected to enioy a great power, if (the reſt of the Army being ſeparated) they were admitted about a Commander, when they approacht neare the City, he commands the other Souldiers, that being prepared the day following, they ſhould come forth at the breake of day. In regard of the Milleniers and Captaines, he giues them charge that after their comming forth of the City, they ſhould ſtay the Souldiers in Armes at the Gate, haC uing firſt lodg'd the Baggage: and that afterwards they ſhould diuide themſelues by the Gates, and haue a care that none of the Rebels ſhould eſcape. They which were appointed to receiue them, ioyning to thoſe which came vnto them, entertained the offendors courteouſly according vnto that which had beene enioyned them. Their charge was to ſeaze vpon theſe men, at ſuch time as they ſhould be ſet at the Banquet, and to keepe them bound: So as not any of the Company being within ſhould goe forth, but onely he that ſhould aduertize the Commander what had beene done, Wherefore when the Milleniers had performed their Charge, the Generall ſeeing in the D Morning following thoſe to be aſſembled in the place which were arriued, he cauſeth an Aſſembly to be called. When the aduertiſement was giuen, they all came running as of cuſtome, whether it were with a deſire to ſee the Commander, or to heare thoſe things which were to be ſpoken of the preſent affaires. *Scipio* ſends to the Milleniers which were at the Gates, and commands them to bring the Souldiers that were armed, and to enuiron the whole aſſembly: Then marching forth, he amazeth them all at the firſt ſight. A great number in truth thought

Publius Scipio aſſembles his Army.

thought that he was not well diſpoſed: But when contrary vnto their opinions they found him ſound and ſafe, they were amazed at his preſence. Finally, hee vſed this Speech vnto them, ſaying, that hee wondred for what cauſe ſome of them were offended, or vnder what colour they were mooued to attempt a Rebellion.

There are three cauſes for the which men preſume to fall into a mutiny againſt their Princes and Countrey: VVhich are, when as they blame their Gouernour, and indure them vnwillingly; or when they are offended with the preſent Gouernment; or vpon a conception in
A their opinions of a greater and better hope. I demaund of you, ſayth he, which of theſe three hath mooued you. Are you angry with me that I haue not deliuered you Victualls? It is not my fault. For you haue not wanted any Victuals vnder my Leading. It is the errour of the *Romans* which haue not yeilded that vnto you now, which hath beene formerly due vnto you? Should you then accuſe your Country, ſo as you ſhould Rebell and become its Enemy, then being preſent to ſpeake vnto me, and to intreate your friends to aſſiſt you? The which in my opinion had beene much better. It is true, a pardon may bee giuen vnto Mercenaries, if they abandon thoſe from whom they receiue
B pay: But it is not fit to pardon ſuch as carry Armes for themſelues, their Wiues, and their Children. For it is euen like as a man ſhould come vnto his Father, and charge him that he had villanouſly cozened him in matters of money, and kill him from whom hee holds his life. Haue I oppreſt you more with toiles and dangers then the reſt, giuing them more Commodities and profites then vnto you? In trueth you dare not ſpeake it, neither can you conuince me although you durſt attempt it.

Three cauſes of the peoples mutiny againſt Princes.

I cannot coniecture the cauſe for the which being incenſed againſt me, you haue attempted this Rebellion. I would vnderſtand the oc-
C caſion from your ſelues. I thinke there is not any man among you that can alledge or pretend any thing. You cannot, in trueth, be ſad for the preſent. When was there euer greater abundance of all things, nor more prerogatiues of the Citty of *Rome*? When was there euer greater hope for Souldiers then there is at this day? Peraduenture ſome one of theſe deſperate men will thinke that at this day the profits are greater in ſhew, and the Hope better and more firme with the Enemy. Which are they? Is it *Andobale* and *Mandonin*? Which of you doth not know that as they firſt falſified their Faith with the *Carthaginians* comming to vs? And that now againe they declared themſelues
D our Enemies, inviolating their oath and Faith? Were it not an honeſt and commendable thing, that in giuing them your Faith, you ſhould become Enemies to your owne Country? And yet you haue no hope in them to enioy *Spaine*. You were not ſufficient being ioyned to *Andobale* to fight with vs, neither yet alone. Whereto then did you ayme?

I would know it from your ſelues, if you haue put your confidence in the Experience and Vertue of the Captaines which now are appointed you, or in the Rods and Maces which march before them, where-

of there is no honesty to vse any longer Discourse. But in truth there is nothing of all this; neither can you inuent any thing against me nor your Countrey. Wherefore I will answere for *Rome* and my selfe, propounding those things which seeme reasonable to all men, which is this, the People and all the Commons are such as they are easily deceiued and moued to any thing. Wherefore it happens to them as to the Sea. For as the Sea of it selfe is without offence, and safe to those which make vse of it: And if it be tormented with the violence of the Winds, it is such vnto Saylers as are the Winds wherewith it is beaten: The Commons in like manner are made like vnto those which gouerne them, which are their Commanders and Councellors. And therefore now I suffer all your Leaders vnpunished, promising that hereafter I will quit all reuenge: But as for those which haue beene the Authors of the Rebellion, I beare them an implacable hatred: for this cause we will punish them conueniently for the crimes which they haue committed against their Countrey and vs.

The inconstancy of the people.

A

And when he had vsed this Speech, the Souldiers that were in Armes and round about, made a great noise with their Swords in the Porches, and presently the Authors of the mutiny were brought in naked and bound. Finally, the multitude grew into a great amazement for the horror of the Executions which were done in their sight; so as when as some were whipt, and others executed, they moued not an eye, nor any man spake a word, remaining all amazed and terrified by these accidents. The Authors of these mischiefes being whipt and slaine, and drawne through the midst of them: the rest were assured in common by the Commander and Princes, that no man hereafter should be punished by any man for the remembrance of this fact. Wherefore they came all to the Milleniers, and sweare absolutely to obey the Commandments of the Princes, and not to consent to any thing against the City of *Rome*.

B

A punishment of the Mutines.

C

When as *Scipio* had corrected the Mischiefe newly growne, hee settles his Army in its former estate. Then suddainly drawing it together within *Carthage*, he made his complaints of the rashnesse and wickednesse of *Andobale* towards them: and after he had made a long speech of his disloyalty, he incensed the hearts of many against the sayd Potentate. Finally, he put them in minde of their encounters against the *Spaniards* and *Carthaginians*, whilest they were vnder the *Carthaginian* Commanders: Of whom (as they had beene alwayes victorious) there was no cause he sayd, to be in doubt or feare, but that comming againe to fight with the *Spaniards* vnder *Andobale*, they would be defeated. Wherefore he sayd he would make no more vse of the *Spaniards* to fight, and that hee would vndergoe the danger with the *Romans* alone: to the end it may be manifest to all the world, that wee haue not chased the *Carthaginians* out of *Spaine* with the helpe of *Spaniards*: but by a *Roman* vertue, and that by our owne dexterity wee haue vanquished them with the *Celtiberians*.

Scipio's Speech to his Army.

D

This Speech being ended, hee perswaded them to liue in Concord, and that they would vndertake this present danger, if euer they vndertooke

tooke any with great aſſurance. In regard of the meanes of the victory, he aſſures them that with the helpe of the Gods he will take order. The Commons conceiued ſo great a courage and confidence, as all of them carryed a countenance like vnto thoſe which behold their Enemies, and prepare to fight. His words being ended, hee ſent backe the aſſembly. The next day hee raiſeth his Campe and marcheth: and being come on the tenth day to a Riuer, he paſſeth it foure dayes after: then he plants himſelfe before the Enemies, hauing recouered a certaine Plaine betwixt his Campe and theirs. The day following he
A ſent forth towards the Enemy vpon the Plaine, ſome Cattell which followed the Army: and commands *Caius* to keepe certaine Horſe-men in a readineſſe, and to the Chiefe of the Milleniers, to prepare Archers and Slingers.

Scipio layes a baite for the Enemy.

When the *Spaniards* had fallen ſuddainly vpon the Cattell, he ſent certaine Souldiers that were Archers. The Combat beginning, and the Souldiers running vnto it on either ſide in good numbers, there grew a great Skirmiſh of Foot-men neare vnto the Plaine. When a fit occaſion was offred to aſſaile the Enemy, and that *Caius* had his Horſe-men ready as he had commanded him, he chargeth the Foot-
B men, and repulſeth them from the Plaine, to the places neare vnto the Mountaines, to the end they might be ſcattred, and ſlaine in great numbers. When this happened, the *Barbarians* were moued, fearing that being vanquiſhed in skirmiſh before they came to the Battaile, they ſhould ſeeme to haue fainted, wherefore at the Sun-riſing they drew their Army in good order to Field, preparing for the Battaile. *Publius Scipio* was ready to giue it: But when hee ſaw the *Spaniards* deſcend without reaſon into the Plaine, and not onely to put their Horſmen in order, but alſo their Foot, he ſtayed, to the end that a greater number might aſſemble in this order of Battaile, hauing confidence in
C his Cauallery, and much more in his Foot-men, for that they ſhould come to an equall Combat, and fight hand to hand: and that the Armes and men which he had, were more excellent then the *Spaniards*. But for that it ſeemes neceſſity preſt him, he directed his Army againſt thoſe which were in Battaile againſt the Mountaine: drawing foure Cohorts out of the Campe towards thoſe that were deſcended into the Plaine.

The *Spaniards* put themſelues in Battaile.

The order of *Scipio's* Battaile.

Finally, *Caius Lelyus* led his Horſe-men againſt the Enemy, by the Hils which come from the Campe vnto the Plaine, and chargeth the *Spaniards* Horſe in the Reare, and in fighting ſtayes them, to the end they ſhould not ſuccour their Foot. The Enemies Foot being deſtitute
D of the helpe of their Cauallery, in whom hauing put their truſt, they had deſcended into the Plaine, were forced and annoyed in the Combate; the which likewiſe happened to the Horſe-men. For when as (incloſed in the ſtreight) they could not fight at eaſe, their defeate was greater then that of the Enemy: for that their Foot-men were on the ſide, and their Enemies in Front, and their Horſe-men were charged in the Reare. The Combat being after this manner, they which deſcended were in a manner all defeated: They which were ioyning vnto

vnto the Mountaine fled. They were the moſt valiant and the third part of the Army: with whom *Andobale* eſcaped, recouering a certaine Fort. *Scipio* hauing ended the Warres of *Spaine*, drew to *Tarracona*, to carry a great triumph of ioy, and a glorious Victory to his Countrey. Deſiring them to be preſent at the Creation of Conſuls, hee ſayles to *Rome* being accompanied by *Caius*, deliuering the Army to *Iunius* and *Marcus*, hauing giuen order for all the affaires of *Spaine*.

A deſeate of the *Spaniards*.

A

Of King *Antiochus*.

IT was in truth *Euthydemes Magnes* to whom he anſwered, B ſaying that *Antiochus* laboured to chaſe him out of his Kingdome vniuſtly: and that he had not rebelled, to the end he might enioy the Principality of the *Bactrians*. And when he had vſed a long ſpeech tending to that end, hee intreated *Teleus* that by his meanes he might obtaine a truce, and that he would informe *Antiochus*, that hee did not enuy his royall Name: For that if he did not yeeld to his accords, neither of them ſhould liue in ſafety. For there was a great deſcent of *Tartariens*, which would be dangerous to either of them: and if they entred the Region, it would vndoubtedly be reduced vnder the ſubiection of *Barbarians*. C Theſe words being ended, hee ſends *Teleus* to King *Antiochus*. When the King had long ruminated to what end this buſineſſe would tend, he heard the propoſition which was made by *Teleus* concerning a truce.

When *Teleus* was returned, going and comming often from the one to the other, *Euthydemes* in the end ſent his Sonne *Demetrius* to confirme the Accord. Whom when the King had receiued graciouſly, and holding the Young man worthy to reigne, as well for his outward ſhew as for his excellent dexterity of Eloquence, hee firſt promiſeth to giue him one of his Daughters, and to his Father D the Name of King: Finally, after hee had paſt in writing the Pactions and Accords ſworne, he raiſeth his Campe, and ſends Victuals freely to his Army.

When hee had receiued the Elephants which *Euthydemes* had ſent, hee paſſeth Mount *Caucaſus*: and after that hee came into *India*, he renewed the League with *Sophaſine* King of the *Indies*: where after he had receiued an hundred and fifty Elephants, and had againe giuen Victuals to all his Army, he marcheth with all his forces. Moreouer, he

he ſends *Androſthenes* the *Cyzecenien* to receiue *Gaza*, which by the accord was deliuered vnto him by the King. And when hee had paſt *Arathesia*, and the Riuer of *Erymanthus*, he arriued in *Carmania* by *Dratigene*: where he wintred, for that Winter approached. This was the end of *Antiochus* Voyage which he made by the high Countries, by the which he drew to his obedience not onely the *Satrapes* and Gouernours of the high Countries, but alſo the Marritime Cities, and the Potentates inhabiting neare vnto *Taurus*: Finally, he hath aſſured his Reigne, making by his confidence and good induſtry all his Subiects amazed. For he ſeemed by this Voyage worthy to reigne not onely ouer the *Aſiatiques*, but alſo ouer the *Europians*.

A

B

C

D

A

A

A PARCELL OF the Twelfth Booke of the History of POLYBIVS.

B

WHo will wholly commend the Excellency of this Region. In regard of *Tymeus*, thou maist with reason terme him ignorant, not onely of things concerning *Lybia*: but also a Child and without vnderstanding, and also subiect to a fooliſh ancient report, according to the which we haue heard that *Lybia* is all sandy, dry, and desarts. The like they sayd of Creatures: And yet it hath so great abundance of Horses, Sheepe, and Goats, as I know not where we may finde the like in the World: For that many people of *Lybia* make no vse of the fruits which proceede from the hands of man, but liue with Mares Milke. Moreouer who doth not know the multitude and force of Elephants, Lyons, and Panthers, and consequently the beauty of Bugles or wilde Oxen, and the greatnesse of Ostridges: whereof there are none in *Europe*, and yet *Lybia is* full of such things: whereof *Tymeus* being wholly ignorant, he deliuers as it were of purpose things contrary to truth.

C

The manner of the *Lybians* liuing.

As he hath lyed in matters concerning *Lybia*, so hath he done the like of the Iland of *Cyrnon*. Whereof making mention in his Second Booke, he saith, that it abounds in Goats, Sheepe, and wilde Oxen, and moreouer in Stags, Hares, and Wolues, with some other Beasts: and that the men are much giuen to Venery, and spend their whole liues therein. When as in the said Iland there is neither wilde Goate, Oxe, Hare, Wolfe, nor Stagge, nor any such kinde of Beast: Except Foxes, Conies, and wilde Geese. It is true, that a Coney seene a farre off, seemes like vnto a Leueret: But when they hold it, it differs much, as well in sight as in taste. It breeds and liues most commonly in

D

The Iland of *Cyrnon* not well knowne by *Tymeus*.

in the ground. For this cauſe all the Beaſts of this Iland ſeeme wilde, for that the Keepers cannot follow them, in regard this Iland is woody, hilly, and ſteepe: But when they will draw them together, ſtaying in commodious places, they call them by a Trumpet, and euery one runs to his owne. Finally, if ſometimes they which come into the Iland, ſee Goats or Oxen feeding alone, and ſeeke to take them, they will not come at them, but flye from them as ſtrangers: and when the Keepers diſcouering thoſe which come from the ſhips, ſounds his Trumpe, they make haſte and runne vnto him: which put ignorant men
A in conceite, that the Beaſts of this Iland are wilde, whereof *Tymeus* hath made dreames, writing impertinently.

It is no great wonder, that they obey the ſound of the Trumpe. For they which breed Swine in *Italy*, haue no Hogheards which follow them after the manner of *Greece*: but going before them a little ſpace, they ſound their Trumpes, and the Swine follow them behinde, running after the ſound. Theſe Beaſts are ſo accuſtomed euery one to his Trumpe, as it is a wonder and in a manner incredible to thoſe that ſhall heare ſpeake of it. For it happens that for the abundance of Swine, and other things neceſſary, the troupes are in ſuch great numbers in *Italy*: eſpecially in the ancient and among the *Tyrrheins* and *Gaules*:
B ſo as of one breeding there are ſometimes aboue a thouſand. Wherefore they ſend them generally according to the age by troupes in the Night: So as many being ſent together, they cannot keepe them according to their kinde, and they mingle as well going and paſſing, as in their returne. The manner of breeding Swine in *Italy*.

For this cauſe they haue inuented the ſound of the Trumpe, to the end that when the Swine mingle, they may ſeparate them without difficulty. When as the Hogheards march one way, and the other another, in ſounding the Trumpe, the Swine part of themſelues, euery one following his owne Trumpe with ſuch great heate, as it
C is impoſſible to ſtay them, or to hinder their courſe. But when in *Greece* they mingle, hunting and running after Fruites, hee that hath the greateſt number and retires ſooneſt, carries with his owne the next, and ſometimes ſteales them, he that hath the charge not knowing how he hath loſt them: for that the Swine ſtray far from their Hogheards whileſt they run greedily after the Fruits of Trees, when as they begin newly to fall. But we haue ſpoken ſufficiently.

It hath often been my chance to goe to the City of the *Locrines*, and to deliuer them that which was neceſſary. I haue made them free from the Warre of *Spaine* and *Dolmacia*: to the which by accord they were ſubiect by Sea to the *Romans*. Wherefore they haue done vs all
D honour and courteſie, in acknowledging to be freed from this trouble, danger, and charge. Wherefore I am more bound to praiſe the *Locrines*, then to doe the contrary. Finally, I haue not omitted to deliuer and write the Hiſtory of the Collony, which hath giuen vs to vnderſtand, that *Ariſtotle* is more veritable then that which *Tymeus* reports. I am of their opinion which maintaine the renowne of this Collony to be ancient according to the ſaying of *Ariſtotle*, The City of the *Locrines*.

The Collony of the *Locrines* according vnto *Ariſtotle*.

and not of *Tymeus*: for the which they produce theſe arguments: Firſt that all things which haue beene famous among them for their Predeceſſors, are come from women and not from men: ſo as (by way of example) they are held amongſt them for noble, which haue taken their name from a hundred Families. Theſe are the Families which the *Locrines* made choiſe of, before they went to make a Collony: whereby it might happen, that by Oracles they caſt Lots vpon the Virgins to ſend them to *Troy*: Whereof ſome went in Collony, and their poſterity was to bee held Noble, and termed of the hundred Families. A

Againe, for that which concernes him whom they call *Philephore*, they haue made this report: That when as they chaſed the *Sicilians*, who then inhabited that part of *Italy*, the Nobles and Chiefe men then honoured the Sacrifices, and tooke many of the cuſtomes of the Countrey: ſo as they hold nothing of their Paternall, in obſeruing that from them: and in correcting they haue ordained that they ſhould not make any of their Sonnes *Philephore*, but onely a Virgine, in regard of the Nobility which came from Women. There was not, neither is it ſaid, that their hath beene any pactions or accords made betwixt the *Locrines* and the *Grecians*. In regard of the *Sicilians*, they had all that we haue B made mention of. They ſay, that when they came firſt into *Sicily*, they which then held that Region where they now dwell, being amazed and receiuing them with feare, made an accord with them: which was, that they ſhould maintaine Friendſhip, and enioy the Countrey in common as long as they ſhould tread vpon the Earth, and carry a head vpon their ſhoulders. And when this kinde of Oath was made, they ſay, that the *Locrines* did put earth into their ſhooes, and ſecretly hid the heads of Garlicke: and hauing thus ſworne, and finally caſt the Earth out of their ſhooes, and likewiſe the heads of Garlicke, ſoone after they chaſt away the *Sicilians* out of the Countrey. This the C *Locrines* did ſay.

A defect in the Text.

As a Rule although it hath leſſe length and breadth, yet it retaines ſtill the Name, if it hath that which is proper to a Rule: So they ſay, if it be not ſtraight and hauing the property of a Rule, it muſt rather be called by ſome other name then a Rule: In like manner they hold that if the Commentaries of Hiſtoriographers which failing either in Diction or vſe, or in any other of the parts which are proper vnto them, obſerue the truth, they deſerue the name of a Hiſtory: But if that failes, they are no more worthy of that name. For my part, I confeſſe, that ſuch Commentaries are to be held for true: and I am of D this opinion in euery part of our Worke, when I ſay, that euen as when the Bones are ſeparated from a liuing Creature, it is made vn-vſefull, ſo is a Hiſtory: For if thou takeſt away the truth, the reſt will bee but a vaine Narration. We haue ſayd, that there were two kinds of lies, the one through ignorance, the other which is deliuered wittingly. The pardon is eaſie for thoſe which through ignorance ſtray from the truth, and they are to be hated deadly which lie willingly. As men of iudgment reſoluing to reuenge their enemies, doe not firſt obſerue what their

Two kinds of vntruth.

Neighbour

Neighbour deſerues, but rather what they muſt doe: the like we muſt thinke concerning detracters, not caring for that which the Enemies ought to heare, but to obſerue carefully what it is fit to ſpeake. They which meaſure all things according to their choller and enuy, muſt of neceſſity faile in all, and ſtray from reaſon, when they ſpeake otherwiſe then is fitting. Wherefore we doe not ſeeme vniuſtly to reproue the ſpeeches which *Tymeus* hath held againſt *Demochares*. In truth, hee neither deſerues pardon nor credite with any man, for that in wronging him openly, hee ſtraies from reaſon, in regard of his naturall bitterneſſe. Neither doe the iniuries againſt *Agathocles* pleaſe mee, although he were the moſt cruell man liuing. I ſpeake of thoſe whereof hee makes mention in the end of his Hiſtory, ſaying, that *Agathocles* had beene a publique *Sodomite* in his younger yeares, and abandoned to all infamous and vild perſons: and ſo to other ſoule villanies which he addes.

Tymeus reprehenſible.

Agathocles cruell.

Moreouer, hee ſayth, that after his death his Wife lamented him in this manner: *Why haue not I thee, nor thou mee?* In regard of the ſpeeches which he hath held of *Demochares*, ſome will not onely cry out, but wonder with reaſon at his exceſſiue Rage. That *Agathocles* had neceſſarily by Nature a great prerogatiue, it is manifeſt by the Diſcourſe which *Tymeus* hath held. Hee came to *Sarragoſſe*, flying the Wheele, Smoake, and Clay, being eighteene yeares old: And when he was come for this cauſe, ſometime after he was Lord of all *Sicily*: Hee alſo drew the *Carthaginians* into great extremities, and ended his life with the Name of a King, after that he had growne old in this gouernment. It is not then neceſſary to ſay, that there had ſome things happened to *Agathocles* which were great and excellent, and that hee had had great power, and great forces to execute all theſe things: And that a Hiſtoriographer muſt not onely deliuer vnto poſterity thoſe things which concerne the blame, and ſhew the accuſation, but alſo thoſe which touch the praiſe of the man. This is the property of a Hiſtory. But this Childe blinded with his owne rancor, in his relation augments through hatred his offences, omitting wholy the vertues: being ignorant that it is no leſſe blame worthy then a lye in thoſe which write the Hiſtories of Actions.

It happened ſaith he, that as two young men contended for a Seruant, that he was ſomewhat long with a Friend: And when as the other two dayes before came out of the Countrey, in the abſence of the Maſter the Seruant retired ſpeedily into the houſe: and that afterwards the other knowing he came thither, ſeazing on him, brought him into Queſtion, ſaying, that the Maiſter of the houſe ought to giue Caution. For the Law of *Zaleucus* was, that he deſerued a ſuite to whom he had made the retreate. And when as the other ſayd, that according to the ſame Law he had alſo made the retreate, for that the Body was parted to come vnto the Potentate: he ſaith, that the Princes were in doubt vpon this buſineſſe, and called *Coſmopole*, referring themſelues to him in this cauſe. Who interpreted this Law, ſaying that the retreat hath alwayes beene to him who had the laſt, or for a time poſſeſſed the thing debated

A parcell corrupted.

Zaleucus the Law-giuer.

Coſmopole.

without contradiction. But if any one ſpoild another by force, and had retired it, and that ſubſequently he which firſt enioyed it, termes himſelfe the maiſter, this is no true poſſeſſion. And when as the Young man diſcontented at this ſentence, ſayd, that it was not the ſenſe of the Law, *Coſmopole* proteſted, and offerd the Condition, if there were any man that would ſpeake any thing touching the ſentence or ſenſe of the Law eſtabliſhed by *Lalencus*. The which is ſuch, that the Captaines Milleniers being there appointed with Halters to hang men, they conſulted vpon the ſenſe of the Law: if any one drew the ſentence of the Law to a bad ſenſe, hee was ſtrangled in the preſence of the Milleniers. This Speech being propounded by *Coſmopole*, the Young man anſwered, that the Condition was vniuſt: for that *Coſmopole* had not aboue two or three yeares to liue, (for hee was about foureſcore and ten yeares old) and that he according to reaſon had the greateſt part of his life remaining. For which witty and pleaſant Speech hee eſcaped the ſeuerity of the iudgement: and the Princes iudged according to the aduice of *Coſmopole*.

A ſeuere ſentence.

A witty anſwer of a Young man.

Of the Voyage of *Alexander* againſt *Darius* *Calſthenes*

Wee will make mention of a certaine expedition of Warre, which hath beene very famous, and decided in a very ſhort time: In the relation whereof *Calſthenes* hath err'd in that which doth moſt import: I ſpeake of that which *Alexander* made into *Cilicia* againſt *Darius*. In the which he ſaith that *Alexander* had paſt the ſtreights, which they call the Ports of *Cilicia*; and that *Darius* tooke his way by the Ports which they call *Menides*, and drew with his Army towards *Cilicia*. And when he vnderſtood by the Inhabitants, that *Alexander* tooke his courſe towards *Syria*, hee followed him: and when he approached vnto the ſtreights, hee Camped neare vnto the Riuer of *Pyre*. Finally, that the compaſſe of that place was not aboue foureteene Furlongs from thence, and from the Sea vnto the hilly Countreyes, and that the ſayd Riuer falls into the Sea, trauerſing the ſaid places: Firſt by the ſides of the Mountaine ending at the Plaine, and then by the Field hauing his Banks rough and not eaſie to come vnto.

A

B

C

Theſe things ſuppoſed, he ſayd, that when as *Alexander* turning head, came neare vnto *Darius*, his aduice and that of his Princes was to order his Battaile within his Campe as hee had formerly done, and to helpe himſelfe with this Riuer as with a Rampire, for that it ran neare vnto his Campe. Finally, he ordred his Horſe-men vpon the Sea-ſhoare, and vpon their Reare the Mercenaries: ſo as neare vnto the Riuer they were ioyned in one, and the Targetteers were placed in the Mountaines. It is a difficult thing to conſider how hee ordred theſe before the Battalion: ſeeing that the Riuer paſt neare vnto the Campe, the multiude likewiſe being ſo great. They were as *Caliſthenes* ſayth, thirty thouſand Horſe and as many Mercenaries.

The reprehenſion of *Caliſthenes*.

D

It is an eaſie thing to know what ſpace will containe theſe. For they order their Rankes according to the true vſe of eight in a great Troupe of Horſe, euery one requiring a ſpace in Front, to the end they may turne eaſily. To eight hundred of which a Furlong ſufficeth, and

ten

ten to eight Thouſand, and foure to three Thouſand fiue hundred: So as this ſpace of foureteene furlongs, is fill'd with twelue Thouſand Horſe. If then he hath ordred all this Troupe of Horſe in Battaile, it wants not much but being tripled, the order hath beene made without any ſpace betwixt. In what place then hath he ordered the multitude of Souldiers, but in the Reare of the Horſe-men? But hee will ſay no, and that they fought with the *Macedonians* at their firſt comming. Of neceſſitie there muſt be an vniting made, ſeeing that the order of the Horſe-men held the moiety of the place towards the Sea,
A the other towards the Mountaines being kept by the Mercenaries. Hereby we may inferre, how cloſe the Horſe men were vnited, and what ſpace there muſt be from the Riuer vnto the Campe. Then hee ſayth, that when the Enemies approached, *Darius* being in the midſt of his Armie, called vnto him the Mercenaries and their Wing. But we may doubt how this is ſpoken. For it is neceſſarie that the Horſemen and Mercenaries ſhould be ioyned about the middeſt of this ſame place. When as *Darius* was in the middeſt of his Mercenaries, how hath he call'd them? Finally hee ſayth, that the Horſe-men of the right Wing fought with *Alexander* at his firſt comming: and that hee receiued them valliantly, and fought with them in front, and that
B the Combate of eyther ſide was very furious.

In regard of that which was ſpoken by him that the Riuer was in the middeſt (as a little before we haue deliuered) hee hath forgotten himſelfe. Finally, he writes things of *Alexander* like vnto theſe. He ſaith that hee paſt into *Aſia*, accompanied with fortie Thouſand foot, and foure Thouſand fiue hundred Horſe. And as he would haue aduanced, there came vnto him out of *Macedony* other fiue Thouſand foote, and eight hundred Horſe: And although that for the affaires of his long abſence, he had left three thouſand foote, and three hundred Horſe, yet he had fortie two thouſand remaining. Theſe things
C preſuppoſed, hee ſayth that *Alexander* was aduertiſed of *Darius* deſcent into *Sicilia*, ſo hee was not aboue a hundred furlongs from him, and that he had alreadie paſt the ſtreights of the Countrie, and for this cauſe turning head he repaſt them againe, putting the great Battalion in Front, then the Horſe-men, and after all the reſt of the baggage of the Army.

And when he came afterwards into the plaine, that all the baggage being packt vp, hee commaunded that being mingled with the Battalion, they ſhould make their rankes, containing firſt about two and
D thirtie in number, then of ſixteene, and of eight neere the Enemy. Theſe Speeches haue leſſe reaſon then the former. For as the furlong containes in theſe ſpaces ſixteene hundred men, when a rancke is of eighteene men, ſo as they be euery one ſeparated a Fathome, it is manifeſt and doth plainly appeare that the ten will containe ſixteene Thouſand men, and twentie double the number. The which may eaſily appeare, for that when as *Alexander* ordred his Army by ſixeteene men in a rancke, it was very neceſſary that the place ſhould bee of twenty Furlongs, and yet all the Cauallerie remained and

ten thouſand Foote. Finally, hee ſaith, that hee led his whole Army in Front againſt the Enemies, being yet forty Furlongs off. But that is ſo ſtrange, as wee can hardly imagine any thing more inſenſible. Where ſhall wee finde ſuch ſpaces in the Champion Countrey euen in *Cilicia*, that a Battaile ſet in order, holding twenty Furlongs in breadth, and forty in length, may march in the Front? There are ſo many hinderances to order this forme of Battaile, as they can hardly be numbred. Moreouer, the ſayings of *Caliſthenes* giue no ſufficient arguments to purchaſe credite. For hee ſayth, that the Torrents which fall from the Mountaines, make ſo many and ſuch great Moores and Fenns, as A he aſſures vs that a great number of *Perſians* periſhed there in the flight. But would *Darius* ſuddainly ſhew himſelfe againſt the Enemy? Is there nothing more eaſie then a Battalion broken and ſcattred in Front? But how much more eaſie is it to order a Battaile in a conuenient paſſage, then to leade an Army directly to fight, being broken and ſcattred in woody and crooked places? And therefore it were better to leade an Army cloſe and vnited, and double rather then Quadruple.

By this meanes it would not be impoſſible to finde the meanes to paſſe, and to put the Battaile in order, and with eaſe, if hee might by B his Scouts diſcouer the comming of the Enemy. But *Caliſthenes* beſides the reſt, orders not the Horſe men in Battaile, when he led the Army in Field, being in Front, ordring the Foote-men equally. It is alſo a ſtrange thing when hee ſaith, that *Alexander* being neare the Enemy, comprehended the order of his Battalion of eight for a Ranke: So it is manifeſt that neceſſarily the length of this Battalion contained the ſpace of about forty Furlongs. But if they haue beene (as the Poet ſaid) cloſe together, ſo as they haue beene ioyned one to another: Yet it would be neceſſary, that the place ſhould containe Twenty Furlongs. And yet he ſaith, there were but foureteene: and that in ſuch C ſort, as one part was towards the Sea, and a moiety of the Army vpon the right hand: and that moreouer all the armed men had place ſufficient on the ſide of the Mountaines, to the end they might not bee ſuppreſt by the Enemy holding the borders of the Hills.

Wee know well that he makes a crooked order within: But we alſo leaue out ten thouſand Foote, which exceeds the meanes which he hath giuen: So as the length of this Battalion according to *Caliſthenes*, hath want of aboue twelue Furlongs, in the which it is neceſſary that thirty two thouſand men, contayning a reſtraint of thirty in a Ranke being ioyned, haue beene there comprehended. Hee ſayth, D that this Battalion was ordred after the Rate of eight in a Ranke. Theſe errours doubtleſſe cannot be defended, for that which is impoſſible in it ſelfe, is not worthy of credit. As often as wee haue reſpect vnto the ſpaces due vnto euery man, and to the length of all the place, and to the number of men, the lye were not excuſable. It were loſſe of time to repeate all his fooleries.

He ſaith, that *Alexander* thirſted after a Battaile againſt *Darius*, and that *Darius* was of the ſame opinion in the beginning, and afterwards

wards chang'd his reſolution. Hee doth not ſhew how they knew one another, nor what order they obſerued in their Army, nor whether *Darius* paſt: Neither finally, how the Battalions came to the Riuer ſide, ſeeing it was crooked and hight. Without doubt wee cannot beleeue that *Alexander* committed ſo groſſe an errour: ſeeing that from his Infancy hee had gotten ſo great experience and practiſe in the Art of Warre. Wee muſt rather thinke that the Hiſtoriographer could not through ignorance diſcerne things poſſible from the impoſſible in theſe affaires. But wee haue ſpoken ſufficient at this time of *Ephorus* and *Caliſthenes*.

An excuſe of *Alexander* vpon *Caliſthenes*.

A

First hee is of Opinion, that they muſt aduertiſe thoſe of the Councell, that the Trumpets awakes ſleepers during the Warre, and Birds in the time of Peace. Finally, hee ſayth, that *Hercules* inſtituted the Olympicke Combats, and the truce and abſtinence from Warre: and that by this meanes hee hath ſhewed a ſign of his will. In regard of thoſe againſt whom hee made Warre, hee annoyed them all through neceſſity, and for Command: but hee was neuer wittingly the Authour of any harme to man. Hee conſequently brings in *Iupiter* angry with *Mars*, and ſaying,

B

Moſt ſure thou oweſt to mee the leaſt good-will
Of all the Gods that haunt Olympus *Hill:*
Thou tak'ſt no pleaſure but to warre and fight,
In brawles and quarrels is thy chiefe delight.

Hee Writes likewiſe, that the Wiſeſt of the Diuine Gods ſayth thus,

Bad Citizens who will not when they may,
C *Stoppe ciuill ſtrife: fall often to decay.*

And that *Euripides* is of the ſame Opinion with this Poet, when hee ſaith,

Bleſt Peace, the beſt of Goddeſſes that be,
Oh how much in my heart I honour thee!
If thou deny thy preſence by delay,
I feare grim Death will ſnatch mee hence away.
Haſte then that I may futurely be bleſt
D *With ſports and reuels that adorne a Feaſt.*

Hee ſayth moreouer, that Warre is very like vnto a Diſeaſe, and Peace to Health. The which doth comfort and recreate the ſicke: whereas in the other the ſound periſh. Finally, that old men are buried by young according to the order of Nature: But in the Warre the contrary happens. And that it is a ſtrange thing, that there is no

The Warre like vnto a Diſeaſe.

ſafety during the War no not in Cities, and that during peace it extends to the limits of the Country.

He deliuers other things like vnto theſe. As that by nature we haue two, as it were Organs, by the which we conceiue and conſider, that is, hearing and ſeeing, and that the Eye is more certaine: According to the opinion of *Heraclites* (the Eies are more certaine then the Eares) *Tymeus* hath inquired of things by the one of them, which is the Eare, although a proper obiect yet of leſſe Effect. Hee hath beene wholly eſtranged from the teſtimony of the Eye. For this cauſe hee A vſurped that which depends on Hearing: The which hee hath had in ſome ſort by the Commentaries of others. In regard of that which he hath by inquiſition, he hath erred groſly, as we haue formerly declared.

Tymeus ſpeakes by heare-ſay.

It is an eaſie thing to Diſcouer the cauſe why hee fell into this opinion. For that doubtleſſe ſuch things may be ſought for in Bookes without danger or trouble, if a man hath no other thing in recommendation, or if it be in ſome Citie abounding in the multitude of Commentaries, or may retire himſelfe to ſome neere Librarie. Finally the purſuit of this ſtudy, and the inquiſition of that we ſeeke, B ioyning thereunto the iudgement (without any bad affection of curioſitie) of auncient Hiſtoriographers, requires likewiſe great imployment and charge: But it is of great ſeruice, contayning the greateſt part of a Hiſtory, the which is apparent in thoſe which Write Commentaries.

Ephorus ſayth, that if it had beene poſſible to bee preſent at all Actions, this Experience had beene more excellent then all the reſt. *Theopompus* ſayth, that hee is a very good Writer of the actions of the Warre, which hath had Experience of many dangers; and he a vehement Orator which hath deene partaker of many ciuill Controuerſies. The like happens to Phyſitians and Pylots. The Poet more- C ouer ſpeakes more properly of theſe things: For when hee deſires to ſhew what he ſhould be that is appointed for the Conduct of a Warre, he ſayth, propounding in theſe termes the perſon of *Vliſſes*.

Homer.

Speake Muſe of him, ſo wiſe to vnderſtand,
Who ſo farre Trauail'd both by Sea and Land.

Then following:

D

Who hath ſeene many Cities, Townes, and Nations,
And ſuffred much in his long Peregrinations.

Who after many dreadfull Battailes paſt,
Neptunes *rough fury did eſcape at laſt.*

In

In my opinion the maieſty of a Hiſtory requires ſuch a man. *Plato* likewiſe ſaith, that men are then happy, when as Philoſophers reigne, or Kings play the Philoſophers. For my part, I am of opinion that the vigour of a Hiſtory is then in force, when as they endeauour to write Hiſtories, which are practiſed in the Warre, not lightly as it happens at this day: but holding their being there aboue all things neceſſary, and ſitting there to attend continually: or elſe that they which vndertake to write, iudge that a habite and cuſtome in deeds and actions, is neceſſary for the writing of a Hiſtory. If this were done, there ſhould not be found ſo many things vnknowne in Hiſtoriographers, among the which *Tymeus* hath had the leaſt care in the World, hauing liued out of the Country poorely in a certaine place, and (as it were of purpoſe) diſdaining that which concernes both ciuill and warlike affaires, hee reapes a certaine glory by a naturall affectation of errour, ſo as he hath purchaſed the prerogatiue of a Hiſtoriographer. And that he is ſuch a one, it is eaſie to ſhew doing ſuch things. For he ſayth in the Poeme of his Sixt Booke, that ſome are of opinion that the Stile of a Demonſtratiue or Hiſtoricall language, requires ſomething of greater vnderſtanding and more induſtry. Finally, he affirmes this opinion to be firſt attributed to *Ephorus*. But for that he cannot anſwere ſufficiently to him that ſpeakes theſe things; he ſtriues by a conference to parralell a Hiſtory with demonſtratiue Orations.

A

A PARCELL OF the Thirteenth Booke of the Hiſtory of POLYBIVS.

B



AS the deſires of ſuch as are troubled with the Dropſie are neuer ſatisfied, nor taken away by any exteriour humour, if the interiour diſpoſition of the Body be not cured: So the concupiſcence to haue much is neuer ſatisfied, if the vice which lies in the heart be not by ſome reaſon corrected. There falls out ſomething like in the Deſire of fraud, C which no man liuing will confeſſe to be royall: although that ſome at this day hold it neceſſary to manage affaires by deceit for to reigne.

The *Acheins* free from fraud

The *Acheins* auoide it much. For they were eſtranged from deceipts towards their Friends to aduance their power, as they would not vanquiſh their Enemies: holding it neither noble nor firme, if they did not vanquiſh by proweſſe and in open fight. Wherefore they ordained among themſelues, that no man ſhould make vſe of hidden Armes, thinking that an open Combat hand to hand was the true determining of D Warre. Finally, they declared themſelues vnto their Enemies, and and ſignified the Warre, when they are once reſolued to vndergoe the danger of a Battaile; the like they did of the places where they would decide it.

But at this day they ſay, hee is no good Commander that executes any enterprize of Warre openly. There is yet remaining in the *Romans* ſome Reliques of the ancient humour in ſuch affaires. They ſignifie it before

before, and they ſeldome vſe any Ambuſhes, fighting readily hand to hand. Let theſe words be ſpoken againſt the affection which is much more ready, then is needefull, in malicious practiſes, policies and ambuſhes among Princes, as well in affaires of Warre as Policy.

Of *Philip*.

B PHilip had inſtructed and commanded *Heraclides* to conſider how he might annoy and ruine the *Rhodien* ſhips, and had ſent an Embaſſadour to the *Candiots* to draw them and to incenſe them to make Warre againſt them. *Heraclides* was a man fit for malicious practiſes, thinking likewiſe that *Philips* Commandment being accepted would be gainefull, ſoone after when he had conſidered thereon, he ſail'd againſt the *Rhodiens*. This *Heraclides* was borne at *Tarentum*, iſſued from a Race of Artizans, but wonderfully giuen to villanies and malice. Firſt he proſtituted his Body publickely in his younger yeares: and as he afterwards grew ſubtile, he had the charge of the Regiſter, being to the poore ſeuere and audacious, and towards Great men a flattering Courtier. Yet hee was chaſt out of his Countrey, as if he had ſought ſecretly to deliuer the City of *Tarentum* to the *Romans*, when he had no power in the gouernment: Hee was an Architect, and by reaſon of ſome building of the C Walles, he had in his hands the Keyes of a Gate which bends to the Mediterranian Coaſt. But when hee was retired to the *Romans*, and had againe written to *Tarentum* to *Hannibal*, and had ſent thither, he fled to *Philip* being diſcouered, and fore-ſeeing what would ſucceed: with whom hee had ſo much credite and authority, as he was in a manner the Author of the ſubuerſion of a great Kingdome. But the nature of the greateſt of the Goddeſſes ſeemes to ſhew the truth vnto men, and to giue them great forces: ſo as although ſhee be oppos'd by all men, and that ſometimes all kind of perſwaſions accompanied with lies bee arm'd againſt her, yet ſhee ſlips I know not how of her ſelfe into the fantaſies of men, ſo as ſometimes ſhe ſuddainly raiſeth her forces: and D ſometimes after ſhee hath beene long hidden, ſhee comes to light and diſcouers vntruth.

Heraclides malicious.

The vices of *Heraclides*.

The force of truth.

When as *Nabis* Tyrant of the *Lacedemonians*, had three yeares enioyed the Principality of *Lacedemon*, he had not attempted any thing, neither durſt he make tryall: For that lately *Machanides* had beene ſlaine by the *Acheins*: But hee laid the firſt foundations of a long and grieuous tyranny. He vtterly ruined ſome of the *Lacedemonians*, baniſhing

Nabis Tyrant of the *Lacedemonians*.

ing thoſe which were Noble or Rich, or had any honour from their Anceſtors, giuing their ſubſtance and Wiues to other Noble men, and to Mercenaries. Who were Murtherers, Theeues, Robbers, and breakers of houſes. Finally, this kind of men (to whom the Country was forbidden, in regard of their wickedneſſe and villanies) were by him carefully drawne together from all the parts of the Earth, of whom he held himſelfe Prince and King. He had Lanciers for the guarde of his Body, by whom it plainely appeared that his wickedneſſe and power would be of long continuance. Beſides the ſaid things hee was not ſatisfied with the baniſhmens of Citizens, but moreouer he left not A any place ſafe for Fugitiues, nor any certaine refuge. He ſlue ſome vpon the way, ſending after them, and kill'd others in their returne. Finally, in Cities (where the Fugitiues did remaine) he hired houſes neare vnto them by men not ſuſpected, ſending *Candiots* thither: who making holes in the Wall, ſlew them with Arrowes, or at the Windowes, the Fugitiues ſtanding there, or elſe being at their Meate in their houſes: ſo as theſe miſerable *Lacedemonians* had no place of refuge, nor time aſſured.

He hath by this meanes ruin'd many. He dreſt vp an Engine, if it may be ſo term'd: It was the Image of a Woman richly attired, the forme B whereof was like vnto the Wife of *Nabis*, and very well painted. When he called any Citizens, meaning to exact money from them, at their firſt entrance he vſed courteous and milde ſpeeches, ſpeaking of the feare of the *Acheins* neare vnto the City and Region: He likewiſe declared the multitude of Souldiers which hee entertained for their ſafety, and finally the charges hee was at for the Gods, and the publique good of the Citty. If by this Speech he perſwaded them, then he had them ready at his deuotion; but if any one refuſing would not giue eare vnto him, hee added theſe words: peraduenture thou canſt not perſwade thy

Apege the Wife of *Nabis*. ſelfe: Yet I thinke this *Apege* (which was the Name of his Wife) will C doe it. After this ſpeech, the Image was preſented: and when hee riſe out of his Chaire, hee imbraced it as his Wife, and approacht it neare vnto his boſome. This Image had the Elbowes and Hands full of Nailes vnder the garment, and likewiſe neare the Papps, and when he toucht the backe of the Image with his hand, he extended it vnto the breſt, and led it by the handling of Inſtruments: and by this meanes hee forced the Image in a ſhort time, to pronounce any kind of voyce. Vpon this occaſion hee ruined many of thoſe which refuſe to obey him. D

A

A

A PARCELL OF the Fourteenth Booke of

B the Hiſtory of POLYBIVS.

C THe Conſuls were carefull of theſe affaires: *Publius Scipio* wintred in *Affricke*, who being aduertiſed that the *Carthaginians* prepared an Army to Sea, hee did the like, yet omitting nothing concerning the Siege of *Byſarthe*: neither did hee wholly deſpaire of *Sophax* or *Syphax*, ſending often vnto him, for that their Armies were not farre diſtant, perſwading himſelfe that hee might retire him from the alliance of the *Carthaginians*. *Vtica* beſieged by *Scipio*.

He deſpaired not but that hee was now glutted with *Pediſca*, for whoſe ſake he held the *Carthaginians* party: and in like manner of the friendſhip which he had with the *Phenicians*, as well for their naturall diſcontent againſt the *Numidians*, as for their preuarication both againſt God and Men. *Pediſca* the wife of *Syphax*.

D Whileſt hee ruminated of many things with a variable hope for the future, for that hee feared a danger by Strangers, knowing that the Enemy encreaſed much, hee reſolued in the end vpon this occaſion. Some of thoſe which hee had ſent to *Syphax*, related vnto him, that the *Carthaginians* beſides their Winter-tents, had their Lodgings made of Wood and Leaues, and among the *Numidians*, the Princes had them of Reeds, and they of the Cities there aſſembled of Leaues: Some being of the Ditch and Palliſadoe, and others without.



Scipio hauing a conceite, that if hee aſſailed their Campe by fire, it would bee a ſurprize vnexpected by the Enemy, and of great effect for him, inclined vnto it. In regard of *Syphax*, hee intended by his Embaſſies which hee ſent vnto him, to ſettle a Peace, ſo as the *Carthaginians* ſhould leaue *Italy*, and the *Romans* *Affricke*: and that either of them ſhould enioy that which they held: which things being formerly heard, hee had not accepted: but at that time hee aduertiſed the *Numidian* by an Embaſſie in few words, that the propoſition made by him was not impoſſible. So as *Syphax* hauing great hope, ſolicited a parley often. This done, there were many and frequent Embaſſies. A

It happened that ſometimes they met without Guards, and *Scipio* alwayes ſent men of great iudgement with his Embaſſadours: for whom hee had prepared Military habits, which were baſe, poore, and ſeruile, to diſcouer and view the entries and iſſues of the two Campes. There were in truth two: the one of *Aſdrubal*, contayning thirty thouſand Foote, and three thouſand Horſe: the other which was ten Furlongs off, was of Numidians, hauing ten thouſand Horſe, and about fifty thouſand Foote. Theſe had the approach more eaſie, and the Lodgings more fit to burne: for that the *Numidians* vſed no Timber nor Earth, but onely Reeds and Canes to make their Lodgings. B

The Campe of *Aſdrubal* of 30000. Foote and 3000. Horſe.

The Campe of *Syphax* of 10000 Horſe, and 50000. Foote.

And for that the Spring was come, *Scipio* hauing inquired of all the preparations of the Enemy, hee cauſeth his ſhippes to flote, and puts Engines into them as it were to beſiege *Byſarthe* by Sea. Moreouer, hee ſeazed vpon a Hill neare vnto the City with about two thouſand Foote, to the end hee might put a conceite into the Enemy, that all this was done for the Siege: Yet in truth hee made this Guard, vntill hee might haue an opportunity to execute his Enterprize, to the end that the Armies being out of their Camps, the Garriſon of the City ſhould not dare to ſally forth, nor aſſaile the Palliſadoe being neare, nor beſiege thoſe which were there in the Guard. C

This preparation being ready, hee ſent to *Syphax*, to demand of him if hee would conclude the Articles, and whether the *Carthaginians* did like of them: and that hee ſhould propound nothing more concerning the accord, giuing alſo charge to the Embaſſadours not to returne without anſwere vpon theſe Differences. Being come vnto the *Numidian*, their charge being heard, hee conſented, for that *Scipio* was ready to conclude this Accord: and withall the Embaſſadours told him, that they would not depart before they carried backe an Anſwere from him. D

But being in great feare and doubt that the *Carthaginians* would not giue conſent, hee ſent with all ſpeede vnto *Aſdrubal*, aduertiſing him of that which was treated, with many perſwaſions to accept of the Peace. *Syphax* was negligent and careleſſe, and ſuffered the *Numidians* which he had drawne together, to lodge without the Campe.

This

This *Scipio* did in ſhew, but hee was carefull of the preparations. And when as the *Carthaginians* had aduertiſed *Syphax* to conclude the accord, reioycing thereat, he ſignified it preſently to the Embaſſadors: who being returned to their Campe, acquainted *Scipio* with that which the King had done. Theſe things being heard, hee preſently ſends backe an Embaſſie to *Syphax*, to tell him, that hee liked well of the accord, and deſired a peace: but the Senate and Councell were not of that Opinion, ſaying, that they would purſue their Enterprize. The Embaſſie came to *Syphax*, and declared theſe things vnto him.

A *Scipio* had ſent theſe Embaſſadours, to the end hee ſhould not ſeeme to haue broken the accord, if during a parley of Peace, hee ſhould attempt any Enterprize of an Enemy: conceiuing that hauing ſignified this vnto the Enemy, whatſoeuer he ſhould doe would be blameleſſe. *Syphax* was much diſcontented with this newes, conſidering the hope hee had of a Peace: Hee goes to *Aſdrubal*, acquainting him with that which the *Romans* had ſignified vnto him: whereupon doubting, they conſulted how they ſhould carry themſelues, but they were farre from knowing the reſolution and deſigne of the future accidents. As for ſtanding vpon their guard, or to beleeue that

B any diſaſter or misfortune were at their Gates, they had no thought thereof.

It is true, their whole intent was to draw the Enemy into the Plaine. *Scipio* gaue many preſumptions by his preparation and ſummation, that hee had ſome Enterprize againſt *Byſarthe*, Finally, about Noone he ſends for the Captaines Milleniers, whom hee held for his loyall Friends, and acquaints them with his intent, giuing them charge, that an houre after Dinner they ſhould put the Army in Battaile before the Palliſadoe, when as all the Trumpets according to cuſtome had giuen the Signe. The *Romans* haue a cuſtome, that during the repaſt, all the Trumpets and Clairons ſound before the

C Generals Tent: to the end that during that time they ſhould ſet watches in conuenient places. When hee had retired his Spies which hee had ſent vnto the Enemies Campe, hee conferres and examines the Reports of the Embaſſadours, and conſiders of the approaches of the Campe, making vſe therein of the aduice and councell of *Maſſaniſſa* for the knowledge of the places. And when as all things were ready for the Execution, hee marcheth with his Army directly towards the Enemy, the firſt Watch being changed, leauing a ſufficient number to guard the Campe. They were threeſcore Furlongs off.

A cuſtome of the *Romans* during their repaſt.

Maſſaniſſa.

Scipio draweth to the Enemies Campe.

D And when they were come vnto them about the end of the third Watch, he deliuers halfe the Army to *Caius Lelius*, with all the *Numidians*, giuing them charge to aſſaile *Syphax* Campe, and perſwading them to carry themſelues like braue men, and not to attempt any thing raſhly, holding for certaine that the more their ſight is hindred by darkeneſſe, the more courage and confidence they ſhould haue to finiſh Nocturnall aſſaults. Finally, hee aſſailes *Aſdrubal* with the reſt of the Army. Yet his purpoſe and reſolution

Lelius aſſailes *Syphax* his Campe by fire.

was not to put it into execution, before that *Lelius* had firſt ſet fire of the Enemies. Being thus reſolued, hee marcheth a ſlow pace. *Lelius* on the other ſide diuiding his Army in two, aſſailes the Enemies ſuddainly. But as the lodgings were built in ſuch ſort, as if they had of purpoſe beene deſtinated for the fire, where the firſt had caſt the fire, and conſumed all the firſt Tents, it fell out ſo as they could not ſuccour this Diſaſter: Both for that the lodgings ſtood cloſe together, and for the abundance of ſtuffe wherewith they were built. *Lelius* ſtood ſtill in Battaile: But *Maſſaniſſa* knowing the Countrey, placed Souldiers vpon the paſſages, by the which they which fled A from the fire, muſt retire. Not any of the *Numidians* vnderſtood that which was done, nor *Syphax* himſelfe, thinking this fire had beene accidentall. Wherefore they goe raſhly out of their lodgings and Tents, ſome being yet aſleepe, and others drinking: So as many were cruſht in peeces by them at the ſally of the Palliſadoe, and and many were burnt: In regard of thoſe which fled the flames, they were all ſlaine, falling into the Enemies hands, not knowing what ſhould befall them, nor what to doe.

When at the ſame time the *Carthaginians* ſaw this great fire and high flames, thinking the *Numidians* Palliſadoe was on fire, ſome B went preſently to helpe them: all the reſt ran out of the Campe without Armes, ſtanding before their Palliſadoe amazed, they expected what the end would be. When as things ſucceeded according to *Scipio's* intent, he falls vpon thoſe which were come out of the Campe, and purſuing others into it, hee preſently ſets fire on their lodgings. The like happened to the *Phenicians*, as well by fire as by other miſeries and misfortunes, where with the *Numidans* were afflicted.

Scipio ſets *Aſdrubals* Campe on fire.

But when as *Aſdrubal* had diſcouered by the euent, that this fire of the *Numidians* was not accidentall, but by the policy and courage C of the Enemy, hee ceaſed ſuddainly from giuing Succours, making haſte to ſaue himſelfe, for that there was little hope remaining. The fire ſuddainly waſted and conſumed all: There were no more paſſages for Horſes, Sumpters, and men, among the which ſome were halfe dead, and burnt with the fire, others were terrified and amazed, ſo as they which made preparation to defend themſelues valiantly, were hindred, neither was there any meanes of hope, by reaſon of the trouble and confuſion.

The like happened to *Syphax* and to the other Commanders. But either of them eſcaped with ſome few Horſes: the reſt of the Troups of Men, Horſes, and Sumpters, periſhed miſerably by this fire. D Some were ignominiouſly ſlaine by the Enemy after they had fled the violence of the fire, and defeated not onely without Armes, but naked and without apparrell. Finally, all the place of theſe Campes was full of howling, horrible cries, feare, and vnvſuall noiſe: and moreouer with a violent flaming fire: Either of the which had beene ſufficient to amaze and terrifie humane Nature, and the rather for that theſe things happened contrary vnto all hope. Wherefore it is not poſſible

for:

for any man liuing to imagine this accident, conſidering the greatneſſe: for that it hath exceeded the policy of all precedent actions. And although that *Scipio* hath performed many deeds of proweſſe and valour, yet this ſeemes to be the moſt excellent and hardy of them all. At the breake of day the Enemies being ſome defeated, and others fled with amazement, he gaue charge to the Commanders to purſue the Chaſe.

The Chiefe of the *Carthaginians* budg'd not in the beginning, although he were aduertiſed by many: The which he did, relying vpon
A the fortification of the City. But when hee ſaw the Mutiny of the Inhabitants among themſelues, hee fled, accompanied with thoſe which had eſcaped with him, fearing the comming of *Scipio*. Hee had fiue hundred Horſe, and about two thouſand Foote. The Inhabitants being agreed, yeelded themſelues to the *Romans*. Whom *Scipio* pardoned, abandoning the ſpoile of two Neighbour Cities to the Souldiers. Theſe things being thus decided, hee returned to his firſt Campe. The *Carthaginians* were diſcontented, that the hope which they had conceiued in the beginning, had ſucceeded ſo contrary. They expected to haue beſieged the *Romans* (incloſed with-
B in the Fort of *Byſarthe*, where they had wintred) as well by Sea as Land. And when they had all their preparations ready, they were not onely deſtitute of their Campes, ſo inconſiderately deliuered to their Enemies, but it ſeemed they ſhould all periſh with their Countrey: For this cauſe they were amazed with great feare and faintneſſe of heart.

The flight of *Aſdrubal*.

And when as the affaires preſt them to conſider prudently of the future and eminent danger, the Senate was full of doubt, and of diuers confuſed thoughts: Some ſayd, they muſt ſend to *Hannibal*, and call him out of *Italy*, for that all their hope conſiſted in that Commander, and the Army which hee had: Others were of aduice they ſhould
C ſend to *Scipio* to obtaine a truce, and to parley of an accord and agreement: ſome would haue them to be of good courage, and to leuie an Army, and finally to ſend to *Syphax*. He was fled farre vnto *Abbe*, drawing together thoſe which eſcaped from the danger: which aduice was reſolued. Wherefore they leuie men, and ſend to *Aſdrubal* to that end, and likewiſe to *Syphax*, intreating him to giue them Succours, and to obſerue the conuentions according to their firſt purpoſe, promiſing him that their Commander ſhould preſently ioyne with his Army.

The *Carthaginian* Senate holds a Counſell.

The *Roman* Generall followeth the Siege of *Byſarthe* the which hee
D did the rather, for that hee was aduertiſed that *Syphax* continued in his firſt reſolution, and that the *Carthaginians* leuied a new Army. For this cauſe hee raiſed his Campe and beſieged *Byſarthe*. When hee had diuided the ſpoile, hee chaſed away the Merchants vpon good aduice. For the Souldiers careleſſe of the preſent commodity of goods: for that the hope of profits which grew by their good fortune was apparent, they had intelligence with the Merchants.

Scipio attends the Siege of *Byſarthe*.

It ſeemed very fit to the King of *Numidia* and his Friends at

the firſt fight, that they ſhould retire to their houſes: But when the
4000. *Celtiberians* come to ſuccour the *Carthaginians*. *Celtiberians* arriued neare vnto *Abbe*, who being entertained, were
aboue foure thouſand men, the *Carthaginians* grew aſſured, and by
little and little recouered their ſpirits, relying vpon theſe Troupes.
Moreouer, when as *Pediſca* the Daughter of *Aſdrubal*, and Wife to
Syphax, (of whom we haue ſpoken) intreated him with all affection
that he would not abandon the *Carthaginians* for the preſent: The *Nu-*
midian yeelded to her intreaties. The *Celtiberians* put no ſmall hope
into the *Carthaginians*. For although they were but foure thouſand, A
yet they ſayd, they were ten thouſand. Finally, they promiſed to bee
inſupportable in the fight, as well for their courage as their Armes. The
Carthaginians growne proud with this common bruite, were more
confident to recouer their Campes.

Finally, they ſet vp their Palliſadoe within thirty dayes neare vnto
the Plaine called the Great, and there they planted their Campe, accom-
panied with the *Numidians* and *Celtiberians*, being in number thirty
thouſand men. When the newes came vnto the *Romans* Campe, *Sci-*
pio preſently prepared to part. And when he had ſent to thoſe which
held the Siege before *Byſarthe*, and to the others which were at Sea,
informing them what they were to doe, he marched towards the Ene- B
Scipio drawes towards the Enemy. my, hauing all his Bands furniſhed with the moſt valiant men. Being
come on the fift Day to this great Plaine, and approaching neare the
Enemy, he camped the firſt Day vpon a Hill, thirty Furlongs diſtant
from them, the Day following hee deſcends into the Plaine, ſending
the Horſe-men before within ſeuen Furlongs, and there ſettles his
Campe againe.

After two Dayes expectance, when they had skirmiſhed of either
ſide to come to a Battaile, either of them in the end drew to Field, and
put their men in order. *Scipio* firſt of all placeth in Front his forlorne
The order of Battaile of the *Romans* Army. hope, according to their cuſtome: After which he appoints the Prin- C
cipals, and in the third place the Triarij in the Reareward. As for the
Horſe-men, he orders the *Italians* on the right hand, and *Maſſaniſſa*
The order which *Syphax* and *Aſdrubal* held. with the *Numidians* on the left. *Syphax* and *Aſdrubal* ſet the *Celtiberi-*
ans in the midſt, againſt the *Roman* Bands, the *Numidians* on the left
hand, and the *Carthaginians* on the right. Suddainly when the Com-
The beginning of the Battaile. bat began, the *Numidians* were repuls'd by the *Roman* Horſe-men, and
the *Carthaginians* (as they had often before) loſing courage, were
ouerthrowne by *Maſſaniſſa's* Company. Yet the *Celtiberians* fought
valiantly againſt the *Romans*: for they had no hope of ſafety remaining
for the ignorance of the places, neither yet if they were taken, con- D
ſidering their vniuſt Warre. For ſeeing that *Scipio* during the Warre
of *Spaine*, had not offended them, it ſeemed againſt reaſon, and a diſ-
loyalty to giue ſuccours to the *Carthaginians*. But when the Wings
began to giue backe, they were in a manner all ſlaine, being incloſed
The defeate of the *Celtiberians*. by the Principals and the Triarij. Thus the *Celtiberians* periſhed, who
were a great helpe to the *Carthaginians*, not onely in the fight, but al-
ſo in the flight, for if they had not entertained the *Romans*, and that the
Chaſe had beene ſuddainly followed, few of the Enemies had eſcaped:

but as their reſiſtance cauſed the ſtay, *Syphax* retired ſafely with his Horſe-men into his Countrey, and *Aſdrubal* to *Carthage*, with the reſt which eſcaped. When as the *Roman* Generall had giuen order for the ſpoiles and Priſoners, calling a Counſell, he conſulted what there was to do. Whereupon it was thought fit that *Scipio* ſhould with part of the Army aſſaile the Townes, and *Lelius* with *Maſſiniſſa* accompanied by the *Numidians* and part of the *Roman* Army purſues *Syphax*, and not giue him leaſure to make any new preparations. Theſe things thus reſolued they ſeparate themſelues, and ſome goe againſt *Syphax* A with their Souldiers, and the Generall againſt the Cities: whereof ſome yeilded to the *Romans* for feare, and others being forced by ſiege. At that time the whole Region wauered and were ready to reuolt, hauing beene cruelly tormented and vexed during the length of the Wars of *Spaine*.

Syphax retires in ſafety.

The aduiſe of the *Romans*.

The purſuit of the *Romans* after *Syphax*.

In regard of *Carthage*, as formerly there was great inconſtancy, ſo now there was greater trouble and combuſtion, for that hauing heard and ſeene this Wound the ſecond time, they grew deſperate in themſelues. It is true that they among the Councellours which ſeemed to haue greateſt Courage, commaunded that they ſhould ſaile againſt thoſe which laid ſiege to *Byſarthe*, and to make a triall if they might B raiſe the ſiege, and to fight with the Enemy at Sea, as being ill furniſhed. They required alſo that they ſhould ſend for *Hannibal*, and relie vpon that hope: and that there was reaſonable occaſions of ſafety by theſe two attempts. Some ſaid, that the time would not allow it, and that they muſt fortifie and furniſh the Citie for a ſiege: And that being of one conſent, the accident would miniſter occaſions. Some alſo aduiſe to make an Accord and League, whereby they ſhould free themſelues of the eminent dangers.

Diuers opinions of the *Carthaginians* concerning their Warre.

As there were many opinions vppon this buſineſſe, they confirme them all together. Wherefore this was their Reſolution, they that C were to ſaile into *Italy*, parting from the Senate ſhould go preſently to Sea: The Pylots likewiſe ſhould prepare that which concernes the ſhips: And the reſt for the ſafetie of the Citie, hauing a daily care for particular things. But when as the *Roman* Army was inricht with bootie, and that no man made any reſiſtance, *Scipio* reſolues to ſend the greateſt part of the bootie to the firſt baggage: And taking the ableſt and moſt actiue Bands to ſeeke to force the Enemies palliſadoe. He therefore (hauing a good courage) ſeated his Campe in view of the *Carthaginians*. He had a conceite that by this meanes hee ſhould amaze and D terrifie them.

The *Carthaginians* hauing in few daies giuen order for all the Equipage, Victualls, and munition of their Shippes, they meant to weigh Anchor, and to execute their Reſolution. *Scipio* came to *Tunis*: and although that they which had fled thither kept the approaches, yet he tooke it. *Tunis* is diſtant from *Carthage* ſixe ſcore Furlongs, and is to be ſeene in a manner by all the Citie: Moreouer it is ſtrong aſwell by Nature as by Art: The *Carthaginians* imbarked, and came to *Byſarthe*.

Tunis taken by *Scipio*.

Scipio seeing the Enemies Army at Sea, was troubled, fearing least his should fall into some inconuenience, hauing not suspected it, neyther was it ready nor prepared for that which might happen. Wherefore turning head, he raised his Campe, seeking to giue order for his affaires.

When hee perceiued his couered shippes, well prouided to carry the instruments, and conueniently to raise the siege, but ill appoynted for a Combate at Sea, and that those of the Enemies had beene during the Winter instructed and prepared; he was out of hope to make head against them, and to come to fight: Yet he prepared the couered Vessell, and inuironed them with three or foure rankes of Merchants ships.

The remainder is wanting.

A

A PARCELL OF the Fifteenth Booke of the Hiſtory of POLYBIVS.

B

Cipio was impatient, that the meanes to get Victualls was not only taken from him, but there was plenty with the Enemy: But he ſeemed to be much more grieued that the *Carthaginians* had broken their Oath and Accord, making War againe. Wherefore hee made choiſe for Embaſſadours of *Lucius Seruinus*, *Lucius Citinus*, and *Lucius Fabius*, and ſent them to ſpeake vnto the *Carthaginians* vpon this late Action, and alſo to ſignifie vnto them, that the people of *Rome* had confirmed their Accords, for they had lately brought Letters vnto *Scipio* containing the ſaid Articles. When the Embaſſadours were come to *Carthage*, they were firſt brought vnto the Senate, and afterwards to many others, where they diſcourſed freely of the preſent Affaires. First they put them in minde, how their Embaſſadours being arriued at *Tunis*, and were come into the aſſembly of the Councell, they had not only Sacrifized to the Gods, in bending downe to the ground, as other men are accuſtomed to do: But moreouer (proſtrating themſelues humbly) they had kiſt their feete: And when they were riſen againe, had acknowledged their faulte to haue broken the Accord concluded in the beginning with the *Romains*, and that for this cauſe they confeſt, that they were not ignorant, that they were iuſtly tormented, and that they intreated that by the Fortune of Humanes, they might not be forced to ſuffer things that were not to be repaired, and that by this meanes their indiſcretion and raſhneſſe would make the *Romains* bounty Commendable. The Embaſſadours ſay, that at the repetition

C

D

Lucius Seruinus Lucius Citinus, and Lucius Fabius ſent Embaſſadours to *Carthage*.

A remonſtrance of the *Roman* Embaſſadours to the *Carthaginians*.

repetition of these things, the Chiefe and Councellors which were then present in Counsell, were amazed and wondred, with what impudence they forgot things that were then spoken, and durst in manner breake the Couenants sworne. It is in a manner manifest, that vpon the confidence they had in *Hannibal* and his forces, they had presumed to do these things, but inconsiderately. Finally, it was apparent to all the World, that flying the last yeare out of all *Italy*, and being shut vp through their faintnesse in the Countrey of *Lacinium*, and in a manner besieged, they are fallen at this day to that as they are hardly in safety: And although that as Victors they would present themselues, A and trie with vs the fortune of the Warre, who haue vanquished you in two following Battailes, yet they must not hold the future for certaine: Nor yet thinke of the Victory, but rather feare to be frustrated againe. And if that hapned, to what Gods would they make their prayers and vowes? In what Language would they speake, to moue the Victors to a Commiseration of their calamitie? Seeing that with reason all hope would be taken away, aswell with the Gods as men. These things thus propounded, the Embassadours foorth-with depart.

Some of the *Carthaginians* were of opinion that the Accord should B not be broken: The greatest part aswell of Burgesses as Senators, disliked that to the Accord there were some grieuances added, and they were much discontented at the hard reprehension of the Embassadors. Moreouer they could not restore the shippes which had beene broken, nor repay the Charges. They were likewise fed with no small hope of *Hannibals* Victory. One part of them were of opinion to send away the *Roman* Embassadors without answere. The Burgesses (whose intention was howsoeuer to renew the Warre) consulting among themselues practized in this manner. We must (said they) giue order that the Embassadors may be safely sent backe to their Campe. Wherfore C they presently prepare two Gallies for their returne. But they aduertize *Asdrubal* Chiefe of their Army at Sea, intreating him to keepe some vessells ready neere vnto the *Romans* Campe: to the end that when the Marriners should abandon the Embassadors, these other should board them, and cast them into the Sea. The Army at Sea had ioyned to the *Romans* vpon the flat neere vnto *Byssarthe*.

A Conspiracy of the *Carthaginians* against the *Roman* Embassadors.

When they had acquainted *Asdrubal* with these things they dismisse the *Romans*: And giue charge vnto the Marriners of the Gallies, that when they had past the Riuer of *Macre*, they should suffer the *Romans* to Saile towards the Mountaine; for from thence they might visibly discouer the Enemies Campe. When the Marriners had Conducted D the Embassadours, and according to their charge had crost the Riuer, they turne head, hauing bid the *Romans* farewell. *Lucius* in trueth suspected no harme, but thinking to be thus left at Sea by the Marriners through disdaine, he was much incensed. Whilest they sailed alone, the *Carthaginians* present themselues with three Gallies, which assaile the *Roman* Quinquereme, not able to annoy it nor board it, through the great resistance which they made: And that fighting in Front and

vpon

vpon the flancke, they annoyed the Souldiers with great slaughter of them vnwill being seene by those which spoiling the Maritime Country, came running from their Campe to the Sea shore, they ranne the Galley a shore. It is true, many of the Company were slaine, but the Embassadours escaped beyond all hope.

These things hapning, the Warre was againe renewed with greater violence and cruelty then before. The *Romans* intended with great Courage to vanquish the *Carthaginians*, seeing the faith violated. The *Carthaginians* likewise fearing themselues guilty of that which they had committed, were carefull not to fall into the Enemies subiection. Their courages being such, it was apparent that this must be decided by a Battaile: For this cause not only *Italy* and *Affricke*, but also *Spaine Sicily* and *Sardinia*, were troubled and rauished in their iudgements, attending the end. And when at the same time *Hannibal* was destitute of Horses, he sent to one *Tychesis* a Numidian allied to *Syphax*, who seemed to haue the most valliant of all the *Affricane* horse, perswading him to giue him succours, and hee should be a sharer in the Action, knowing that if the *Carthaginians* vanquished, his Principallity would remaine safe and intire. But if the *Romans* preuailed, his life it selfe wilbe in danger, in regard of the ambition of *Massanissa*. Being thus perswaded, hee comes vnto *Hannibal* with about two Thousand Horse.

Hannibal sends to *Tychesis*.

When as *Scipio* had fortified his Fleete at Sea, and left *Bebius* for Lieutenant, he spoiled the Cities, refusing to receiue any that offered themselues willingly, making them slaues, and shewing the indignation which he had conceiued against the Enemies in regard of the faith broken by the *Carthaginians*. Finally, he sends continually to *Massanissa*, letting him vnderstand how the *Carthaginians* had broken the Accords, intreating him to assemble the greatest Army that possibly he could, and to ioyne with him, according vnto their conuentions. *Massanissa* after the conclusion of the Accord, was gone with an Army accompanied with ten Enfignes of *Romans*, aswell Horse as foote, not only to recouer his owne Country, but also to seaze vpon those of *Syphax* with the helpe of the *Romans*. Finally it hapned that the Embassadours sent backe from *Rome* Landed at that time at the maritime Pallisado of the *Romans*, Suddainly *Bebius* sends his men to *Scipio*, and retaines the *Carthaginians*, being sad and supposing to be in wonderfull danger.

Bebius Lieutenant at Sea for *Scipio*.

The *Carthaginian* Embassadours stayed by *Bebius*.

When as they were aduertized of the cruelty of the *Carthaginians* towards the *Roman* Embassadours, they helde not themselues secure from punishment. When as *Scipio* vnderstood what had beene done, that the Senate and people of *Rome* had confirmed the agreement which he had made with the *Carthaginians*, and that they were ready to do that which he aduised them, he was wonderfull glad. Moreouer, he commands *Bebius* to send backe the *Carthaginian* Embassadours to their Houses with all fauour and curtesie: Vsing therein a good aduice (in my opinion) with a wise consideration in what great esteeme his Country held their faith with Embassadors. Hee made his reckoning

ning, that the punishment deserued by the *Carthaginians* did not merit so great a respect, then that which the honour of the *Romans* required to be done. Wherefore refrayning his Choller and indignation, conceiued for the offence of the *Carthaginians*, hee laboured to obserue that which they say in the Prouerbe, *That wee must cleaue vnto the duties of our Elders.* By this meanes he wonne the hearts of all the *Carthaginians*, and surmounted *Hannibal* and their madnesse by his Loyalty.

The *Carthaginians* presse *Hannibal.*

When as the *Carthaginians* saw their Townes forced, they sent to *Hannibal* that hee should delay no longer, but present himselfe vnto the Enemy, and decide their affaires by a battaile. *Hannibal* hearing these things, made answere to those that came vnto him, that hee would consider thereon, and make choise of a fit time, to the end he might not seeme negligent. Some daies after hee raiseth his Campe from *Adrumetum*, and marching he Campes neere vnto *Zama*, which is a Citie fiue daies iourney from *Carthage* towards the West. From thence he sent three Spies, desirous to know where the *Romans* campt, and how they gouerne things which concerne the Scituation of a camp. When these Spies were brought to *Scipio* Generall of the *Romans*, he was so farre from punishing them, as others vsually doe, as contrariwise he gaue charge to a Captaine Milleniere, to shewe them plainely what soeuer was done in the Campe. Which being done, he demaunds, if the Commissary had shewed them all things carefully. The which when they had confest, he sent them backe with Victualls and Guides, commaunding them to relate carefully vnto *Hannibal* what they had seene.

The Clemency of *Scipio*, vnto *Hannibal* spies.

A

B

This Action causing *Hannibal* to wonder at the magnanimity and confidence of the man, he conceiued an humour to parly with *Scipio*. The which when he had resolued, he sent a Trumpet, saying that he desired to Treate with him concerning all their differences. *Scipio* hauing heard this from the Trumpet, consented, saying, that hee would signifie vnto him the place and the howre, when and where he would parly. These things being heard by the Trumpet he returnes vnto his Campe. The day following *Massanissa* arriues with sixe Thousand foote, and almost as many Horse: Whom when as *Scipio* had intertained courteously, and shewed him great signes of fauour, for that hee had made all those subiect which had formerly obeyed *Syphax*, hee foorth-with raiseth his Campe: And when hee came vnto the City of *Margara*, and had found a commodious place, and had appointed the watring within a Bows shot, hee planted his Campe there: And from thence he gaue notice (by certaine conuenient Messengers) vnto the Chiefe of the *Carthaginians*, that hee was ready to parly about their differences.

C

The comming of *Massanissa* to *Scipio's* Camp.

D

The which *Hannibal* hearing, he presently marcheth with his camp, and approaches so neere, as he was within thirty furlongs of the *Romans:* Sitting downe vpon a certaine Hill, which besides the Watring, was for all other things commodious and sufficient enough: In trueth it was something farre, and therefore troublesome vnto the Souldiers.

The

The day following the two Commanders, accompanied with ſome few Horſe-men goe out of their Camps, and againe they ſeparate themſelues from their Companies, meeting alone in an indifferent place with an Interpreter. *Hannibal* began firſt in theſe termes. I wiſh ſayd hee, the *Romans* had neuer deſired any thing out of *Italy*, nor the *Carthaginians* out of the limits of *Affricke*: either of them no doubt haue great bounds, and as it were limitted by Nature. And as wee haue made Warre, firſt for the difference of *Sicily*, then againe for *Spaine*: and that finally, Fortune being auerſe againſt vs, our Countrey hath beene in danger, and wee are now in perill: The queſtion is, whether there be any meanes to end this preſent difference after we haue pacified the Gods.

The enterview of *Hannibal* and *Scipio*.

Hannibals Speech to *Scipio*.

A

For my part I am ready, hauing made tryall how inconſtant Fortune is, and how by little and little ſhee inclineth ſometimes to the one, and ſometimes to the other, as if ſhe were gouerned by Children. I am in doubt in regard of thee, as well for thy great youth, as for that all things haue ſucceeded according to thy deſire, as well in *Affricke* as in *Spaine*, hauing neuer yet felt the violence and fury of Fortune, ſo as happily thou doſt giue no credit to my words although they bee true. Yet conſider the condition of theſe things,
B which not onely concerne our Anceſtors, but euen our ſelues. I am that *Hannibal*, who after the Battaile neare vnto *Cannes*, being Lord in a manner of all *Italy*, approached neare vnto *Rome*, and planted my Campe within forty Furlongs, ſtudying what I ſhould doe with you and your Countrey.

Now I come into *Affricke* to thee a *Roman*, to conferre with thee of my ſafety, and of that of the *Carthaginians*. I pray thee conſider this, and grow not proud, but courteouſly conferre of the preſent affaires: that is, that thou wouldſt chooſe of good things the greateſt, and of bad the leaſt. What man of iudgement will make choice of
C the danger which is neare him, if hee obſerue it well? For the which if thou obtaineſt the Victory, thou ſhalt much increaſe thy glory, and that of thy Countrey: whereas if thou beeſt vanquiſhed, thou ſhalt vtterly loſe through thine owne fault all thy pompe and magnificence, and precedent commodity.

But to what end doe I vſe theſe words? To this, that all that for the which wee haue formerly contended, may remaine to the *Romans*, as *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Spaine*, and that the *Carthaginians* in regard thereof may neuer make Warre againſt them. The like alſo to be done
D of the other Ilands which lye betwixt *Italy* and *Affricke*, and let them belong to the *Romans*. I beleeue confidently, that theſe accords and agreements will hereafter bring ſafety to the *Carthaginians*, and to thee and the *Romans* great glory and honour. Thus much ſpake *Hannibal*.

Scipio anſwering to theſe things, the *Romans* ſayd, they haue not beene the Authors, but the *Carthaginians*, of the Warre which hath paſt for *Sicily*, nor of that of *Spaine*: whereof they muſt know that *Hannibal* had beene the chiefe Author, and that the Gods

Scipio's anſwer to *Hannibal*.

are witneſſes, whom I pray to impart the vertue, not to thoſe which are the Authors of out-rages, but to thoſe that defend themſelues. Yet I conſider what the Nature of Fortune is, and with all my power haue ſearcht into humane affaires. If before the *Romans* paſſage into *Affricke*, and that parting out of *Italy* thou hadſt propounded theſe accords, I am of Opinion thou hadſt not beene fruſtrated of thy hope. But now thou haſt abandoned *Italy* againſt thy will, and that being in *Affricke*, we haue held our Campe in the open Plaine, it is manifeſt that matters are much changed. Withall (which is a great matter) A we are come hither, thy Citizens being partly vanquiſhed, and ſuing for a peace, we haue paſt in writing the accords that were ſworne, in the which (beſides that which thou now propoundeſt) theſe Articles were comprehended: that the *Carthaginians* ſhould haue no couered veſſels, that they ſhould pay three Millions of Gold, reſtore the Captiues without Ranſome, and giue hoſtages. Theſe were the accords which paſt betwixt vs: for the which wee and they came to the Senate and to our people. Wee haue proteſted that that theſe accords thus reduced to Writing ſeemed good vnto vs: The *Carthaginians* intreated that they might enioy the ſaid agreements: The Senate obeyed, and the people in like manner gaue their conſent B thereunto.

Articles comprehended in the Accords paſt betwixt *Scipio* and the *Carthaginians*.

The *Carthaginians* after they had obtained what they had demanded, haue tranſgreſſed and broken the accords. What remaines now to be done? Be thou in my place and iudge. Shall wee take the grieuances out of the conditions, to the end you may ſuffer no puniſhments for the tranſgreſſion, and that you may be taught hereafter to preuaricate againſt your benefactors? Or elſe hauing obtained that which you demaund you ſhould not be bound vnto vs? But what? When thy people now in ſuing had obtained their requeſt, they preſently intreated vs as Enemies, after they had conceiued ſome C little hope of thee. If the burthens had beene too heauy, they might haue required an abatement from the people: and if they had remitted any Articles of the accord, the Senate doubtleſſe would haue made no long delay. But to what end tend our words? Submit your ſelues and your Country to our protection, or vanquiſh fighting. *Hannibal* and *Scipio* hauing diſcourſed after this manner, being of contrary opinions retire.

The day following at Sunne-riſing, they put their Armies into Battaile, whereof the *Carthaginians* were to fight for their ſafety and for *Affricke*, and the *Romans* for the vniuerſall Empire. What is hee D who conſidering theſe things can without compaſſion heare the relation? No man ſhall euer finde more warlike Armies, nor more fortunate Commanders, nor more excellent Wreſtlers in the Stratagems of Warre, nor greater rewards propounded vnto them by Fortune. For they which ſhould obtaine the Victory, ſhould not onely bee Lords of *Affricke* and *Aſia*, but alſo of all the other parts of the World which are at this time mentioned in Hiſtories: the which ſoone after ſucceeded. *Scipio* put his Army in Battaile after this manner.

First

Firſt he ordred thoſe that were lightly armed by certaine ſpaces : after whom he placed the Bands of the Principals, and not according to the ſpaces of the firſt Enſignes, as the *Romans* had beene accuſtomed, but diſtant one from another, in regard of the multitude of the Enemies Elephants : and vpon the Reare hee appoints the Triarij. As for the Wings, hee gaue charge of the left to *Caius Lelyus* with the *Italian* Horſe-men : and the right to *Maſſaniſſa* with all the *Numidians* that were vnder his charge. Finally, hee fill'd the ſpaces of the firſt Enſignes with forked Iauelings : to whom he commanded to begin the Skirmiſh : and if they were repuls'd and forc'd to giue backe by the violence of the Elephants, that they which ſhould bee ſeparated, ſhould retire by the ſtraight ſpaces to the Reare of the Army : and they which ſhould be enuironed, ſhould retire to the Enſignes by the croſſe ſpaces. The order of *Scipio's* Battaile.

A

Theſe things being thus ordred, he makes an Oration in few words to his Army, and yet proper for the euent of the affaires. He intreats them to remember their precedent Battailes, and to behaue themſelues like braue men, worthy of the *Roman* Name, ſetting before their eyes, that hauing the Victory they ſhould not onely be Lords of all *Affricke*, but moreouer they ſhould purchaſe the Empire and gouernment of the reſt of the World. If the fortune of the Warre ſucceeded otherwiſe, thee which dyed fighting valiantly, ſhould haue an honourable graue, hauing died for their Countrey : whereas they that ſhould turne head, ſhould liue the remainder of their daies in great ignominy and miſery, for there is no place in *Africke* that can ſhelter them in theire flight, finally if they fall into the *Carthaginians* hands, they which haue any iudgement vnderſtand well what the euent will bee : and God forbid that any of you ſhould make triall of it, when as fortune propounds vnto vs great rewards of euery ſide, ſhall wee not bee the moſt ſimple Idiotts in the world, if when of good things they preſent the beſt vnto vs, wee chooſe with a deſire of life the worſt of bad? wherefore in propounding theſe two, either to vanquiſh or dye, hee incourageth them to march againſt the enemy, for being in this humour, they muſt with a diſpaire of life, alwayes vanquiſh their enemies in making head. *Scipio* inflamed the hearts of his Souldiers after this manner. *Scipio's* Speech to his Army.

B

C

In regard of *Hannibal*, hee placed his Elephants before the whole Army, being aboue foure ſcore : and then about twelue thouſand Mercenaries, which were *Geneuois*, *Maiorquins*, *Minorquins*, and *Maurſiens* : After which hee placed the Inhabitants of *Affricke* and the *Carthaginians*. After all which hee orders thoſe which hee had brought out of *Italy*, and ſeparates them from the reſt aboue a Furlong. Hee fortified the Wings with Horſe-men, ordring the *Numidians* on the right, and the *Carthaginians* on the left. Hee commanded euery Leader to encourage his Souldiers, to the end they might put their truſt in him, and the Troupes which hee had brought out of *Italy*. Hee likewiſe commands the *Carthaginian* Captaines to acquaint their men with the miſeries which would befall The order of *Hannibal* his Battaile.

D

befall their Wiues and Children, if this Battaile ſucceeded otherwiſe then they deſired. The which they effected. *Hannibal* likewiſe came to them which hee had brought with him, and intreates them with a long ſpeech to remember their mutuall and common life, for the ſpace of ſeuenteene Yeares: That they ſhould thinke of the many Battailes which they had fought with the *Romans*, in the which they had beene alwayes Victors, and had neuer left them any hope of Victory. But hee intreated them chiefly, that amidſt the encounter they ſhould ſet before their eyes the infinite prerogatiues: Namely, the Battaile which they gained, fighting againſt the Father of this preſent *Roman* Commander, neare vnto *Trebia*: Then that which was againſt *Flaminius*: and alſo towards *Cannes* againſt *Emilius*: the which hee ſayd, were neither for the number and multitude of men, nor according vnto their forces worthy to bee compared to the preſent danger. A

When he had vſed this Speech, hee commands them to looke vpon the Enemies in Battaile, telling them that they were not onely fewer in number, but they were ſcarce the leaſt part of thoſe which then fought againſt them, and that they could not compare with them in forces. And as the others were before inuincible, they had fought cheerefully and ſtoutly, and that of theſe ſome were the Children of men, and the others the Reliques of ſuch as had beene often defeated in *Italy*, and had ſo many times ſhewed them their heeles. Wherefore he was of aduice that they ſhould not doe any thing to the preiudice of their glory and fame, nor of their Commander: But in fighting couragiouſly, confirme the opinion which was conceiued of them to be inuincible. Behold the Speeches or ſuch like which they held vnto their Armies. When as all things neceſſary were ready for the Combat, and that the *Numidian* Horſe-men had skirmiſhed long: *Hannibal* commanded thoſe which were mounted vpon the Elephants to charge the Enemy. B

The beginning of the Battaile by the Elephants.

C

But when the Trumpets and Clairons ſounded, ſome of them being amazed, turn'd head, and went violently againſt the *Numidians*, which were come to ſuccour the *Carthaginians*. Finally, the left Wing of the *Carthaginians* was left bare by *Maſſaniſſa's* Company. The reſt of the Elephants fighting with the Iauelings in the midſt of the Battalions, without doubt endured much, ſo likewiſe they annoyed the Enemies: vntill that being amazed, ſome going forth by the ſpaces were taken, as the Generall had giuen order: Others flying on the right hand, and wounded by the Horſe-men, paſſe in the end the place of the Battaile. And when the Elephants were thus diſmayed, *Lelyus* charging the *Carthaginian* Horſe-men, repulſeth them in ſuch ſort, as they ſoone turned head, the Chaſe being purſued by him. D

The like did *Maſſaniſſa*. Whileſt theſe things are in action, the two Battalions come to fight with a ſlow pace, and wonderfull great courage, except thoſe which were come out of *Italy*, who budge not out of their place. When they came to affront one another,

The ſtrength of the Battaile.

another, the *Romans* crying after their Countrey manner, and making their Targets sound with their Swords, fought with their Enemies. The Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians* cast forth diuers confused cries, for it was not the same sound, nor the same voyce; but diuers languages: for they were men drawne from diuers Countries. And when as this Battaile was fought with great courage, and man to man, for that the Combattants could not helpe themselues with their launces nor Swords, the Mercenaries fought in the beginning with great courage and dexterity, and wounded many *Romans*. The *Romans* also trusting in their good order and Armes, laboured much to
A goe on.

And when as they which were in the Reare of the *Romans*, gaue courage to the first in following them, and the *Carthaginians* not comming on to succour their Souldiers, but staying behinde basely and for want of courage, the *Barbarians* declined. Wherefore when they saw themselues abandoned by their Companions, in retiring they fell vpon those which stood still and slew them: the which forced many *Carthaginians* to dye valiantly. For when they were slaine by the Mercenaries, they fought boldly as well against their owne men as against the *Romans*: In which combat (as they fought after a
B horrible manner like furious men) they made no lesse slaughter of their owne then of the Enemies. By this meanes they fell confusedly vpon the Troups that were lightly armed. The Captaines of the Principals seeing this accident, charg'd their Battalions. The greatest part of the *Carthaginians* and Mercenaries were slaine, aswell by them as by those that were lightly armed.

In regard of such as escaped and fled, *Hannibal* would not suffer them to mingle with the Battalions, commanding their Captaines to ranke them before, and forbidding moreouer to receiue such as approacht: wherefore they were forced to retire vpon the Wings, and without
C them. But for that the place betwixt the two Armies was full of bloud and dead bodies, this put the *Carthaginian* Generall into great difficulty, and was a great let for him to charge againe. For the instability of the dead which were bloudy and falne vpon heapes, with the confusion of Armes which were fallen among the dead, they were to haue a troublesome passage which marcht in Battaile. Yet the wounded being carried backe, and a retreate being sounded by the Trumpets which followed those that were lightly armed, hee puts his men before the fight in the midst of the Enemy: In regard
D of the Principals and Triarij, hee giues order that being closely ioyn'd, they should march crosse the dead bodies vpon the two Wings.

When they were equall with those that were lightly armed, the Battalions charged one another with great violence and courage. It happened that for the multitude, courage, and equall Armes of either side, the Combat was long doubtfull. They that were slaine, dyed euery man in his Ranke with a braue emulation, vntill that *Massanissa* and *Lelyus* returning from the chase of the Horse-men, had by

The great fury of the fight.

good fortune rallied their men together: with whom charging vpon the Reare of those which were with *Hannibal*, a great number of them were defeated in Battaile, and few of them escaped which fled: For the Horsemen were dispersed of all sides, and the Countrey was plaine and Champion. There died aboue fifteene hundred *Romans*, and twenty thousand *Carthaginians*: The Prisoners were not much lesse. This Battaile in the which they fought for the Empire, and which by the sayd Commanders was iudged the vniuersall victory to the *Romans*, had this end. And when as after the fight, *Scipio* pursuing the *Carthaginians*, had ouerthrowne their Pallisadoe, hee returned to his Campe. *Hannibal* recouered *Adrumetum*, still running with A some few Horses. Hee had done his duty in this Battaile, not omitting that which was requisite for a good an expert Captaine.

The victory of the *Romans* against the *Carthaginians*.

Hannibal flies to *Adrumetum*.

For first he laboured to diuert the eminent danger by a parley with *Scipio*. It is the duty of a man which doth not wholy relye vpon valour, but distrusting Fortune, to fore-see things which contrary to all opinions doe vsually happen in a Battaile. And afterwards comming to the Combat, he so carried himselfe, as the Battaile could not be better ordred against the *Romans* by him that shall vse the like Armes, then *Hannibal* had then disposed it. For when the Army and order of the *Romans* was diuided, it fell out that all of them might fight together, B or by Troups against any open attempt, by a certaine order of the Battalion: for that alwayes two Ensignes were ioyned neare together when it was needfull, and that moreouer their Armes serued the Souldiers for a couering and assurance, considering the greatnesse of their Targets, and the firmnesse of their Swords to strike, so as for these reasons it seemed a difficult thing to defeate them. Yet *Hannibal* gaue so good order for all these things, as he shewed his industry. For he had suddainly prepared this multitude of Elephants, and placed them before his Battalions, to the end they might breake the Enemies Rankes. Secondly, he ordred the Mercenaries in Front, after which he caused the C *Carthaginians* to march, to the end they might tire the bodies of the Enemies, and make the vigour of their Armes vnprofitable, by reason of the number of the Dead, and that withall hee should force the *Carthaginians*, (as placed in the midst) to stand in Battaile, and to fight vntill that forced by necessity he should come to combat. In regard of the valiant men, hee mingled them by spaces: fore-seeing that which doth vsually happen, to the end that remaining vndanted both in body and courage, he might make vse of their forces at need. He deserues pardon in this, that hauing omitted nothing that might serue to vanquish, yet he hath beene frustrated, seeing that before hee had D beene inuincible. It happens sometimes that some actions resist the attempts of good men: and sometimes it happens that a good man is preuented of his desire by him that is better: the which may then be sayd to haue happened by *Hannibal*.

Hannibal vanquished by fortune.

It is true, that when as things which exceed the common custome and manner of liuing of some, perish of themselues for the greatnesse of the accidents, they deserue commiseration with those that are present and heare

A defect of the Text.

heare it: The vnvsuall nouelty of things mooue vs. But if that such an accident happens by deceite and Hypocrisie it mooues none to pitty, but to Choller and Hatred: The which then happened to the *Carthaginian* Embassadors.

Scipio beginning in few words, let them vnderstand that hee was not to shew them any courtesie or fauour, seeing they confest they had begunne the Warre against the *Romans*, and against the conuentions had spoil'd the City of the *Zachanthens*, and first Transgressed the Accords, Oathes, and Agreements reduced to Writing: And yet the *Romans* haue resolued to shewe them grace, and (in regard of Fortune and humane aduentures,) to vse Clemency and Magnanimity in their present Affaires. The which should be manifest vnto them, if they consider what was offered. Finally they must not take it ill if for the present they imposed vpon them things, which they must doe, or suffer, or deliuer: But they should wonder and hold it strange, if they obtaine any mercy: Seeing that Fortune dis-fauouring them for their iniustice, had (in denying mercy and pardon) made them subiect vnto their Enemies.

Zachantia spoiled by the *Carthaginians*.

This Speech being ended, hee promised them Clemency and Fauour: Teaching them withall what they were to indure: The which is comprehended in these Articles. That they should leaue vnto the *Carthaginians* the Cities which they had in *Affricke* before this last Warre attempted against the *Romans*, and the Countries which anciently they held, and finally their Cattle, Bodies, and other Wealth. Moreouer it was granted them, that from that day they might liue free without any let or hinderance of their Lawes and Customes. This was that which was granted them of grace. Againe they added these contrary Articles: That the *Carthaginians* should make restitution, of the vniust spoiles which they had committed against the *Romans* during the Truce: That they should restore all the Captiues and Fugitiues, which they had had during the Warre: They should deliuer all their long Vessels except ten Gallies: And in like manner the Elephants: not to attempt to make any Warre out of *Affricke*, nor in *Affricke* it selfe without the consent of the *Romans*: To restore vnto King *Massanissa*, the Houses, fields, Cities, and whatsoeuer had belonged to him or his Predecessors, within the limits that should be set downe: That they should nourish the Army for three moneths, and pay them vntill the answere were returned from *Rome*: And according vnto the Accord pay sixe Millions of Gold, within fifty Yeares, after the rate of sixscore thousand Crownes yearely: That they should giue in Hostage for the assurance of their faith, a hundred yong men, as the Commaunder should appoint, which should not be vnder the Age of foureteene Yeares, nor aboue thirty.

The Articles of Accord, propounded by *Scipio* to the *Carthaginians*.

The Roman Generall propounded these things vnto the *Carthaginian* Embassadors, who made hast to make their Report. They say, that when as a certaine Senator, laboured to contradict the said Articles in the Senate, *Hannibal* stepping foorth drew him out of his Seate: And when as the rest were discontented, for that hee had done against the Custome

Hanibal forceth a Citizen.

Cuſtome of the City: *Hannibal* ſteppes vp againe and ſaith, (as it is reported) that if he had committed any thing againſt their Cuſtome and courſe of liuing, he was to be pardoned: For they knew well that being a young Boy of nine yeares of age, he had gone out of the Country, and returned againe at the age of fiue and forty: For this cauſe he intreated them that they would not haue any regard to that, wherein he had tranſgreſt their Cuſtome, conſidering rather that if he ſuffered for the affaires of the Country: It was for them he had fallen into this tranſgreſſion. Finally that it ſeemed wonderfull and ſtrange to him, if any *Carthaginian* knowing what Councell had beene taken againſt the *Romans*, aſwell for the publicke as priuate good, did not adore Fortune: Seeing that now being made ſubiect vnto them, they had purchaſed ſuch grace and fauour: Whereof if any one would haue put the Country in Hope, ſome daies before the *Romans* had the Victory, hee would not haue beene able to ſpeake for the greatneſſe and exceſſe of the apparent miſeries, A

Wherefore he intreated them againe, not to do any thing ſlowly, nor by Diſcourſe: And that conſenting all with one voice to the Articles of the peace, they ſhould Sacrifice vnto the Gods, and pray that the people of *Rome* might confirme them. When it ſeemed that hee had giuen wiſe aduice, and fit for the time, it was concluded to accept the Accord preſcribed, and to paſſe it with the *Romans*. Wherefore they ſuddainly ſent away the ſame men in Embaſſie which had contradicted the Articles. B

C

A Parcell of the Deedes and Poſterity of *Ptolomy*.

FInally who will not wonder, that *Ptolomy* had not prouided to giue aide to theſe men during his life, ſeeing there were ſome which were ready to ſuccour them? But when Death ſurpriz'd him, hee left a young Infant, to whom by right of nature, he had indeauoured, as they ſay, with both hands to preſerue him the Crowne: Then encouraging one another, they make haſt to practiſe a Villany, and to murther this Infant, and to diuide his principallity among them. The which they do not after the manner of Tyrants, who pretend ſome colour for their infamy: But carry themſelues afterwards ſo impudently and brutiſhly, as that which they ſpeake of the life of Fiſhes is due vnto them. Of whom they ſay, that although they be of one kind, yet the deſeate of D

the

the ſmaller feeds and entertaines the life of the greater. Wherefore who will not thinke to ſee a great execration againſt the Gods, and a cruelty towards men, and likewiſe a great auarice of the ſaid Kings, ſeeing this paction and agreement as in a glaſſe? What is hee who for theſe cauſes hauing accuſed Fortune in humane affaires, doth not likewiſe conſider that ſhee hath ſince made them to ſuffer worthy puniſhments, and left to poſterity a good example for the amendment of their courſe of liuing, as hauing propounded vnto theſe Kings ſuch an ignominious puniſhment? For when they had tranſgreſt the agreements among themſelues, and diuided the Infants Principality, all things did iuſtly proue hurtfull and oppoſite vnto them, which they had wickedly reſolued againſt their Kinsfolkes and Neighbours, by the bringing in of the *Romans*: for that the one and the other being ſuddainly vanquiſhed, they were not onely forced to abate their couetouſneſſe of another mans goods: but being made ſubiect to tributes, they were conſtrained to obey the Commandments of the *Romans*. Finally, Fortune hath in a ſhort time diſpoſed of the Reigne of *Ptolomy*, making the Potentates of the others, and their ſucceſſours, ſome of them to bee baniſhed and miſerable, involuing ſome in a manner in the like Diſaſters.

Of *Philip* of *Macedony*.

THe *Cianeins* fell in theſe miſeries not ſo much through Fortune, and the iniuſtice of their Neighbours, as by their owne raſhneſſe and the bad gouernment of their Common weale, where moſt commonly the worſt were in eſteeme, and good men put to death for the ſpoiles of their Wealth, and by this meanes they are in a manner willingly fallen into theſe misfortunes, whereunto all men incline, I know not how apparently, yet they cannot reſolue vpon any aduice, nor ſuddainly diſtruſt: which ſome bruite Beaſts doe. For if ſometimes they enter into Iealouſie of Baites and Nets, if they haue ſeene any other periſh, you ſhall hardly draw them to doe the like, holding the place for ſuſpect, with a diſtruſt of all things which haue any reſemblance. In regard of men, when they heare ſome ſpeake, and ſee others periſh in like manner: Yet ſuddainly when any one vſing gracious words, hath propounding a mutuall hope of correction, they run without any regard into the toiles, knowing certainly that neuer any man which had ſwallowed this kind of baite had eſcaped, ſuch policies being an aſſured deſeate to all men. A good compariſon.

When

When as *Philip* had reduced the City vnder his obedience, he reioyced as if he had brought ſome braue and honourable action to an end. And when hee had ſpeedily giuen Succours to his Allies, and had terrified all thoſe which eſtranged themſelues from him, and had claymed abundance of goods and bodies vnder the colour of Iuſtice, hee neuer thought of thoſe things that were contrary, although they were manifeſt: giuing at the firſt Succours to the Allie, who had not beene wrong'd, and yet had broken the confederations with his Neighbours. And as finally he had confirmed the bruite of his cruelty towards his Friends, afflicting the Cities of *Greece* with great miſeries, he had iuſtly purchaſed the generall eſteeme of a cruell man withall the *Grecians*. A

Embaſſadours wronged by *Philip*.

Thirdly, he wronged & reuiled the Embaſſadors of the ſaid Cities, who were come to free the *Cianeins* from that eminent danger: And being called by him, and conferring daily with him, they were preſent at things which he deſired not.

Moreouer, he incenſed the *Rhodiens* againſt him: ſo as they could not endure to heare any mention of him. Finally, Fortune therein fauours him openly. His Embaſſadour made an Oration vpon the Theater againſt the *Rhodiens*, commending the magnificence of *Philip*, who when he had by ſome meanes got poſſeſſion of the City, he had B done that grace vnto the people. This he did to reprehend the ſuſpicion and detraction of thoſe which reſiſted him, and to manifeſt his reſolution to the City. There came alſo ſome one from the Port vnto the Magiſtrate, aduertiſing him of the ruine of the *Cianeins*, and of the cruelty which *Philip* practiſed againſt them: So as when the Gouernour entring in the midſt of the Embaſſadours Oration, ſpeaking the ſaid things, and declared the newes, the *Rhodiens* could not beleeue for the exceſſe of the fact.

Philip hauing then preuaricated and diſſembled, not ſo much againſt the *Cianeins* as againſt himſelfe, began to be ſo tranſported and to ſtray C from his duty, as hee gloried and brag'd in his actions as good, for the which hee ſhould haue beene aſhamed. The *Rhodiens* from that day held *Philip* for an enemy, and prepared to that end. The *Etoliens* alſo conceiued a hatred againſt him for the ſame fact. When as lately being reconciled, he had giuen forces to that Nation, there being then no cauſe of hatred nor ſpleene, (when as a little before the *Etoliens*, the *Lyſimacheins*, *Calſidoniens*, and *Cianeins* were made Friends) hee hath in aſſailing firſt the *Lyſimacheins*, diſtracted their City from the Alliance of the *Etoliens*: ſpoiling thoſe of the *Calſidoniens*, and thirdly the *Cianeins*, whileſt that the Chiefe of the *Etoliens* was reſident in the ſt City, hauing the ſuperintendency of the pub- D licke affaires.

The *Rhodiens* declared Enemies to *Philip*.

Finally *Prucias* reioyced for that which had hapned beyond his deſires: But he was diſcontented that another ſhould reape the reward for the taking of the Citie, and that there was fallen vnto him a deſolate place naked of buildings, ſo as hee could not effect any thing. After he had aſſembled the greateſt men of the *Macedonians*, he came to them with the King and *Agathoclia*, faining in the beginning that hee was not

not able to ſpeake for teares: And when he had wiped them often with his cloake, and cauſed them to ceaſe, take faith he, carrying an infant, this which the dying Father hath deliuered into the armes of this Creature (ſhewing his ſiſter) and hath left it vnto vs vpon our faith, do you vnderſtand my maſters of the *Athenians*? The loue of this infant is of ſmall moment to procure his ſafetie, where as now the cauſe is in you and your hands. *Tlepoleme* in truth hath for a long time (as it is manifeſt to thoſe which conſider well of things) had greater deſires then were fitting, and hath now reſolued on the day and time when he will
A vſurpe the Towne. For this cauſe hee intreated that they would not beliene him, but thoſe which being preſent knew ſufficiently the Truth.

This Speech being ended, he brings in *Critolaus*, who ſaid he had ſeene the Altars and Sacrifices, prepared by the multitude, for the vſurpation of the Crowne. The which the *Macedonians* hearing, they were neither mooued with pittie, nor had any reſpect vnto that which was ſpoken. But in mocking and murmuring they ieſted among themſelues, ſo as *Pruſias* knew not how he got out of the Aſſembly; the which hapned in other Aſſemblies of the people. In the meane time many of the old Souldiers arriued by Sea, whereof ſome being kinſ-
B men and other friends, they intreated them to aſſiſt them in this preſent buſineſſe, and that they ſhould haue regard to the iniuries which had beene done them by diſhoneſt and vnworthy men. Moſt of them were incenſed to put the great men to death: for that they preſumed that what ſhould happen would be vnto their preiudice: Seeing that *Tlepoleme* tooke all things neceſſary that were ſent to *Alexandria*. Finally, it was an aduancement to *Agathocles* to incenſe the Choller of many, and of *Tlepoleme*.

They had put *Danae* his Mother in Law into cuſtodie, being pull'd from the Temple of *Ceres*, and drawne thorough the Citty bare-hea- *Danae* a pri-
C ded, ſeeking by this meanes to ſhewe their hatred againſt *Tlepome*. ſoner.
Wherefore the people being incenſed ſpake no more in ſecret: For ſome in the night wrote their conceiued hatred in all places. Others in the open day going in Troupes, deliuered the hatred which they bare vnto the greateſt. They which were with *Agathocles*, ſeeing the affaires, and hauing little hope in them, they thought of their retreate. But when as through their indiſcretion they were ill prouided, they deſiſted from their Enterprize, and made a Regiſter of the Conſpirators and of their Adherents in this commotion, to the end they might
D ſuddainly kill ſome of their Enemies, and ſeaze vpon others, and by this meanes vſurpe a Tyrannicall power.

And as they practized theſe things, they accuſed *Mæragena* one of *Tlepolemes* guards, for that he aduertized all, and held his party in regard of the familiaritie of *Adee*, Gouernour at that time of *Bubaſte*, *Agathocles* ſuddainly giues charge to the Secretary *Nicoſtrates*, that he ſhould informe dilligently of *Mæragena*, with all manner of torments. *Mæragena* being ſuddainly taken by *Nicoſtrates*, and led into a certaine ſecret place of the Hall, he anſwered at the firſt well, concerning the

accidents

accidents which had happened: But when hee confeſt nothing of the things which were ſpoken, he was ſtript. Some prepared the inſtruments to Torture him, others holding Whips put off their Cloaks. At the ſame inſtant one comes running to *Nicoſtrates*, and after hee had whiſpered in his eare, he parts in haſt. *Nicoſtrates* followes him ſuddainly without ſpeaking word, beating continually vpon his thigh. This was an vnhoped accident for *Mæragena*. For ſome held the Whips, but they had no Commandment to whip him, others had the inſtruments ready to torture his feet.

When as *Nicoſtrates* was gone, they were all amazed, and looking one vpon another expected when he would returne. Soone after the aſſiſtants vaniſhed one after one, and in the end *Mægarena* was abandoned. This done, he paſſeth the Hall contrary to all Hope, and being naked ſlipt into a certaine Tent of the *Macedonians* neere vnto the Hall. When by good fortune he had found the greateſt there aſſembled, hee acquaints them with his diſaſter, and how he had eſcaped, as it were, by miracle. Some of them did not belieue him, others ſeeing him naked were forced to giue credite. *Mæragena* intreates them with teares, not onely to haue a care of his ſafety, but alſo of the Kings and their owne: And that their Death was manifeſt, if they did not make vſe of the occaſion, for that all the World was inflamed with Hatred, and there was not any man but was ready to put *Agathocles* to Death, ſaying that this Hatred increaſed Hourely, and that they muſt haue men to execute this Enterprize.

Mæragena ſaues himſelfe naked.

The *Macedonians* hearing this Speech were incenſed, and in the end obeying to *Mæragena*: They ſuddainly enter into the firſt Tents of the *Macedonians*, and then into thoſe of the other Souldiers. They were ioyning and neere to the ſide of the Citie. When as many of them tooke vpon them the Charge, and that there was no need of any thing but of ſome one, to giue courage to them that came, and who ſhould firſt execute the Enterprize, this attempt kindled like a flame. There were ſcarce foure houres ſpent, but that all men aſwell Souldiers as Citizens, conſpired to aſſaile *Agathocles*. There was a accident which hapned ſuddainly, which ſerued well to end this attempt. For when they had brought Letters to *Agathocles*, and that the Spies were returned, and the Letters ſent by *Tlepoleme*, ſignified vnto the Army that he would be ſoone there, being likewiſe aſſured by the Spies that hee was neere, he fell into ſo great a tranſport in his iudgement, as hee neither did nor thought of any remedy againſt the eminent dangers, but following his accuſtomed courſe, hee went to drinke and banquet with others.

A B C D

And when *Oenanthe* was ſad and ſorrowfull, ſhee goes vnto *Ceres* Temple. Where (when it was opened for a certaine Annuall Sacrifice) ſhe prayes humbly, then ſhe vſeth Enchauntments towards the Goddeſſes, finally ſhee ſtayes at the Altar and reſts there. Many Women were ſilent and obſerued her heauineſſe and affliction. The kinſfolkes of *Polycrates*, and ſome other Noble men comforted her, and being ignorant of the approaching miſery. She on the other ſide crying out with

Oenanthe ſad.

with a loud voice, *Come not neare me you Beaſts* : I know well you are ill affected towards vs, and that you require the Gods to ſend vs ſome ill Fortune : But I hope that with their good pleaſure you ſhall taſte of your owne Children. Hauing ended this Speech, ſhee commands the Executioner to ſuppreſſe them, and if they did not obey, to beate them. Taking this occaſion they all depart, and in lifting vp their hands towards the Gods, they prayed that ſhee might make tryall of that which ſhee had wiſht to the Company.

But when the men had concluded the reuolte, and that in euery
A houſe the fury of the Women was added thereunto, their hatred grew double. When as the darkeneſſe of the Night was come, the whole City was fill'd with Mutiny, lights, and running vp and downe. Some aſſembled at the Theater with cries, others encouraged one another, and ſome ran to hide themſelues in houſes, and places that were not ſuſpected. And when the ſpacious places about the Hall; the place for running of Horſes, and the Court about *Dyoniſius* Theater, were fill'd with a multitude of all ſorts of men. *Agathocles* hearing this, riſeth vp being drunke, after that hee had emptied his gorge, and came vnto the King after hee had taken all his Kinſmen except *Philon*. A mutiny of the people.

B After hee had vſed ſome Speech mouing to compaſſion, hee takes him by the hand, and leads him to the Armory of Iauelings, ſeated betwixt the top and the wreſtling place, and which bends by the way of the Theater : And after hee had opened two Doores, hee came to the third, accompanied with two or three of the Guard and his Kinſmen. Theſe Doores were tranſparent and ſhut with double Barres. And when at that time all the Commons of the City were there aſſembled, ſo as not onely the places were full of men, but alſo the paſſages and tops of houſes, there grew a confuſed cry and howling of Women and Children, with the men in this Mutiny, as
C well of them of *Chalcedonia*, as of *Alexandria* mingled together. At Sun-riſing the cry was confuſed : yet the chiefe ſound was, that they called for the King.

The *Macedonians* riſing firſt, ſeaze vpon the Ports of the Kings Treaſure. But when they vnderſtood in what part of the Pallace the King was, turning to the firſt Doores of the firſt Armory, they beate them downe. And when they were come vnto the ſecond, they demand the Infant with a great cry. *Agathocles* ſeeing what would befall him, intreates the Guard to intercede for him to the *Macedonians*, letting them vnderſtand, that hee would relinquiſh the go-
D uernment of the Infant, with his power and dignity, and moreouer all the gouernment : intreating them to bee ſo fauourable vnto him, as to ſaue his life, affoording him neceſſary Victuals and the like, returning vnto his ancient and former courſe of life, and that hee would not (nay he could not) offer offence or wrong vnto any man whatſoeuer.

None of the Guards pittying him in his diſtreſſe, would obey him, onely *Ariſtomenes* vndertooke the charge, who was afterwards

wards Gouernour of the publicke affaires. He was an *Acarnanian*, and as he was aduanced in yeares, hauing the ſuperintendency of the affaires, hee was held a good Gouernour to the King and royall Pallace : And in the meane time he had reſpect to the proſperity of *Agathocles* : for he was the firſt who calling vnto him *Agathocles*, hee alone had a Crowne of Gold by all the aſſiſtants : the which they vſually doe onely to Kings. Finally, hee was the firſt that durſt carry a Ring with *Agathocles* Image. And when hee had a Daughter by his Wife, hee called her *Agathoclea*. But we haue ſpoken ſufficiently of this Subiect. A

Hee therefore hauing taken charge of *Agathocles* commandment, and going forth at a Poſterne, he came vnto the *Macedonians*. When he had vſed ſome little ſpeech, and declared the Will of *Agathocles*, the *Macedonians* ſought to kill him : and when as many put forth their hands to defend him, they enquired the Opinion of the reſt, which being vnderſtood, he returned to *Agathocles*, hauing charge to come backe with the King, or elſe to returne no more. The *Macedonians* hauing giuen this Anſwer, ſent backe *Ariſtomenes*, and aſſailing the ſecond Doore, they vnhang it. Wherefore they which were with *Agathocles*, ſeeing the violence of the *Macedonians*, as well by their actions as by their anſwere, comming firſt to the Doore, lifting vp their ſuppliant hands : *Agathoclea* likewiſe ſhewed the Papps wherewith ſhee ſayd ſhee had giuen the King ſucke, intreating the *Macedonians* with a mournefull and miſerable voice, onely to ſaue her life. And when as by the great lamentations of her Fortune ſhee had preuailed nothing, in the end they draw forth the Infant with his Guards. B

Agathoclea ſhewes her Papps vnto the *Macedonians*.

The *Macedonians* preſently ſet the King on Horſe-backe, and lead him to the Theater. Aſſoone as hee was diſcouered, they ſtay his Horſe with great clamors and ioy, and taking him downe they ſet him in a royall Chaire. In the meane time the Commons partly reioyce, and were partly ſad. They reioyced for the comming of the Infant : againe, they were ſad and grieued for that they which were the Offendors, had not beene taken and puniſhed accordingly. Wherfore crying continually, they required that they might bee brought and exemplarily puniſhed by an ignominious and reproachfull Death, as the Authors of all their miſeries and troubles. But when the Day was farre ſpent, the Mutiny of the people could not be [illegible]fied by any meanes. C

Soſibius the Sonne of *Soſibius*, then Captaine of the Guard, hauing the principall charge of the Kings affaires, ſeeing that the Mutiny of the people could not bee pacified, and the Infant grew ſad through the inſolency and nouelty of the preſent affaires, and the trouble of the Commons, hee demanded of him if hee would not deliuer vnto the people thoſe which had offended againſt him or his Mother. And when hee conſented, hee commanded the Guards to make the Kings will knowne : And then they tooke the Infant in his Chaire, and carryed him to his owne houſe. D

But

But when the Kings pleaſure was divulged and made knowne by the Guards, all the place was full of ioy and exclamations. They which were with *Agathocles* and *Agathoclea*, retired preſently to their houſes. The Guards preſently forced ſome of them, and others were thruſt on by the people, to ſeeke them out and kill them. Whereof the beginning was by an accident.

One of the Guard, and a follower to *Agathocles* named *Phylon*, being yet full with Drinke, came forth into the place. Who when hee ſaw the Mutiny of the people, hee ſayd vnto the aſſiſtants, that if
A euer *Agathocles* came forth againe as hee had done, they would repent it. They which heard him, ſome blamed him, others thruſt him, and when hee offred to defend himſelfe, ſome ſuddainly teare his Cloake, others ſlew him miſerably with their Iauelings. Whileſt they drag'd him about the place yet breathing, and that the Commons had taſted the fury of ſtriking, they expect hourely to haue the reſt brought. *Phylon* ſlaine.

Soone after *Agathocles* was the firſt, beeing bound and mannacled: who going on was ſuddainly thruſt thorough by ſome one, wherein hee performed the part of a Friend, and not of an Enemy. For by this meanes they preuent his worthy puniſhment. They
B brought with him *Nicon* and *Agathoclea* naked with her Siſters, and conſequently all their Parentage: Finally, they drawe *Oenanthe* out of the Temple, and bring her on horſe-backe naked vnto the place: When all theſe were deliuered vnto the Commons, ſome bite them, others pricke them, and ſome pull out their eyes and diſmember them, vntill they were maimed. *Agathocles* ſlaine. *Nicon* and *Agathoclea* ſlaine.

The *Egyptians* are wonderfull cruell in their fury. At the ſame time ſome Virgins which had beene bred vp with *Arcinoe*, hearing *Sirene* crying out that *Philammon Tritee* had beene preſent at the murther of the Queene, they fall vppon his houſe, and kill him with
C Stones and Staues, ſmothering his young Sonne. Finally, they drag his Wife into the place and kill her. This was the end of *Agathocles* and *Agathoclea* with their Kinsfolkes. I am not ignorant what Fables and colours ſome Hiſtoriographers vſe in theſe actions, to amaze the Readers with a copious aduancement of words, and otherwiſe then the truth containes. The *Egyptians* cruell. The cruelty of Virgins.

Some referre this accident to Fortune, ſhewing how inconſtant and inceitable ſhee is: ſeeking to bring Cauſes and Similitudes of actions. It is true that in the purſuite of this Worke I had reſolued to helpe my
D ſelfe with the ſayd actions, for that this *Agathocles* had nothing honourable for his courage and proweſſe in the Warre, neither any happy mannaging of affaires which ought to bee deſired; Neither did hee vnderſtand the cunning and policy of a Courtier, in the which *Soſybius* and many others being very well inſtructed, had vſurped Kingdomes: The which notwithſtanding happened vnto this man. Hee grew great by chance, for that *Philopater* was not able to gouerne the Realme.

Hauing therefore gotten this occaſion to come vnto greatneſſe,

when as after his Death hee had a fit opportunity offred to maintaine his power, yet hee loſt both life and goods faintly and baſely, being ſlaine within a ſhort time. Wherefore it is not fitting, that in the relation of ſuch things they ſhould adde words : eſpecially when they ſpeake of ſuch as *Agathocles* and *Denis Sicilians*, with ſome others, which had beene famous and renowned for their actions. One of them in truth came of a baſe extraction : But as *Tymeus* cauells, *Agathocles* being a Potter, he came in his younger yeares to *Sarragoſſe*. They were eyther of them in their times Tyrants of *Sarragoſſe* : of that City I ſay, which at that time was great in authority, and abounding in riches : And afterwards they were Kings of all *Sicily*, and enioyed ſome parts of *Italy*.

Agathocles and *Denis Sicilians*.

In regard of *Agathocles*, hee died not in aſſailing *Affricke*, but after this manner with a deſire to Reigne. And therefore they ſay of *Publius Scipio*, who firſt forced *Carthage*, that when they demanded of him what men hee held ableſt to vndertake an Enterprize, and of great diſcretion and courage, hee anſwered *Agathocles* and *Denis*.

The ſaying of Scipio.

Wee muſt in truth when the propoſition is made; hold the Reader in ſuſpence and doubt, and relate their fortune and humane accidents, in adding words in manner of Doctrine : In regard of the ſayd things, I am not of Opinion it ſhould bee done. For this cauſe wee reiect in this paſſage the Writers of *Agathocles* with their many words, for that theſe horrible Narrations and fearefull euents, which haue nothing but a conceite worthy to hold the Reader in ſuſpence. Finally, it is not onely vnprofitable to treate of them with a long diſcourſe, but alſo their vehemency in the end brings tediouſneſſe and trouble. There are two ends, namely, profit and pleaſure : whereunto they muſt haue regard which will ruminate any thing either of hearing or ſight.

Two ends in Hiſtories.

And for that profit belongs chiefly to the narration of an Hiſtory, it is moſt neceſſary and conuenient, that this kind of adding of words vnto fearefull accidents, ſhould turne from theſe two ends. What is hee that would willingly follow vnexpected accidents, and without reaſon? No man reioyceth continually, eyther for the ſeeing or hearing of things which are out of Nature and the common ſence of men : But in the beginning wee are excceeding ioyfull and glad to ſee ſome, and to heare others, to the end wee may rightly vnderſtand and know after what manner that is done which ſeemes vnto euery one very ſtrange and impoſſible.

When wee once begin to know them, no man takes any delight or pleaſure to ſtay vpon things which are ſtrange from the courſe of Nature, nor will haue any deſire to fall often vpon the ſame ſubiect. Wherefore the Narration muſt drawe a deſire of imitation where hee may delight. And if they adde words to ſome miſerable accidens beſides theſe ends, they are more fitting for a Tragedy then a Hiſtory.

Peradventure

Peraduenture you muſt pardon thoſe which doe not conſider things which are common to Nature and the World: But they hold the Fortunes of their Anceſtors great and wonderfull, whereon falling by Fortune in Reading or Hearing them from others, they ſettle their affections. Wherefore they know not, that they vſe more ſpeech of ſuch things then is needefull, which are neither new, hauing beene ſpoken formerly by others, neither can they profite nor content.

The remainder is wanting.

A

A PARCELL OF the Sixteenth Booke of

B

the Hiſtory of POLYBIVS.

Of the Battaile giuen at Sea betwixt *Philip* and King *Attalus*.

C

Philip was much troubled, ſeeing many things ſucceede vnfortunately in his ſiege, and withall that the Enemies were in the Hauen with a good number of couered Veſſells, neither could hee well reſolue what to do. And when as the preſent occaſions deprlued him of all meanes of choice, in the end hee weighed Anchor, and ſet Saile contrary vnto the Enemies Hope. For *Attalus* and his Company expected that he ſhould grow obſtinate at the Siege, conſidering the preparation which he had of Engines of Battery. *Philip* made all haſte to ſaile away, imagining that hee might get before them, and make a ſafe retreate vnto *Samos* along the ſhore: Yet hee was deceiued in his conceite. For when as *Attalus* and *Theophiliſcus* ſaw that hee had weighed Anchor, they ſuddainly reſolued and ſet Saile, obſeruing no order, for that they conceiued that *Philip* would haue perſeuered in his Enterprize. Yet they charge him making great ſpeed with their Oares: So as *Attalus* fell vpon the right wing which got before, and *Theophiliſcus* vpon the left.

D

Attalus chargeth *Philips* Army at Sea.

Philip ſeeing himſelfe thus peſtred, and ſuddainly ſurprized, hee gaue

gaue the ſigne of the Battaile to them of the right wing, commanding them to turne their prowes againſt the Enemies, and to charge them reſolutely: Then he retired to the ſmaller Ilands, which were in the mid-way with the lighter Veſſels, expecting the end of the Battaile. The number of Ships of Warre which *Philip* had, were fifty three couer'd Veſſels, with a hundred and fifty Foiſts and Galleyes vncouered. In regard of the Veſſels remaining at *Samos*, hee could not arme them. Thoſe of the Enemies were in number threeſcore Veſſels couered, with thoſe of *Conſtantinople*: with the which there were nine Galliots and three Galleyes. The number of *Philips* ſhips and of his Enemies.

When as *Attalus* Ships began the fight; preſently they that were neare, charge one another without command. *Attalus* fell vpon a Veſſell with eight Oares, cruſhing it in ſuch ſort as it tooke water: and when as they which were vpon the hatches, had defended themſelues long, in the end hee ſunke it. On the other ſide *Philips* Galley of ten Oares, which was the Admirall, was by chance taken by the Enemies: For when as a Galliot ſayl'd againſt it, it bruiſed it much in the midſt of the Bulke, ioyning vnto it behind at the poope, to the which it remain'd grapled, for that the Pylot could not ſtay its violence. So as when this Veſſell ſtucke cloſe vnto her, ſhe was much hindred, neither could they gouerne nor turne her. In the meane time two Quinqueremes charge her, and bruiſing her in two places, ſinke her with the Souldiers. Among the which was *Democrites*, Captaine Generall at Sea for *Philip*. At the ſame inſtant *Dionyſodorus* and *Dynocrates* brethren (who were Commanders of the Army vnder *Attalus*) giuing a charge, found themſelues in great danger in the fight: So as *Dynocrates* gaue charge to a Veſſel with ſeuen Oares, and *Dioniſodorus* to one of eight. *Dynocrates* was broken aboue water, and that of the Enemy vnder the water, yet he could not free himſelfe from them, although hee had often attempted it in ſawing. *Democrates* Captaine Generall to *Philip*, ſunkt.

Wherefore when as the *Macedonians* defended themſelues valiantly, he was in danger to be taken. But for that *Attalus* came to ſuccour him, charging the Enemy, and parting the two ſhips which were grapled, *Dynocrates* ſaued himſelfe by good fortune. In regard of the Enemies, they were all ſlaine fighting valiantly: ſo as the Veſſell being deſtitute of Souldiers, was taken by *Attalus*. And when as *Dioniſodorus* ſayl'd with great ſwiftneſſe to fight, hee could not ouertake any, and paſſing through the Enemies he had the Palliſadoe on the right ſide diſarmed, and the Beames broken which carried the Tower. This happening he was inueſted round by the Enemy with great noiſe and cries. All the Marriners periſht with the Ship, and *Dioniſodorus* ſwum away with two others vnto a Galliot which came to ſuccour him. In regard of the other Veſſels the danger was equall: For as the number of *Philips* Foiſts was greater, ſo was that of *Attalus* in couer'd Veſſels. Finally, the Combat was ſo carried vpon *Philips* right Wing, as the Victory inclined to neither. It is true that *Attalus* was in better hope for the future.

The *Rhodiens* in the beginning of the party ſeparated themſelues

from the Enemies, who hauing a great aduantage by the lightneſſe of their Veſſels, fought againſt the *Macedonians* making the Reare-ward. And when in the beginning they fell to flight, they carried away all their defences, charging them behinde and in poope. But when as *Philips* Veſſels began to turne head altogether, giuing aide to thoſe which were in danger, and that the Reare of the *Rhodiens* were ioyned to *Theophiliſcus*: then they charged with great fury, encouraging one another with great ſhouts and Trumpets. And if the *Macedonians* had not mingled their Foiſts among their couered Veſſels, the Battaile had beene ſoone decided: for they tooke from the *Rhodien* ſhips all A commodity in diuers ſorts: For that when as by either ſide the order was broke, they were all mingled. Wherefore they could not eaſily enlarge themſelues, nor turne their Veſſels, nor aſſiſt themſelues with thoſe meanes whereof they were beſt prouided, for that the Foiſts did continually charge them, ſometimes falling vpon the Palliſadoe, ſo as they could make no vſe of their Rowers, and ſometimes vpon the prow and poope, to deprive them of their Pylot and Oares. And when as they fought in a direct line, they inuented a ſtratagem: for abating the prowes they made their charge fruitleſſe, breaking the Enemies Veſſels vnder water: To preuent the which they could finde no remedy. B It is true, this happens ſeldome for that all auoided the encounter, for that the *Macedonians* fought valiantly hand to hand, and moſt commonly in paſſing they razed the Palliſadoe, making it vnprofitable. Then ſuddainly caſting about, they aſſailed thoſe that were in poope: and likewiſe giuing charge to thoſe which ſhewed themſelues vpon the flankes, or which turned aſide, they brake ſome, and tooke the Equipage from others: ſo as fighting after this manner, they had ſunke diuers of the Enemies Veſſels.

There were three excellent Quinqueremes of the *Rhodiens* in danger: whereof the Admirall was one, in the which *Theophiliſcus* commanded: Then that whereof *Philoſtrates* was Captaine, and the third C was gouerned by *Antolice*: in the which *Nycoſtrates* remained. It happened that ſhee gaue a charge to one of the Enemies Veſſels, where ſhe left her ſpurre, ſo as it ſunke with the Souldiers: And *Antolice's* Company being inueſted, for that they tooke water at the prowe, defended themſelues valiantly: But *Antolice* being wounded fell into the Sea with his Armes and died, the reſt fighting with great courage. At what time *Theophiliſcus* comming to ſuccour them with three Quinqueremes, he could not ſaue the ſhip being full of water.

After that he had broken two of the Enemies Veſſels, and caſt the D Souldiers into the Sea, hee loſt the greateſt part of his men fighting reſolutely, for that he was ſuddainly inueſted by many fregats and couerd Veſſels. It was hardly in his power to ſaue his ſhip, being wounded in three places: for that hee had aduentured himſelfe too boldly: But *Philoſtrates* came to ſuccour him, vndertaking the apparent danger with great courage. But when hee was ioyned vnto theſe Veſſels, he rechargeth the Enemy furiouſly againe: where he was ſeene weake of body by reaſon of his wounds, but much more excellent and conſtant

ſtant in courage then before. It happened that there were two Combats at Sea very farre one from another: For *Philips* right Wing coaſting ſtill along the ſhore, neuer abandoned the Coaſt of *Aſia*, but the left Wing ſuccouring the Reare-ward, had fought with the *Rhodiens*, for that they were not farre from *Chios*. When as *Attalus* ſeemed to haue gloriouſly Vanquiſhed *Philips* right Wing, and that hee approached neere vnto the Iland, where he Anchored, expecting the end and concluſion of the Battaile, he perceiued one of his Quinqueremes in danger to be ſunke by a ſhippe of the Enemies, and made
A haſt to ſuccour it with two other of his Quinqueremes. When as the Enemies ſhippes turned away to recouer Land, the more hee preſt deſiring to take it. The which *Philip* perceiuing, that *Attalus* ſtrayed too boldly and aduenturouſly from his Company, hee made haſt being accompanied with foure Quinqueremes, three Galliotts, and the neereſt Frigats, hoping hee ſhould be able to take it, as it fortunately happened; forcing him to get vnto the neereſt ſhore in great diſtreſſe. Then leauing his Veſſell there, hee fled on foote with the Sea men, to ſaue himſelfe in *Erythee*. Wherefore *Philip* recouered the ſhip and the Kings plate. *Erythee* a towa in Aſia.

They which were with *Attalus* in this great danger, bethought
B themſelues of a pollicy in Warre, and ſet the richeſt of the Kings plate vpon the Hatches. Wherefore the firſt of the *Macedonians* approaching with their Frigats, and ſeeing great ſtore of plate with a purple Robe, and other rich furniture lying there, they gaue ouer the purſuite, and attended the ſpoile, ſo as *Attalus* retired vnto the Port of *Erythree* without any diſturbance. And although that *Philip* were abſolutely the weaker in this Battaile at Sea; yet he returned very ambitious and proud through *Attalus* miſ-fortune, making great haſte to come vnto his Company. Where after he had drawne and gathered together all his Veſſells, he perſwaded them to be of good Courage
C and Reſolution, ſeeing hee had wonne the Battaile. And in trueth, ſuch was the opinion of men, as if *Attalus* had beene dead in flying, ſeeing that *Philip* returned, bringing the royall Veſſell priſoner. The Pollicy of *Attalus* his Souldiers.

Dyoniſodorus conſidering what was become of the King, gathered the Veſſells together and ſounded a retreate: after which he retired ſafely to the Ports of *Aſia*.

At the ſame time the *Macedonians*, who fought againſt the *Rhodiens*, hauing beene well beaten, they retired out of danger: For euery ſhip got him away vnder colour to giue ſuccours to thoſe that were
D in danger and diſtreſſe. In regard of the *Rhodiens* they retired to the Port of *Chios*, hauing taken ſome of the ſhippes, and broken part of their ſpurs. There was ſunke in this Battaile at Sea which *Philip* had againſt *Attalus*, the Gallies of ten Oares, nine Oares, ſeauen Oares, and ſixe Oares, and moreouer ten Veſſells couered, three Galliots, and fiue and twenty Foiſts, withall the Marriners. And in that which was againſt the *Rhodiens*, ten couered Veſſells, and forty Foiſts: and there were two Quadriremes, and ſeauen Foiſts taken with the Marriners. In regard of that of *Attalus*, one Galliot with two Quinqueremes The loſſe of ſhips which *Philip* made.

were

were ſunke, with the royall Skiffe. And of the *Rhodiens* two Quinqueremes and Galleyes, but there was nothing taken. As for the loſſe of men, there died three ſcore *Rhodiens*, and about three ſcore and ten of *Attalus* men, and of the *Macedonians* vnder *Philip*, to the number of three thouſand, and aboue ſixe thouſand Marriners: and there were taken aliue, as well Allies as *Macedonians* two thouſand, and ſeuen hundred *Egyptians*. Such was the end of the Battaile at Sea neare vnto *Chios*.

The cauſes why *Philip* challenges the Victory to himſelfe.

Philip attributed the Victory vnto himſelfe for two principall cauſes: First for that hee had forced *Attalus* to flye to Land, and had taken the royall Veſſell: the other for that hee anchored in the place which they call *Argennon*, among the Enemies wrackes, and that the next Day hee carryed himſelfe as a Conquerour, gathering together the Reliques of the fight, and drawing together the Bodies of ſuch as might be knowne, to the end hee might confirme this Opinion. But the *Rhodiens* with *Dyoniſodorus* made him ſoone after confeſſe that it was not true, ſo as hee did not hold himſelfe to haue had the Victory: For the next day the King being buſied about theſe things, they ſet ſayle againſt him, the one being aduertiſed of the other: and when (after they had put their ſhips in Front) no man durſt preſent himſelfe, they retired to *Chios*.

But *Philip* who had neuer before at one time loſt ſo many men, nor ſuch, carryed his misfortune impatiently, and was in a manner deſperate, although hee laboured by all meanes to hide his conceite, matters ſeeming vnſupportable: for beſides many other occaſions, the misfortunes which happened after the Battaile, had put all thoſe that were preſent in feare. Beleeue mee, that after ſo great a ſlaughter of men, all the Countrey where the Combate was fought, was full of Carkaſes, blood, Armes, and the wrackes of Ships. And the daies following you might haue ſeene the ſhoare full of all theſe things heaped together. So as it was not onely diſpleaſing vnto him, but to all the *Macedonians*.

In regard of *Theophiliſcus*, hauing ſuruiued a day, and written into the Countrey of the ſucceſſe of the Combate at Sea, and had appointed *Gleoneus* to command the Army in his place, hee dyed of the wounds hee had receiued: who had ſhewed himſelfe a valiant man in danger, and who by the prouidence of his Councell, was worthy to haue his Name preſerued in memory. For if hee had not giuen aduice to follow *Philip*, all the reſt had neglected the opportunity of the Victory, being amazed at his courage: ſo as in beginning of the fight hee forced his Citizens to follow the occaſions of the time. Hee likewiſe perſwaded *Attalus* not to temporize, nor to waſte time in the preparation of things concerning the Warre: But contrariwiſe to fight valiantly, and to vndergoe the preſent danger. Wherefore the *Rhodiens* haue with good reaſon, after his death done him ſuch honours, as the liuing and thoſe that were preſent were not onely incited to fight valiantly for their Countrey, but alſo the poſterity.

The death of *Theophiliſcus*.

What doe wee then ſee in this violence? No other thing but Nature

Nature. It oftentimes falls out that many vpon a bare ſhew of hope, deſire impoſſible things, vanquiſhing euery mans hope with their couetouſneſſe: and when they haue once begun, they cannot diuert their fancies: for that they haue their vnderſtanding blinded and deceiued with the impoſſibility of their attempts, and the diſcontent of the accidents. When as *Philip* had in vaine giuen ſome aſſaults to a ſmall Towne, for that it was well fortified, hee retired, after he had ruined ſome places with the whole Countrey.

Prinaſſe beſieged by *Philip*.

A Being gone from thence, he planted his Campe about *Prinaſſe*, and beſieged it by myning. Where when he loſt his time, for that the place was ſtony, he vſed this inuention: hee cauſeth a great noiſe to be made by day in the Mynes, as if he laboured to ouerthrow the Walls, cauſing in the night great ſtore of earth to be brought and to be laid at the entry of the Mynes, to the end he might terrifie the Inhabitants by a view of ſo great a digging in the ground. It is true that at the firſt the *Prinaſſeins* were conſtant and couragious: but when as *Philip* had ſignified vnto them that their Wall was vndermined the length of the third part of a Furlong, and had demanded of them if they would deliuer the City and ſaue their liues, or periſh with it, the foundations being burnt, then giuing credit vnto his words, they preſently deli-

B uered it.

A Parcell of the City of the *Jaſſeens*.

C

The Gulfe of *Neptune*.

THe City of the *Iaſſeens* is ſcituated in *Aſia* vpon the Gulfe ioyning to *Neptune* of *Mileſia*, and called of the *Myndiens*. According to the aduice of many, it takes its name from the Cities of the *Vargylietes*, which are built vpon the backe part. They ſay that in the beginning they were peopled by *Argines*: and that afterwards the *Mileſiens* predeceſſors being brought in, and the Children

D of *Neleus*, they built the City of *Myletum*, after their defeate in the Warres of *Carya*. This City hath ten Furlongs in circuite. The common bruite is, and they beleeue it among the *Vargylietes*, that although the ſtatue of *Diana Cindiades* be vncouered, yet it endures no fogs nor raine, like vnto that of *Veſta* among the *Iaſſeens*: the which ſome Hiſtoriographers haue auerr'd. For my part, I know not how I contradict and blame boldly in all this treaty this aduice of Hiſtoriographers. In truth they ſeeme to mee wholy to ſauour of their Childiſhneſſe, who

The City of *Miletum* built.

The Image of *Diana*.

without

without consideration comprehend not onely idle and sottish things, but those which are impossible. For if any one should say that some body may bee so illuminated and transpareht, as he shall make no shadow, this would shew a transported Iudgement, as *Theopompus* hath done, saying that they which enter into the Temple of *Iupiter* in *Arcadia*, make no shadow. Whereunto that is conformable which is now spoken. Wherefore wee must pardon some Historiographers in all things which preserue the deuotion of the people towards the Gods, who relate monstrous things, but in that which exceeds this course, they are not to be pardoned. Peraduenture in euery thing there is a A different quality to describe them, yea, sometimes impossible: wherefore we must pardon if any one through ignorance doth stray a little from the truth: and according to my iudgement reproue all that which exceeds reason.

B

A Parcell of *Publius Scipio.*

Pvblius Scipio being soone after returned from *Affricke*: When as the expectation of the people was conformable to the greatnesse of his actions, it fell out that they conceiued a great loue and affection towards him: The which was not without cause. For whereas they feared neuer C to chase *Hannibal* out of *Italy*, nor to free themselues nor their Allies from the eminent danger: they seemed then certainly not onely to bee deliuered from all feare and misery, but also to domineere ouer their Enemies: wherefore they were confounded with ioy. When he triumphed, being moreouer by the effects of things which were brought in, aduertised of the precedent dangers, they were toucht with an exceeding loue as well to the Gods, as to the Author of so great an alteration.

Syphax King of the *Masaisylins*.

Syphax King of the *Masaisylins* was led in triumph through the City with the other Prisoners, who soone after died in Prison. These things thus performed, the *Romans* made continuall Combats for ma- D ny Dayes, and celebrated Feasts in their assemblies, hauing wherewithall to satisfie it by the liberality and bounty of *Scipio*. Many attempt great Warres brauely, and striue with a certaine vehemency to augment a Common-wealth: But it is a rare thing to bring them to the propounded end, and to accomplish by reason and industry, if Fortune sometime opposeth that which wants courage and speedy action. Wherefore some may with reason blame the sloth of *Attalus* and of the

the *Rhodiens*, in commending the royall courage of *Philip*, and his conſtancy in his enterprize: not that his conceite is alwayes worthy of Commendation but ſo farre as it concernes his preſent Enterprize and attempt. I propound this diſtinction to the end no man ſhould ſuſpect vs of contradiction: for that (as we haue heretofore) commended and blamed *Philip*, ſo now I doe the contrary. They muſt vnderſtand that in the beginning of this Worke I haue ſo made my diſtinction, ſaying that it was neceſſary ſometimes to commend and blame the ſame perſons, for that moments and euents of things doe many times change A the hearts of men, when they incline to better or worſe. It happens likewiſe ſometimes, that men by Nature indeauour things which are reaſonable, and ſometimes the contrary: whereof in my Opinion the one happened now to *Philip*. When hee was inflamed for the precedent loſſes, ſhewing more choller and rage then reaſon, hee accommodated himſelfe to the preſent occaſions, with a conſtant and admirable courage, and hath by this courſe enioyed thoſe things which followed, in aduancing himſelfe againſt the *Rhodiens* and *Attalus*. I thought good to deliuer this, for that ſome giue ouer their enterprizes in leauing their firſt heate, like vnto bad and lazy runners: Some likewiſe vanquiſh their Enemies in this onely, that they are conſtant in B their enterprizes.

A man may be commended and blamed according to the diuerſity of his Actions.

Of the Cities of *Abydos* and *Seſtes* Maritine and oppoſite.

C

I Hold it loſt time to vſe any long diſcourſe of the commodities of the Cities of *Abydos* and *Seſtes*: for that matters of ſmall moment are knowne to all, by reaſon of the ordinary frequenting of the places: yet I doe not thinke for the preſent that a ſummary aduertiſment to the Reader, would bee vnprofitable in regard of them. You muſt vnderſtand that the things which are now to be ſpoken of the ſayd Cities) are not ſo much drawne from their ſcituation, as from their oppoſition and confe- D rence. Whereas the Nauigation of the Sea, which ſome call by the name of *Ocean*, others *Atlantique*, is not paſſable, but at the ſtreights which are at the Pillars of *Hercules*: Neither can they in our Sea, in the *Propontis* and *Pontus*, vnleſſe it be made by the ſtreight betwixt *Abydos* and *Seſtes*. As Fortune hath prepared two Gulfes with ſome reaſon, it falls out that the ſtreight of the Pillars of *Hercules* is broader then that of *Helleſponte*: For it is of three ſcore Furlongs, and that of *Abydos* onely of two. The which wee may coniecture hath beene

Of the profit of *Abydos* and *Seſtes*.

A comparison of the streight of *Abydos* with that of *Gibeltar.*

made for a greater spaciousnesse of the exteriour Sea, then ours. That of *Abydos* is more commodious then that of the Pillars of *Hercules.* For the first is inhabited on either side, and in manner of a Port, for the mutuall communication of Traffique, and hath in some place a Bridge for those which passe on foote from one firme land to another. They also saile continually on the other side. In regard of that of the Pillars of *Hercules*, it is little frequented, for that the people which inhabite some in *Affricke*, some in *Europe*, haue little commerce together: and this exteriour Sea is little frequented and tryed. The City of the *Abydeins* is environed on either side with the farthest bounds of *Europe*: hauing a Port from whence Sailors with what wind soeuer, may be seene. But it is not possible for any man to come vnto the City, being without this ingulfement of the Sea to the Port, by reason of the swiftnesse and vehemence of the current.

The City of the *Abydeins.*

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Another Parcell of *Philip of Macedon.*

The *Abydeins* besieged by *Philip.*

YEt when as *Philip* had fortified one part with Pallisadoes, and cast a Ditch about the other, he besieged the *Abydeins* by Sea and Land. In regard of the meanes of their defence, it was not admirable, neither for the greatnesse of the preparation, nor for the diuersity of inuentions, which are declared in the same worke, by the which the besiegers and besieged doe vsually practise and surprize one another by policies: But for the good directions and vallour of the besieged, it is worthy of memory, if euer any were, and which ought to come vnto posterity. In the beginning the Inhabitants of *Abydos* relying in themselues, maintained the attempts of *Philip* valiantly: and as for his Engines set vp at Sea, they brake some with casting of Stones, and they burnt others: so as the Enemies could hardly saue their Vessels from this danger: In regard of those at Land, for time they made a valiant resistance, neuer despairing to obtaine the Victory against their Enemies. But when as the Fort which stood without the Wall had beene ouerthrowne by Mynes, and that the *Macedonians* were afterwards come vnto the Wall which they had built within, in the end they sent *Iphias* and *Pantacnote* in Embassie, to yeeld the City vnto *Philip*, but vpon condition that hee should suffer the Souldiers of the *Rhodiens* and *Attalus* to depart, and their Bodies free, to saue themselues where they thought good with their Apparrell. And when as *Philip*

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Philip had giuen them charge to ſubmit themſelues vnto his will, or to fight it out brauely, the Embaſſadours retired. This being heard, the *Abydeins* aſſemble the people, and conſult in deſpaire of their neceſſities. First of all they decree to giue liberty to their Slaues, to the end they might willingly become Companions in the Combat: And conſequently drawe all their Wiues into *Diana's* Temple: and the Children with their Nurſes into the Schooles, and finally their Gold and Siluer into the Market place, and the richeſt apparrell into the *Rhodiens* Galley, and that of the *Cyziceneins*. The courſe which the *Abydeins* take in deſpaire.

A When they had decreed theſe things, and had with one accord executed the reſolution, they make another aſſembly, chooſing fifty of the moſt ancient, and men of credite, being ſtrong and able to execute the decree, and make them ſweare in the preſence of all the Citizens, that if they ſaw the Wall taken by the Enemy, they ſhould then kill their Wiues and Children, and ſet fire of the ſayd Galleyes, caſting (according to their Oath) the Gold and Siluer into the Sea. Finally, they call their Prelates, who coniure them all to vanquiſh their Enemies, or to dye fighting for their Countrey. This done, after they had ſacrificed, they force their Prelates, and their B Wiues to make execrations vpon the Sacrifices of the ſaid things. Theſe things thus confirmed, they did not countermine againſt the Enemies Mynes, reſoluing that if the Wall fell, they would ſtand vpon the ruines, fighting to the death. Wherefore ſome one may with reaſon ſay, that the folly of the *Phocenſes* and the ioy of the *Acarnanians*, hath beene vanquiſhed by the courage of the *Abydeins*. The *Phocenſes* ſeeme to haue decreed the like for their Kinsfolkes, although they were not wholly in deſpaire of the Victory, for they were to fight in field with the *Theſſalians*.

The *Acarnanians* fore-ſeeing the attempts of the *Etoliens*, reſolued the ſame in their eminent danger, whereof wee haue formerly ſpoken C in particular. The *Abydeins* being ſhut vp, and in a manner deſperate of their ſafety, deſired rather by a common conſent to try this Fortune with their Wiues and Children, then liuing to deliuer them into their Enemies hands. For which reaſon wee may blame Fortune for the ruine of the *Abydeins*: Seeing that hauing compaſſion of the calamities of the former; ſhee hath ſuddainly relieued them, yeelding vnto the deſperate hope and ſafety: whereas contrariwiſe ſhee hath beene incenſed againſt the *Abydeins*. The men were ſlaine and the City taken: their Children with their Wiues fell into their Enemies hands: For after the fall of the Wall, planting themD ſelues vpon the ruines, according to their Oath, they fought with ſuch great courage, as when as *Philip* had ſent ſupplies vnto the *Macedonians* at the aſſault vntill Night, hee was in the end forced to take breath, and to deſpaire of his attempt. The *Abydeins* did not onely fight with great confidence, ſtanding vpon the dead bodies in danger, and with reſolution with their Swords and Iauelings: But hauing no meanes to vſe them, they caſt themſelues with fury vpon the *Macedonians*, ouerthrowing ſome with their armes, charging others alwaies

The prowesse of the *Abydeins*.

with the stockes of their broken Iauelings: and repulsing them, thrusting directly at their Faces and other naked parts. Night being come, and the Combat ceasing, *Glaucides* and *Theognite* assembling some few of the ancient, changed (for the hope of their priuate safeties) that seuere and noble vow of the Citizens, in regard of the great number that had beene slaine at the Wall, and for that the rest were weakned with toile and wounds. Wherefore they resolued to abandon their Wiues and Children to Captiuity, and at the breake of day to send their Priests and Wiues, with their Diadems and head-bands to *Philip*, A to the end that intreating him vpon their knees, they might deliuer him the City.

At the same time King *Attalus* being aduertised of the Siege of the *Abydeins*, sailes by the *Egean* Sea to *Tenedos*. In like manner *Marcus Emilius* the younger a *Roman*, came by Sea to *Abydos*. For when the *Romans* had beene truely aduertised of the Siege of *Abydos*, and would expostulate with *Philip* according to their charge; and to vnderstand the cause why hee assailed the Kings, they sent this *Emilius* vnto him. *Marcus Emilius* sent to *Philip*. Who when he had audience of *Philip* in *Abydos*, he let him vnderstand that the Senate admonished him, not to make Warre against any *Grecians*, B nor to meddle with the affaires of *Ptolomy*: And whereas hee had done outrage to the *Rhodiens* and *Attalus*, he should make a promise to giue them satisfaction: in doing which hee should remaine in peace, but if he would not obey, he should prepare to haue Warre with the *Romans*. When as *Philip* laboured to let him vnderstand that the *Rhodiens* had beene the first Assailants, *Marcus* interrupting him said; What haue the *Athenians*? *Cianeins*, and *Abydeins* done? which of them hath first assailed you? The King studying what to answere to The braue answere of *Philip* to *Marcus Emilius*. these three demands, told him that hee pardoned his arrogancy in words, for that first he was young and without experience: Secondly, that he was the best man amongst them, as in truth he was. The *Romans* (sayd he) haue no reason to breake the Accords, nor to make C Warre against mee: but if they did, he would defend his owne valiantly and inuocate the Gods for aide. This Speech being ended, they parted one from the other.

Philip hauing gotten the City of the *Abeydeins*, he presently tooke all the Goods which had beene carryed away by them. When he saw The cruelty of the *Abydeins* to themselues. the people and their fury, who slew, burnt, and strangled themselues, their Wiues, and Children, casting them into Wells, and hanging them in their houses, hee was amazed: And being discontented at that which was done, he let them know that he gaue them three dayes re- D spite that would hang or kill themselues. But the *Abydeins* preuenting him (according to their first resolution) could not suffer any one of those to liue, which were not yet bound nor tied to this kind of necessity, holding themselues in not doing it, for Traytors towards those which had fought, and were dead for their Countrey. All the rest without delay dyed according to their Races.

OF

Of *Philopomene* and the deeds of the *Acheins*.

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AND when as *Philopomene* had conſidered the diſtances of of all the Cities, and that they might come to *Tegee* by one way, hee wrote Letters to all the Cities, and ſends them to thoſe which were fartheſt off, and diuides them in ſuch ſort, as euery City had not onely thoſe which were directed vnto it, but alſo thoſe for other Cities lying vpon the ſame way. Hee hath written to the Magiſtrates in theſe termes: When B you ſhall haue receiued theſe Letters, vſe all diligence, that ſuch as are able to beare Armes, may aſſemble in the Market place, euery man furniſhed with fiue Dayes victuals, and ſeuenteene Sous, and ſixeteene Deniers in Money. And when they ſhall be all aſſembled, lead them to the next City: where being arriued, deliuer the Letters to the Magiſtrate, and performe the contents. In the which was contained the charge which had bin giuen to the former, only the name was altred, but the place was not named whither the Voyage was intended.

The forme of *Philopomens* Letters to the Cities.

This courſe being continued, no man knew to what end nor why this preparation was made, nor whither they went out of the next City. All being vncertaine and receiuing one another they marcht on. C But for that the Cities which were beyond, had not an equall diſtance from *Tegee*, hee did not ſend Letters to them all at the ſame time, but particularly according to their order: ſo as vnknowne to the Inhabitants, and to thoſe which arriued, what ſhould ſucceed, all the *Acheins* entred in Armes by all the Gates. Hee had without doubt reſolued theſe things in his iudgement, by a Military ſtratagem, for for the multitude of Scouts and Spies which the Tyrant had. The which the Tyrant had. The ſame day that the multitude of the *Acheins* ſhould aſſemble, hee ſent choiſe men, who in the Night ſhould paſſe the *Selaſia*: and at the breake of day runne into the D Countrey of *Lacedemon*. But if the Mercenaries by encounter did any way trouble them, he giues them charge to recouer *Scotite*, obeying *Didaſcolonde* the *Candiot* in all things. For hee had giuen him the charge of all this enterprize. Theſe men went reſolutely to the place appointed. And when as *Philopomene* had commanded the *Acheins* to ſuppe early, hee goes with his Army out of *Tegee*: and making good vſe of the Night in his Voyage, hee leads his Army to the place appointed neare vnto *Scotite*, the mid-way betwixt

A ſally out of *Pelene* vpon the *Aeheins.*

Tegee and *Lacedemon.* The Souldiers of *Pelene* the day following ran ſpeedily as it is their cuſtome, and aſſailed the Enemy ſuddainly, who were aduertiſed of their comming by their Scouts. And when the *Aeheins* (according to the Commandment they had receiued) retired, they purſued them at their backes confidently and with courage. But ſuddainly they fell into the Ambuſh, where ſome of them were ſlaine by the *Aeheins*, and others taken.

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A PARCELL OF the Seuenteenth Booke of

B the Hiſtory of POLYBIVS.

Where they treate of the Peace betwixt *Philip* of *Macedony* and the other *Grecians*, by the meanes of *Titus* a *Roman*.

C THe time appointed being come, *Philip* arriues by Sea from the *Demetriade*, to the Gulfe of *Melica*, accompanied with fiue Foiſts and one Galley, wherein hee ſayled. He was attended on by *Apollodorus* and *Demoſthenes Macedonians*, his Chancellours. There was alſo *Brachylles* of *Beotia*, and *Chiliades* the *Achein*, a Fugitiue out of *Morea* for the cauſes aboue mentioned. With the which were alſo King *Saminandre* and *Dioniſodorus* ſent by *Attalus*. And as for the Cities and people, *Ariſtenetes* and *Xenophon* were for the *Acheins*: and *Aceſymbrotes* and *Nauarchus* were for the *Rhodiens*: and for the *Etoliens* came *Phenee* Chiefe of the Army, with many other D Citizens. *Philips* Company.

When they were approacht the Sea neare vnto *Nicea*, *Titus* the Chiefe of the *Romans*, ſtayed at the ſhoare. *Philip* being almoſt at Land, ſtayed in his Veſſell. And when as *Titus* perſwaded him to Land, he ſayd (ſtanding vpright in his ſhip) that hee would not. Being likewiſe demanded by *Titus* what he feared, he anſwered, No man but the Gods: but there were many there whom hee did not truſt, namely, the *Etoliens*. And when the *Roman* Commander wondred, ſaying, The wiſe anſwere of *Philip*.

that the perill was equall vnto all, and that time common. *Philip* answering sayd, that he vnderstood it not so: For an inconuenience happning to *Phenee*, the *Etoliens* had Commaunders enough for the War: But if *Philip* dyed, there was no King of *Macedony* for the present. In the beginning of his Speech he seemed importune to them all. But *Tytus* aduised him to speake of the Affaires for which hee was come. *Philip* answered him, that it belonged to him and not vnto himselfe: For this cause hee required him to let him know what there was to be done to enioy a Peace.

The *Roman* Commaunder told him that hee must vse plaine and open words, and aduised him to leaue all *Greece*, restoring the Prisoners and Fugitiues which were in his power: To yeild likewise vnto the *Romans* the places of *Sclauonia*, which he had seazed on after the Accord made in *Epirus*: That he should restore vnto *Ptolomy*, all the Cities which he had taken since the Death of *Ptolomeus Philopater*. When *Tytus* had spoken this, he held his peace: But turning to the rest, hee willed euery man to deliuer his charge. A

The Articles which *Dionisodorus* demanded of *Philip*.

Dionisodorus, being sent by *Attalus* beganne first, saying that he should restore the shippes taken by him in the Battaile at Sea neere vnto *Chio*, and likewise the Prisoners: and re-edifie the Temple of *Venus*, and the Arsenall of the triumphes of Victories which hee had ruined. After whom *Aseſymbrotes* Chiefe of the Army at Sea for the *Rhodiens*, required that *Philip* should leaue *Perea*, which he had taken from them, and finally retire the Garrisons which hee had at *Iasse*, in the *Vargylies*, and in the City of the *Eromeens*: And moreouer restore the *Perinthiens* to the comminalty of the *Constantinopolitains*, and to abandon *Sestes*, *Abydos*, and the Faiers of *Asia*. After the *Rhodiens* the *Acheins* demanded *Corinth* and the City of the *Argiues* whole and safe. After these the *Etoliens* required first as the *Romans* had done, that hee should abandon all *Greece*, and that afterwards hee should restore the Cities whole and entire, which formerly had beene of the same Burgesse with the *Etoliens*. B

Aseſymbrotes demands for the *Rhodiens*.

The demands of the *Acheins* and *Etoliens*.

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When as *Phenee* Chiefe of the *Etoliens* had spoken thus, *Alexander* following after, whom they call *Isie*, in shew a man of iudgement to mannage affaires, and of great Eloquence, said, that *Philip* did not demand a peace roundly, nor made Warre valiantly, if it were to be done at any time: and that in assemblies and treaties hee watcht carefully, playing the part of an Enemy: and that in the Warre hee carryed himselfe wickedly, and not as a good man. For when he should affront the Enemy, it is manifest that hee flies the list, and in the meane time burnes and ruines Cities: and being thus vanquished by his will, hee corrupts the rewards of the Victors: although the ancient Kings of *Macedony* were neuer of that minde, but quite contrary. They haue fought often Battailes in the open field, and haue seldome ruined any Cities. The which is manifest to all the World, as well by the *Asian* Warre of *Alexander* against *Darius*, as by the difference of the Successors, by the which they haue all made Warre against *Antigonus* for the Empire of *Asia*. And their posterity hath beene of this humour vntill the

Alexander against *Philip*.

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the time of *Pyrrhus*, to fight valiantly with an Enemy in open Battaile: Doing all that concerned a mutuall Combate of men furniſhed with Armes, yet pardoning the Cities: for that the Victors of them are vanquiſhed, and blamed by thoſe which are ſubdued. It is the part of a mad man to ruine that for which the Warre is made, and then to leaue it: The which he ſayd *Philip* did at that time, and that he had ruined more Cities in *Theſſaly*, being of the ſame friendſhip and League in Warre; when as hee parted ſpeedily from the ſtreights of *Epirus*, then euer any of thoſe had done which made Warre againſt
A the *Theſſaliens*.

And when he had vſed a long Speech, and deliuered other things of the ſame ſubiect. In the end hee demaunded of *Philip*, why *Lyſimachia* being aſſociated to the *Etoliens*, and hauing a Commaunder of the Warre from them, hee had chaſed him away, putting a garriſon into the Citty? Why hee had ſpoiled the *Cyaneins*, of the *Etolien* Burgeoiſhip, being a friend to the *Etoliens*? Moreouer vpon what colour he detained *Eſcheins*, *Thebes*, *Phthie*, *Pharſalia*, and *Larriſſe*? Hauing ſpoken this, *Alexander* held his peace. When as *Philip* had approached neefer to Land then before, ſtanding vpright in his ſhip, *Philips* anſwer.
ſayd, that *Alexanders* Speech was *Etolique*: and that it was notorious
B to all the World, that no man ruined thoſe which were his companions in Armes, and yet a Prince according to the occaſion of times, is many times forced to do things againſt his will. The King vſing this Speech: *Phenee* hauing a bad ſight, lookes oftentimes croſſe vpon *Philip*, ſaying that he told Fables: and that he ſhould eyther vanquiſh in fighting, or elſe ſubſcribe and obey the commaundements of the Victors.

And although that *Philip* were diſcontented, yet hee omitted not his kinde of ſpeech; but turning to *Phenee*, a blind man ſayd he, would ſee it. He was in truth apt to Choller, and it was it a manner bred in
C him, to ieſt at the good Fortune of other men. Then turning towards *Alexander*, thou demaundeſt of me, ſayd he, for what reaſon I haue taken *Lyſimachia*: To the end that thorough your negligence and baſeneſſe, it might not be ruined by the *Thraſiens*, as then it happened, hauing retired my Souldiers for the preſent, being there for the defence thereof, and not as thou ſayſt to take it. In regard of the *Cyaneins*, I made no Warre againſt them: But when as *Pruſias* aſſailed them in giuing him ſuccours, I tooke the Citie with him, whereof you haue beene the cauſe. For when as the other Cities of *Greece* and my
D ſelfe had required you often by Embaſſies, to abrogate the Law which allowes you to take ſpoile vpon ſpoile: You anſwered that wee muſt firſt take *Etolia* from *Etolia*, then the ſayd Law. And when as A ſtrange Cuſtome of the Etoliens.
Tytus wondred how that could be, the King laboured to make him vnderſtand it, ſaying that the *Etoliens* had a Cuſtome not onely to aſſaile thoſe and their Country, with whom they had Warre: But alſo it is lawfull for them, if their Allies be in Quarrell, to aſſaile both the one and the other with their Regions, and to hold them, without any common decree. And by this meanes the *Etoliens* haue neither

Lawes

Lawes of Friendſhip nor Hatred, being ready to fall vpon thoſe which are in controuerſie for any Affaires. Whereon then doe theſe men ground an accuſation againſt me? I was a friend to the *Etoliens*, ſo was I allied to *Pruſias*, and I attempted againſt the *Cyaneins* to ſuccour my Allies.

But beholda caſe of wonderfull diſcretion, that they which haue made themſelues Enemies to the *Romans*, commaund the *Macedonians* to depart out of *Greece*. Without doubt it is a very arrogant Speech. If the *Romans* ſpeake it, it is tollerable, if the *Etoliens*, intollerable. But out of what *Greece* would you haue me depart? How do you limit it? Are there not many *Etoliens* in *Greece*? You ſhall ſee that the *Agraeins*, *Apodates*, and *Amphiloqueins* are not of *Greece*, at the leaſt you leaue them to me. And when as *Tytus* ſmiled, this ſayd he, ſhall ſuffice againſt the *Etoliens*: And as for that which concernes the *Rhodiens* and *Attalus*, we may with more iuſtice and equity require, that they ſhould rather reſtore to vs our Priſoners and Veſſells, then we to them. We haue not aſſailed the *Rhodiens* nor *Attalus* firſt, but they vs, it is without contradiction. Yet for thy ſake we will reſtore *Perea* to the *Rhodiens*, and to *Attalus* his ſhippes and men which are liuing. In regard of the ruine of the Triumph of Victories, and of *Venus* Temple, we cannot repaire them: And for that which concernes the Trees and Gardens, I will ſend men to digge the ground, and will giue order that the Trees which are cut may grow againe. And when as *Tytus* ſmiled againe at the ſcoffe of *Philip*, *Philip* addreſſing himſelfe to the *Acheins*, hee put them in minde at the firſt of the benefits and fauours they had receiued from *Antigonus* and himſelfe. Moreouer he laid open the many Honors which the *Acheins* had done vnto them. Finally, he hath read the Reſolution of their reuolte in following the *Romans* party. Vpon which occaſion hee propounded many things againſt the preuarication and ingratitude of the *Acheins*: Yet promiſing to reſtore them *Argos*. In regard of *Corinthe* hee would conferre with *Tytus*.

After this Speech held to the reſt, he ſayd to *Tytus*, that hee was to ſpeake to him and to the *Romans*, whether he were of opinion that he ſhould abandon the Cities and places which he had Conquered among the *Grecians*, or elſe thoſe which he had receiued from his Predeceſſors. And when as *Tytus* held his peace, *Ariſtenes* was ſuddainly ready to anſwere for the *Acheins*, and *Phenee* for the *Etoliens*. But when the houre was paſt, the Time had cloſed vp their mouthes. *Philip* required that hee might haue men giuen him to write downe all that was to do for the peace. For when he was alone, he ſayd he had no man with whom conferring, he might yeild a reaſon of the Actions wherewith they charged him.

And although that *Tytus* heard *Philip* willingly in his ieſt, yet being loath to be diſcouered by others, he gaue him a touch, ſaying: It is no wonder if thou beeſt alone *Philip*, when thou haſt ſlaine all thoſe which gaue thee Councell. The *Macedonian* vſing a Counterfeite ſmile, held his peace. Then they all gaue in Writing what they had demanded,

demanded, appointing another aſſembly for the day following at *Nicea*. To which place *Titus* came with his Company, where all the reſt appeared, but *Philip* came not. And when as the day was farre ſpent, and that *Titus* expected his comming no longer, he armed at Sunne ſetting, accompanied with the ſame men, ſaying that he had ſpent the whole day in vexation and diſcontent, for the difficulty of the things wherewith they charg'd him, But according to the opinion of others he did it to fruſtrate by the ſhortneſſe of time, the accuſation of the *Acheins* and *Etoliens*. He had ſeene them the day be-
A fore at his departure ready for their defence, and to complayne of him.

Wherefore at his ariuall he intreated the Commander of the *Romans* to treat of this buſineſſe with him in priuate, to the end that in debating it, they might not fall to any outragious words, but draw it to ſome end. When he had often intreated this, *Titus* demanded of the Aſſiſtants their opinion what he ſhould doe: and when they all yeelded vnto it, and that he ſhould obſerue his words, hee tooke *Appius Claudius* a Captaine of a thouſand, and commanding the reſt that retiring a little into the Sea, they ſhould ſtay there, bidding *Philip* to come to Land. The King accompanied with *Apolodorus* and *Demoſthenes* landed, and *Philip* lands.
B had a long diſcourſe with *Titus*. In regard of that which was ſpoken of eyther ſide, it is a difficult thing to iudge. *Titus* then when as *Philip* was retired, related vnto the reſt the things which hee had propounded, namely that he would yeelde vnto the *Etoliens*, *Lariſſa* and *Pharſalia*, but not *Thebes*: That to the *Rhodiens* hee would leaue *Perea*, but not *Iaſſon* nor *Bargulies* to the *Acheins Corinthe*, and the City of *Argiues*: to the *Romans* that which hee held in *Sclauonia* with all the priſoners. That he would reſtore to *Attalus* the veſſels, and all the priſoners that were liuing ſince the nauall fight. But when as the whole Company diſliked of this accord, ſaying that they muſt
C generally decree that he muſt depart out of all *Greece*: Otherwiſe all theſe articles would be vaine and friuolous.

The Articles agreed on by *Philip*.

Philip ſeeing this contention, fearing likewiſe the future accuſations, he intreats *Titus* to deferre this aſſembly vntill the next day, for that it is now late, ſaying that hee would perſwade them, or ſuffer himſelfe to be perſwaded. And when as *Titus* had granted this, they reſolued to aſſemble againe at the Port of *Tyronye*, and ſo they parted. The day following they all mette at the houre appoynted. Another aſſem-
Philip hauing made a ſhort ſpeech, requires them all, eſpecially *Titus*, bly at *Thronye*.
D that they would not breake of the treaty of peace: for that there were many things which did conduct to the concluſion of an accord, vnleſſe the fault were in them, that the compoſition was not made. Otherwiſe they muſt ſend Embaſſadours to the Senate to order their differences, to the which he would obey, and doe all they ſhould command him.

Theſe things thus propounded by *Philip*, the others ſaid that they muſt doe that which concerned the warre, and not truſt to his demands: But the *Roman* Commander ſaid, that hee was not igno-

rant

rant that *Philip* would not doe any thing that was propounded vnto him : and yet their cauſe was nothing impaired, in yeelding him this fauour which hee demanded. For there could nothing be ſpoken there that could be confirmed without the *Roman* Senate : and that moreouer the approaching time would be very commodious to make tryall of their aduice. For as the Armies are vnprofitable in regard of the Winter, there could be no inconuenience, if in the meane time they referr'd themſelues vnto the Senate, but a great commodity vnto them all.

Philips cauſe ſent to *Rome*.

When they were of this opinion ſeeing *Titus* to concurre, that the preſent differences ſhould be transferr'd to the Senate, they reſolued to ſuffer *Philip* to ſend an Embaſſie to *Rome*, and in like manner all in particular to make their cauſes knowne vnto the Senate, and to accuſe *Philip*. When this reſolution of the Aſſembly had ſucceeded according to the humour and aduice of *Titus* conceiued in the beginning, he preſently purſued thoſe things which were requiſite for the Enterprize, hauing giuen order for his affaires. Finally, hee deales no more with *Philip*, but aſſignes him two Moneths onely, in the which hee ſhould ſend an Embaſſie to *Rome*, and ſhould retire his Garriſons for *Phocis* and *Locre*. Hee giues him likewiſe charge, that hee ſhould not make Warre againſt any of the *Roman* Allies, and ſhould giue order that in the meane time the *Macedonians* ſhould doe them no outrage. A B

And when he had dealt with *Philip* vpon theſe Articles by Writing, he brought the reſt of the things propounded to an end of himſelfe. Hee ſuddainly ſends *Aminandre* to *Rome*, knowing his ſufficiency in affaires, and to purchaſe Friends eaſily whereſoeuer hee came : and that he would procure ſome good conceite and hope, in regard of the name of Royalty. After whom hee ſends for Embaſſadours, *Quintus Fabius*, his Nephew in reſpect of his Wiues Siſter, and *Quintus Fulvius*, and with them *Appius Claudius* whom they call *Nero*. The *Etoliens* ſent *Alexander Iſien*, *Democrates* a *Calydonien*, *Dicearchus* a *Trichonien*, *Polymarchus* an *Arſinoen*, *Lamia* an *Ambraciote*, and *Nicomachus* an *Acarnanien* : and of thoſe which were Fugitiues from *Thurion*, and dwelt at *Ambracia*, *Theodotes*, *Phereo* a Fugitiue of *Theſſaly*, and then remaining at *Strate*.

Embaſſadours ſent to *Rome* by *Titus*, the *Etolians*, *Acheins*, and *Athenians*.

C

The *Acheins* ſent *Xenophon* an *Egien* : King *Attalus*, *Alexander* alone : The people of *Athens Cipheſodorus*. All which come to *Rome* to the Senate, to deliuer vnto their iudgements the things which they had reſolued that Yeare, before that the two Conſuls (at the requeſt of the others) were ſent into *Gallacia* againſt *Philip*. When as *Titus* Friends conceiued that the two Conſuls ſhould remaine in *Italy* for feare of the *Gaules*, they enter all into the Senate, and accuſe *Philip* roughly, deliuering the ſame which they had formerly obiected vnto the King : Yet they laboured carefully to poſſeſſe the Senate with an opinion, that they could not hope for any libetty, if *Calchis*, *Corinthe*, and the *Demetriades* continued in the hands of the *Macedonians*.

D

They ſayd, that *Philip* had vſed that Speech, and had aſſured that the

the ſaid places were the Bonds and ſhackles of *Greece*: the which he might well ſay with reaſon and truth. For they could not ſayle ſafely from *Morea* to *Corinthe*, there being a royall Garriſon: neither durſt the *Locrines*, *Beotians*, and *Phocenſes* doe it, whilſt that *Philip* holds *Calchis* and the reſt of *Negrepont*: Neither likewiſe the *Theſſalians* and *Magnetians* could not ſayle freely, *Philip* and the *Macedonians* holding the *Demetriade*. Wherefore in that which *Philip* hath ſaid, that hee would leaue the other places, it is a fancy and a ſhift to
A eſcape the preſent time: and when opportunity ſhould ſerue, hee would eaſily ſubdue the *Grecians*, ſo as hee held the ſaid places. For this cauſe they intreated the Senate, that *Philip* might leaue thoſe places, or elſe continue in his Enterprize, and fight valiantly: And that the greateſt part of the Warre was already decided, the *Macedonians* hauing loſt two Battailes, and the greateſt part of their forces at Land being conſumed.

Theſe Speeches ended, they intreated them with all affection not to ſuffer the *Grecians* to bee fruſtrated of the hope of their liberty, nor themſelues depriued of an honourable Title. The Embaſſadors of *Greece* hauing debated theſe things or the like: thoſe of *Philip* had
B prepared a Mountaine of words, but they were ſuddainly reiected. For when as they were demanded if they would leaue *Calchis*, *Corinth*, and the *Demetriades*, they denyed that they had any thing in charge. Wherefore being check't, by this meanes they ended their Speech. The Senate ſends the two Conſuls into *Galacia*, and declares the Warre againſt *Philip* to be iuſt, giuing charge to *Titus* to attend the *Grecians* affaires.

Philip's Embaſſadors reiected

Warre declared againſt *Philip*.

When as the newes came into *Greece*, all things ſucceeded to *Titus* according to his deſire. For beſides that Fortune fauoured him, whatſoeuer hee vndertooke hee brought to an end by his prouidence and care. Hee was in truth (if there were any among the *Romans*)
C a witty and ingenuous man. Hee not onely vndertooke ordinary affaires, but thoſe that were ſecret, and with ſuch Dexterity and Courage, as hee ſurpaſt all others, although hee were yet but young: for hee ſcarce paſt the Age of Thirty yeares. He was the firſt which paſt into *Greece* with an Army.

The Commendation of *Titus*.

D

A certaine Parcell.

MAn-kind which seemes to bee the most cunning and malicious of all the Creatures, hath greater meanes to be more vicious. The others seruing their corporall Desires, are onely deceiued by them. But Mankind sinnes no lesse by a desire of glory through negligence and inconsideration then by Nature.

More of *Titus* and the *Grecians* Actions.

AND when as *Titus* could not learne where the Enemies Campe was seated, and being assured that they were come through *Thessaly*, he commands them all to cut stakes, and to carry them with them, to the end they may bee ready at necessity. This without doubt seemes (according to the custome of the *Grecians*) impossible, being easie to the *Romans*. The *Grecians* in truth are no good Commanders of their Bodies in Marching, and doe hardly endure toile. But the *Romans* hauing their Targets banging at their backes in a Belt of Leather, and carrying their Head-peeces in their hands, beare the stakes. There was a great difference betwixt them. The *Grecians* held a stake that had many branches at the foote very commodious. But the *Romans* vse stakes with two, or three, or foure branches at the most, so as they are easie to carry, for a man carries two or three Faggots together. There is also this difference: For the *Grecians* stake planted before the Campe, may be easily pull'd vp: When that onely which is strong, is fixed in the ground, and hath many and great branches, if two or three

The *Grecians* delicate of their Bodies.

A difference betwixt the *Romans* Stakes and the *Grecians*.

three of them ſhew themſelues, and draw the ſtake vnto them, it is eaſily pull'd vp. And whereas this happens, there is a breach eaſily made, by reaſon of the greatneſſe, and then the ioyning of them is vndone by the ſhortneſſe and mutuall height of this kinde of Palliſado The *Romans* doe otherwiſe. They plant them right vp, and interlace them in ſuch ſort, as it is not eaſie for any one to diſcerne or know from which the of the ſtakes ſtucke in the ground, the ſhootes take their growth, nor from what ſtockes the branches come. Finally, it is not poſſible for him that ſeekes to pull them vp, to put
A to his hand, for that they are very thicke and intermixt together: And if they bee carefully planted, he that ſhall lay hold on them, ſhall not be able to pull them vp eaſily, for that all their ioynts take their force from the Earth: Secondly, hee ſhall bee forced to tranſport many ſhootes together, which ſhall lay hold of one branch, in regard of their mutuall interlacing: Neither is it likely that two or three will ſeaze vpon one ſtake. Yet if it happens that ſome one pulls vp one or two, yet the ſpace cannot be diſcouered. Wherefore there is a great difference, for that this kinde of ſtakes is eaſie to finde, and eaſie to carry, and the vſe is more ſafe and firme. So as it is apparent, that if the *Romans* haue not any thing touching the mannaging of the War
B which is worthy of imitation, yet this kind of ſtakes (at the leaſt in my iudgement) deſerues it.

When as *Titus* had prepared all things ready to ſerue him at neede, he marcheth a ſlow pace with his whole Army. And when he came within fifty Furlongs of the City of *Pherees*, hee camped there. The day following at the breake of day, hee ſent forth Spies, to ſeeke if they could by any meanes diſcouer where the Enemies were, and what they did. But when as *Philip* had receiued aduertiſement, that the *Romans* were at that time Camped neare vnto *Thebes*, raiſing his Campe from *Lariſſa*, hee prepares his way towards *Pherees*
C with his whole Army.

Titus plants his Campe neare to *Pherees*.

When he was within thirty Furlongs, planting his Campe there, hee commanded them to haue a care of their Victuals. At the breake of Day awaking his Army, hee ſent forth thoſe that were appoynted for Scouts, giuing them charge to gaine the Hills aboue *Pherees*: Then at the Sunne-riſing hee parts with all his forces. It happened ſoone after, that the Scouts of both Armies met on the top of the Mountaines. Knowing one another in the Darke, they ſtayed a little diſtance off: and aduertiſed their Commanders of that which
D had happened. And when they required Directions what they ſhould doe, they were called backe.

The day following either of them ſent forth Horſe-men, and about three hundred Souldiers to diſcouer: with whom *Titus* ſent two Bands of *Etoliens* for their experience of the places: The which aſſailing one another neare vnto *Pherees* and *Lariſſa*, they fought valiantly. But when the *Etoliens* of *Epoleme* fought with great courage, being alſo called the *Italiques*, it happened that the *Macedonians* were preſt. But after they had skirmiſhed ſome time, they re-

An encounter of the fore-runners.

tired to their Campes. And when as the day following the Plaine was diſpleaſing to either of them, for that it was full of Trees, Hedges, and Gardens, they raiſe their Campes. *Philip* tooke his way towards *Scotuſſe*, making haſte, to the end hee might draw Victuals from the City, and lodge his Army with more aduantage. *Titus* coniecturing what would happen, parts with his Army at the ſame inſtant, making haſte to ſpoile the *Scotuſſiens* Corne before the comming of *Philip*. But for that in the marching of the two Armies, there was a great interpoſition of high Hills and Mountaines, the *Romans* nor the *Macedonians* could not diſcouer one another in A the direction of their way. Wherefore that dayes iourney being ended, *Titus* came vnto *Eretria*, and *Philip* to the Riuer of *Onchiſte*, and preſently planted their Campes there vnknowne to one another.

And when as the day following they had marched on, *Philip* ſtayes at *Melambie* of the *Scotuſſeins*, and *Titus* about the *Thetidie* of *Pharſalia*: where they were againe vnknowne one to another. And as there fell a Raine and the yearely Thunder, it happened that the day following in the Morning there ariſe a great fogge, the which falling they could not ſee what was before their feete. Yet *Philip* B making haſte to diſpatch that which was offred, Campt wandring with his Army: But being hindred by the troubleſomeneſſe and difficulty of the way in regard of the fogge, he aduanced little, and palliſadoed his Campe.

Finally, he ſent *Phedria*, and giues him charge to gaine the tops of the Hills interpoſed. *Titus* likewiſe being Camped about *Thetidie*, and being doubtfull where the Enemies were, he made choice of tenne Bands, and about a thouſand of the moſt valiant, ſending them before to ſearch diligently, and to enter the Countrey: who marching to the tops of the Hill, fell by indiſcretion into an Am- C
The *Romans* charged by the *Macedonians*. buſh of the Enemies, by reaſon of the darkeneſſe of the day. Eyther of them at the firſt were ſomewhat troubled, but ſoone after they charge one another. They likewiſe ſend to informe their Commanders of this accident.

But when as the *Romans* in this Charge were preſt, and in danger by the Ambuſh of the *Macedonians*, they ſent vnto their Campe for Succours. *Titus* commanding the *Etolians*, ſends thoſe which were vnder the charge of *Archidamus*, and of the *Eupolemus*, and two Tribunes with fiue hundred Horſe, and two thouſand Foote. At whoſe comming they which in the beginning did but skirmiſh, re- D
ſuming courage, preſently put on another kind of Combate. The *Romans* relying vpon their Succours, double their forces for the fight. And although the *Macedonians* defended themſelues braue-ly, yet they ſent vnto the King, being preſt and annoyed by their Armes, and for their refuge recouered the tops of the Mountaines.

And when as *Philip* had no hope but that they ſhould be able that day to giue Battaile with all their Forces for the fore-layd Cauſes, he

hee had ſent many of his men to forrage. But when he was aduertiſed of that which happened by thoſe which hee had ſent, and that the miſt was paſt, hee ſent *Heraclides* the *Gyrtonien*, Chiefe of the *Theſſalian* Horſe, and *Leon* Commander of the *Macedonian* Cauallery.

Hee likewiſe ſent *Athenagoras* with all the Mercenaries exept the *Thracians*. Who being come to the Ambuſh, and the *Macedonians* much re-inforced, they made head againſt the Enemy, and repuls'd the *Romans* from the Hills. The Dexterity of the *Etolien* Horſe did much hinder the Enemies from turning head. They fought in truth with great courage and confidence. The *Etoliens* in regard of the Foote-men, are faint both in their Armes and Ordonance for a Combat in Field: But their Horſe-men are excellent aboue all the other *Grecians* in particular and ſeparated Combats. Wherefore it happened, that for that they had ſtayed the violence and fury of the Enemy, they could not ſo ſoone recouer the Plaine, but ſtayed for a time in Battaile.

The Nature of the *Etoliens* as well on foote as Horſebacke.

But when as *Titus* ſaw not onely the moſt valiant and his Horſemen retire but alſo his whole Troupes to bee diſmayed, hee drawes his whole Army to Field, and puts them in order vpon the Hills. At the ſame inſtant they which were in Guard, ran haſtily one after another to *Philip*, crying out vnto him, Sir, the Enemies flye, loſe not this occaſion: The *Barbarians* ſeeke vs not: This day is yours, imbrace the time, and by this meanes they incite and ſtirre vp *Philip* to Battaile, although the ſcituation of the place did not content and pleaſe him. For the ſayd Hills (which they call *Dogs-head*) are rough, difficult of all ſides, and high. Wherefore when as *Philip* had formerly fore-ſeene the vnequalneſſe of the places, hee had not in the beginning made any preparation vnto Battaile: But beeing then prouoked by the great confidence of the aduertiſements, hee drawes his Army with all ſpeede out of the Fort.

Titus puts his Army in Battaile.

In regard of *Titus*, hee orders his Troupes and Bands for the Battaile, and followes them cloſe which began the Skirmiſh, making remonſtrances vnto the Battalions as hee turned. His Speech was ſhort, plaine, and intelligible to the Hearers. Propounding then the cauſe, hee ſayd vnto his Souldiers: Are not theſe O Companions, the ſame *Macedonians*, who formerly holding in *Macedony* the top of the Mountaines towards *Heordia*, you haue forced with *Sulpicius*, and chaſed from thence with the defeate of the greateſt part of them? Are not theſe the ſame *Macedonians*, who being ſeazed vpon the difficult places of *Epirus*, and leauing no hope of approach, you haue chaſed by your proweſſe, and forced to flye into *Macedony*, abandoning their Armes? What reaſon is there then that you ſhould feare the ſame men, with whom you are to enter into an equall Combate? To what end doe we propound vnto you precedent actions to conſider on, but that in regard of them you ſhould fight more confidently? Wherefore Companions

attend the Battaile with reſolution, giuing courage one to another. I hold for certaine, that with the good pleaſure of the Gods, the end of this Battaile will ſoone bee the concluſion of the precedent.

When *Titus* had vſed theſe Speeches, hee commands the right Wing of his Army not to budge, ſetting the Elephants before them: And aſſailes the Enemy with great courage with the left Wing, being accompanied by the moſt valiant. They which among the *Romans* had begun the Fight, ſhewing their courage, preſt the Enemies, hauing beene relieued by ſome Troupes of Foot-men. And when as A
A Battaile betwixt the *Romans* and *Philip* of *Macedony*.
at the ſame time *Philip* ſaw that the greateſt part of his Army was in order of Battaile before the Palliſadoe, hee marcheth, taking the Targetteers and the Battalion of the right Wing, and aſcends the Hills with ſpeede: giuing charge to *Nicanor* (whom hee called Elephant) to command the reſt of the Army to follow cloſe. As ſoone as the firſt had recouered the top, hee defends the Battalion, ſetting the Targets before, and ſeazed vpon the higher Countrey. And when as the *Macedonians* preſt the *Romans* much, vpon the two flankes of the Hills, he diſcouered the tops to bee abandoned. As he fortified the right Wing of his Army, it happened that the Soul- B
diers were much annoyed by the Enemy.

For when they they which were beſt armed, were ioyned vnto the moſt valiant of the *Romans*, and ſuccoured them in this fight, they preſt the Enemies much and ſlew many. As the King was there in the beginning, and ſaw the Combat of the valiant men not to be farre from the Campe, hee reioyced: againe, when hee ſaw them decline, and to haue neede of Succours, hee was forced to ſend them, and at that inſtant to hazard a Battaile, although that many of the Troupes of his Army were yet vpon the way, and approached to the Hills. And in taking the Souldiers hee rankes them all, C
as well on foote as Horſebacke on the right Wing, commanding the beares of Burthens and the Battalions, to double the Front of their Rankes, and to ſtand cloſe vpon the right hand.

This being done, when as the Enemies ioyned with them, hee commanded the Battalion that bending downe their Iauelings they ſhould march in order, and mingle with the ſtrongeſt. At the ſame inſtant, when as *Titus* had retired thoſe which had begunne the Fight, to the ſpaces which were betwixt the Enſignes, he chargeth the Enemy.

The Combat beginning on eyther ſide with great fury and clamour, all crying together, yet thoſe which were without the fight cry- D
ing vnto the reſt, the Battaile was made very horrible and cruell, and it ſhewed the force of the Combat. *Philips* right Wing carryed it ſelfe valiantly in this Battaile: charging the Enemy from aboue, hauing an aduantage in their order: which finally for the preſent fight was much more commodious, in regard of the diuerſity and ſeuerall ſorts of Armes. In regard of the reſt of the Army, ſome were ioyned vnto the Enemy fighting a farre off, others

ſhewed

ſhewed themſelues vpon the left hand hauing gotten the toppes of the Hils.

When as *Tytus* ſaw and did well perceiue that his men could not indure the force of the Enemies battallion, and thoſe of the right wing to be repuls'd, and ſome ſlaine, and others to retire by degrees, and that all his hope of ſafety conſiſted in the right Wing, hee goes ſpeedily vnto them, and conſiders the Enemies order. When hee ſaw ſome ſucceed in their places which had fought, and others to deſcend from the Hils, and ſome to ſtay vpon the tops, he marcheth A againſt the Enemy with his Enſignes, putting the Elephants before. And when as the *Macedonians* had no aduertiſement by Trumpets and Clarons, and that they could not make it good, nor receiue any true order of a battallion, aſwell for the difficulty of the place, as for that the Combattants had the forme of goers, and not of an order of Battaile, and that there was no further meanes to fight ſingle, or hand to hand with the *Romans*: Being alſo terrified and much iniured with the Elephants, and likewiſe ſeparated one from another, they marcht preſently away. Wherefore many *Romans* purſued them continually and ſlew them.

B One of the Captaines Milleneirs being of this Troupe, hauing but twenty Enſignes, conſidering at the very inſtant what was to be done, did great ſeruice for the obtaining of an abſolute Victory. For when he ſaw thoſe that accompanied *Philip*, aſſailed the others often, and grieuouſly to annoy the left Wing, hee turnes to them that were in diſtreſſe, leauing thoſe which vanquiſhed on the right Wing, and charged the *Macedonians* in the Reare. When as they of the Battallion could not make reſiſtance, fighting man to man, this other was at their backes, killing thoſe they incountred, there beeing no man that could ſuccour them, ſo as in the end they were forced to turne head, and to abandon their Armes. Although that *Philip* (as wee haue ſayd C in the beginning) had a great hope in the Victory, making a coniecture in his owne conceite, yet ſeeing the *Macedonians* to abandon and leaue their Armes ſuddainly, and the Enemies to charge in the Reare, hee parts ſpeedily from the Battaile with ſome Horſe and Foote, to conſider fully of the Combate.

When as he imagined that the *Romans* by their purſuite would approach to the right Wing on the tops of the Hills, hee ſeekes to draw together as many *Thraſiens* and *Macedonians* as poſſibly hee could. When as *Tytus* purſued the Chaſe, and had diſcouered the left Wing of the *Macedonians* to aſſaile the toppes of the Hills, hee ſtayed: For D that the Enemies held their Iauelings right vp: The which the *Macedonians* are accuſtomed to do when they yeild, or retire from the Enemy. When hee had knowne the cauſe of this accident, hee reſtraines his men, being willing to pardon thoſe that were amazed with feare. But whilſt that *Tytus* conſidered of theſe things, ſome of the fore-moſt Charge them from aboue and kill many: few eſcaped abandoning their Armes. This Battaile being thus ended of all ſides, and the *Romans* hauing the victory, *Philip* retires towards *Tempe*, and comming the firſt

The ſigne which the *Macedonians* giue when they yeild.

The victory of the *Romans*.

day to the Tower of *Alexander*, hee paſt the Night there. The day following paſſing to *Gonnes*, hee entred *Tempe*, ſtaying there for thoſe which ſhould eſcape in the flight.

When as the *Romans* had purſued the Chaſe for a time, ſome ſtrip the dead, others draw the Priſoners together, and a great part goe to force the Enemies Campe. There they finde the *Etolians*, who had forced it before for ſpoile, and imagining that they were fruſtrated of a booty which was due and did belong vnto them, they beganne to accuſe the *Etoliens* before the Generall, and to complaine, that hee had impoſed the danger and the burthen of the Battaile vpon them, giuing the profite and benefit vnto others: yet being returned vnto their Campe, they were ſomewhat pacified. The day following they aſſemble and gather together the Priſoners, and the reſt of the ſpoile and booty, and from thence they tooke their courſe towards *Lariſſa*.

Number of the dead on either ſide.

There dyed in this battaile about ſeauen hundred *Romans*, and neere vpon eight thouſand *Macedonians*; the Priſoners were not leſſe then fiue Thouſand. Beſides many that eſcaped by flight. Thus ended this Battaile giuen betwixt *Philip* and the *Romans* in *Theſſaly* at the Dogſhead.

Of the difference of the Roman *and* Macedonian *Armes.*

I Had promiſed in the ſixt Booke, to make a Compariſon of the *Roman* and *Macedonian* Armes, and of the ordring of their Battailes, and wherein they differ eyther worſe or better: Now I will indeauour to performe my promiſe. As in former times the *Macedonian* Armies haue giuen good proofes of their Valour, hauing Vanquiſhed the *Aſiatiques* and *Grecians*, and that the *Romans* haue ſurmounted the *Affricans* as much, as all the Weſterne Nations of *Europe*, and that in our time the conferrence of theſe Armies and men is to be made, not for once but for many times, it will be commodious and profitable to ſeeke out their difference, and for what reaſon the *Romans* vanquiſh, hauing alwayes the vpper hand in Martiall Combats: To the end that acknowledging it from Fortune, wee ſhould with reaſon call them happy Victors, as the ignorant vſually do: But knowing the true cauſe, wee ſhould commend and holde theſe Captaines for miraculous.

In

In regard of the Battailes giuen betwixt *Hannibal* and the *Romans*, and their loſſe, it is not needfull to vſe any long Diſcourſe. The *Romans* without doubt did not ſuffer thoſe loſſes, for want of Armes, and the order of their Battailes, but in regard of the good direction and pollicy of *Hannibal*.

The *Romans* haue bin Vanquiſhed by the pollicy of *Hannibal*.

We declared this when we related the Battailes themſelues. The end of the Warre confirmes our opinion. For when as the *Romans* had found a Commaunder like vnto *Hannibal*, they ſuddainely were Victors. So doth this, that when as *Hannibal* had Vanquiſhed the
A *Romans* firſt, he furniſhed the common Souldiers better with the *Roman* Armes, reiecting their owne: Hauing vſurped them in the beginning, he afterwards made continuall vſe of them. *Pyrrhus* in like manner did not onely vſe the *Italians* Armes, but alſo their ordering of Armies, when as by change he ſets in the head of the *Romans* an Enſigne and Band of the Battallion. Yet hee could not ouer-come nor vanquiſh by this meanes, the end of the Combate beeing alwaies doubt to the one and the other. It ſhalbe therefore neceſſary and conuenient to Treate thereof firſt, to the end that nothing may ſeeme any way contrary vnto our opinion: but I will beginne our con-
B ference.

It is an eaſie thing to know by many inſtructions, that if a Battalion obſerues its proper order and forces, ſo nothing can annoy it, nor withſtand it, for as an armed man hath three foote in his poſture in a cloſe Combate, and that the length of his Pike from one end to the other is of foure and twenty foote, and at the leaſt of one and twenty: And that for the ſpace of his hands with the end which remaines for to ſhake it, they abate ſixe foote during the Combate, it is apparent that a Pike ſhall haue fifteene foote in length, beſides the body of euery man that is armed, when with both hands hee preſents it and chargeth the Enemy. Whereby it commonly happens that the other Pikes
C paſſe three foote before the ſecond, third, and fourth rancke of the precedent: The others before the fifth, if the Battallions be fitly ioyned and cloſe, according vnto the order of thoſe which are in the Reare and vpon the Flanckes: As *Homer* teacheth when hee ſayth, the Target aſſures the Target, the Head-peece the Head-peece, and the Man the Man: The Head-peeces adorned with Horſes haire, touch one another with their braue Creſts: tending, that they ſhould be ioyned together and cloſe.

As theſe things are ſpoken with good reaſon and trueth, it is apparently neceſſary, that the Pikes ſhould be charged, according to thoſe
D that go before, paſſing betwixt them the length of ten foot and a halfe. By this meanes they may viſibly know of what force the preparation and order of a Battallion is, hauing the length of ſixteene Ranckes: Whereof they which exceed the fifth cannot fight with their Pikes. For this cauſe they cannot fight hand to hand, nor man to man: but they ſupport them at their backes vntill they take breath, to the end that the firſt ranke may hold a firme order, repulſing all manner of force with their Pikes, which (paſſing the firſt) might charge vpon the reare. For

in

in marching after this manner, they preſſe the fore-moſt with the weight of their bodies, to make a more violent charge. For it is impoſſible for the fore-moſt to turne backe.

This being the order of a *Macedonian* Battalion, aſwell in particular as in generall, wee muſt by way of compariſon ſpeake of the properties and differences of the *Roman* Armes, and of their ordering of a Battaile. The *Romans* haue three foote ſpace with their Armes. The which in fighting they mooue from man to man, for that euery man couers his body with his Target, the which they alſo vſe when any occaſion of Combate is offered. They commonly fight with the Sword by tranſport and apart: Wherefore it is manifeſt that theſe men haue betwixt them, a Retreate and ſpace of three foote at the leaſt, betwixt him that goes before, and the other which followes to fight more at eaſe, whereby it happens that a *Roman* ſtanding ſtill, contaynes the ſpace of two *Macedonian* Souldiers, beeing in the firſt Ranke: So as he muſt offer himſelfe and fight againſt ten Pikes: All which one cannot cut if hee would, holding them in his hands: Neyther can the following Forces any way aſſiſt the firſt Ranke, neyther to aſſaile nor to mannage their Armes. So as wee may eaſily coniecture, that it is impoſſible for any man liuing, to ſuſtaine and defend the violence of a *Macedonian* Battallion in Front, if (as wee haue formerly ſayd) it retaynes its propriety and force, for what cauſe then doe the *Romans* Vanquiſh?

Order of the *Romans* Armes. A

B

For what cauſe the *Romans* Vanquiſh.

Whence comes it that *Macedonian* Battallions, are fruſtrated of their Hope of Victory? It is for that the *Roman* Ordonance, hath in Battaile infinite places and times commodious for the Combate, and the *Macedonians* haue onely place and time, when it may bee ſeruiceable and commodious. And therefore if vpon ſome neceſſity the Aduerſaries fall ſuddainly vpon the *Macedonian* Battallions, when they are to giue Battaile, it is likely that they which make vſe of it, would be alwayes the Maſters. But if they can diuert or turne it, (which is an eaſie thing) of what amazement and great terrour will this Ordonance be?

C

Moreouer it is very playne and manifeſt that a *Macedonian* Battallion hath neede of Plaines and Euen ground without any let or incumbance, as Ditches, Springs, Vallies, Hills, and Water-courſes: for all theſe things may diſturbe, breake, and make fruſtrate their deſire and intention. It is (as a man may ſay) in manner impoſſible, to finde a Countrey of twenty Furlongs (I ſpeake of no more) where none of the afore-mentioned things are found. It is without any queſtion or doubt a rare thing, and which no reaſonable man will deny. Yet I will allow there are ſome found. If the Enemies do not direct and guide themſelues thether, but paſſing on ruine the Townes, Villages, Cities, and whole Regions of their Friends and Allies, what profite then will grow by this kinde of Ordonance? If it ſtayes in places of aduantage, it cannot giue ſuccours to its friends, nor preſerue it ſelfe. For Victuals, Munition, and ſuccours, may bee very eaſily intercepted by an Enemy, if without any oppoſition hee

D

be

be maſter of the field. If likewiſe in leauing places of aduantage, a *Macedonian* Battalion ſeekes to execute ſome enterprize, hee is in danger of the Enemy. For although that ſome one goes to field, and doth not at one time offer his Army to the fury of the *Macedonian* Battalion, diuerting himſelfe for a time during the fight, wee may eaſily coniecture by that which the *Romans* doe at this day, what will happen. The coniecture of that which wee ſay, muſt not bee taken from the effect. They doe not preſent their Battalion in ſuch an indifferent place, as they muſt ſuddenly fight with all their forces
A in front. One part fights the other ſtirres not.

Moreouer if at any time the *Macedonians* preſſe their Enemies eagerly, and are afterward repuls'd by them, the proper order of the Battalion is broken. For they leaue the reſt of the Army, whether they purſue thoſe that are retired, or flye from thoſe which charge them. The which being done, they leaue vnto the Enemy the place which they had held, not to charge in front, but to ſerue them vpon the flancke or in the reare, to ſuccour thoſe of the Battalion. Why it is not probable, that it ſhould bee eaſie for a *Roman* Battalion, to obſerue time and aduantage, and not for a *Macedonian*, ſeeing the differences are great, according
B to the truth of the ſaid things.

Moreouer it is neceſſary for thoſe which make vſe of the *Macedonian* Ordonance, to paſſe through all ſorts of Countries, and to plant their Campe, and finally to ſeaze vpon commodious places and to beſieged and indure ſieges, and to preſent himſelfe againſt the Enemy. All theſe things are requireſt in warre: Sometimes alſo the generall moments which are great, ſerue much for the victory: all which are not eaſie for a *Macedonian* Ordonance, yea ſometimes they are vnprofitable, for that the ſouldier can neyther ſerue in rancke nor man to man: Whereas the *Roman* is fit and profitable for theſe
C things. For euery *Roman* comming to fight with his Armes, is actiue for all times and places and for all charges: and hath generally one Ordonance, whither he be to fight in Troupe with the whole Army, or particularly Enſigne to Enſigne, or Man to Man. Wherefore as the commodity is moſt excellent, ſo many times the end and concluſion of the Battaile is more proſperous and ſucceſſefull vnto the *Romans*, then to others. I haue therefore thought it neceſſary and conuenient to vſe a long Diſcourſe concerning theſe things, for that there are many *Gretians* at this day which hold it incredible, that the
D *Macedonians* ſhould be vanquiſhed and ouercome, being ignorant of the cauſe and meanes, whereby a *Macedonian* Ordonance is vanquiſhed by the *Roman* Armes.

When as *Philip* had vſed all poſſible meanes hee could in this Battaile, and yet was preuented of the Victory, hee foorth with made great haſt (paſſing by *Tempe*) to recouer *Macedony*, beeing accompanied with all thoſe which had eſcaped from the Battaile. Hee preſently ſent vnto *Lareſſa* the ſecond Night after the Battaile, one

Philips retreate into *Macedony*.

one of the Archers of his Guard, giuing him charge to teare and burne the Royall Letters, doing therein an Act worthy of a King, who in his aduerſe Fortune had not forgotten that which was to bee done. He knew and did well perceiue that if the *Romans* were once ſeazed on his Commentaries, there might be many occaſions offered vnto his Enemies againſt him and his Friends. It may bee it happened and fell out to him as to others, who not able to containe their power moderately in proſperous things, yet haue borne and ſuffered many Croſſes and Diſaſters with patience: The which happened vnto *Philip*, as wilbe apparent by the following Diſcourſe. So as ayming at that A which was conuenient, wee haue plainly ſhewed and declared his Attempts tending to reaſon, and againe his change to worſe, and when, how, and wherefore theſe things were done, hauing plainely ſet foorth and expreſt his Actions: Wee muſt by the ſame meanes declare his Repentance and dilligence, whereby beeing changed thorough his aduerſe Fortune, hee carried and behaued himſelfe at that time like a wiſe and diſcreete man. Finally, *Tytus* hauing giuen good order after the Battaile, for thoſe things which concerned the Priſoners and ſpoile, he went to *Lariſſa*.

B

A Parcell of an imperfect ſence.

C

TO define folly we cannot, for that they are deſirous of the ſame meanes. This kind of remiſneſſe and dulneſſe, is often found in many. Neither is it to be wondred at, if it hath place among others: But among thoſe in whom this Spring of malice is found, there is another cauſe, for the which that wiſe ſaying of *Epicharmes* doth not agree: Watch and remember that thou muſt diſtruſt. This is the bone of hearts.

D

Of

Of a certaine Accord betwixt *Antiochus* and the *Romans*.

AT the ſame time came from the *Vargyles* *Publius Lentulus*, with ten Legats: and from *Thaſſe* *Lucius Terentius* and *Publius Villius*. When their comming was ſuddainly declared vnto the King, they aſſembled all within few daies at *Lyſimachia*. After whom followed *Hegiſſianactes*, and *Liſias* ſent at that time to *Titus*. Finally, the conference in priuate betwixt the King and the *Romans* was gracious and courteous. But when the aſſembly met for affaires, they imbraced another diſpoſition. *Lucius Cornelius* required that *Antiochus* ſhould leaue all the Cities, the which being ſubiect to *Ptolomy*, hee had taken in *Aſia*. In regard of thoſe which were ſubiect to *Philip*, hee conteſted much to haue him leaue them. For it was a mockery, that *Antiochus* comming he ſhould reape the fruites of the Warre which the *Romans* had made againſt *Philip*: He likewiſe aduiſed him not to meddle with the free Cities. He alſo ſayd, that it ſeemed ſtrange, that without reaſon he had paſt into *Europe* with an Army as well by Sea as Land: That no man could conceiue it to be to any other end, then to make Warre againſt the *Romans*. Theſe things being propounded by the *Romans*, they held their peace. The King in anſwere ſaid, that he wondred for what cauſe they debated with him for the Cities of *Aſia*, and that it was more fitting for any other then for the *Romans*. Finally, hee intreated them not to vſurpe, nor to deale with the affaires of *Aſia*: And that for his part hee would not meddle with any thing that was in *Italy*. In regard of *Europe*, he had entred with his Armies to recouer the Cities of *Cherroneſe* and *Thrace*: For that the command of all thoſe places belonged to him: this gouernment in the beginning being due to *Lyſimachus*: But when as *Seleucus* made Warre againſt him, and had ouerthrowne him in Battaile, all the Kingdome of *Lyſimachus* became ſubiect to *Seleucus* by force. After the time of his predeceſſors, *Ptolomy* was the firſt who violently the ſayd places, vſurped them: The like did *Philip*. And that for his part he recouered them, accommodating himſelfe to his owne times, and not to thoſe of *Philip*.

Antiochus makes an aſſembly at *Lyſimachia*.

Antiochus anſwere to the *Romans*.

And as for the *Lyſimachians*, ruined without reaſon by the *Thracians* he reduced them to himſelfe, no way wronging the *Romans*, and reſtored them to their Countrey: The which he did to ſhew this mercy to

the affaires of *Seleucus*, and not to make Warre againſt the *Romans*. In regard of the Cities of *Aſia*, they ought not to enioy liberty by the commandment of the *Romans*, but of grace. And for that which concerned *Ptolomy*; that with all his heart hee gaue him thankes: and that he vnderſtood that hee had not onely concluded Friendſhip with him, but made a League. When as *Lucius* was of opinion that the *Lampſaceneins*, and *Smyrneins*, ſhould be called, and audience giuen them, it was done accordingly. There *Parmenio* and *Pythodorus* preſented themſelues for the *Lampſacenins*, and *Cerane* for the *Smyrnien*. When as theſe men debated freely, the King being incenſed to yeeld an accompt of their debate before the *Romans*, interrupting the Speech of *Parmenio*, ceaſe ſayth hee, to plead ſo much, I am not well pleaſed to diſpute with my Enemies before the *Romans*, but rather before the *Rhodiens*, and then by this meanes they brake off the Aſſembly without any mutuall affection. A

B

Another Parcell.

MAny men deſire actions of courage and proweſſe, but the experience is rare. *Scope* in truth and *Cleomenes* haue had great occaſions for Combats and hardy Enterprizes. For as *Scope* was formerly taken, hee had reſolued in the ſame hope with his Seruants and Friends, but hee could not ſaue himſelfe. Finally, his iuſt death (hauing led a wretched life) hath giuen teſtimony of his great weakneſſe. And although that *Scope* was aided and aſſiſted with great Forces, hauing the gouernment of the King in his nonage, and was of his Councell, yet he was ſoone ruined. C

For when as *Ariſtomenes* knew that hee had aſſembled his Friends in his houſe, holding a Councell with them, he ſent vnto him by his Guards to come vnto the aſſembly. But hee was ſo tranſported in his iudgement, as hee did not that which hee ought to haue done, neyther could hee (being called) be obedient vnto the King: which was the greateſt folly in the World: vntill that *Ariſtomenes* knowing his baſeneſſe, lodg'd Souldiers and Elephants neare his Houſe, and ſent *Ptolomy* the Son of *Eumenes* with the Young men, to bring him with faire words, if he would come willingly; if not, to vſe force. D

When

When as *Ptolomy* was entred into his houſe, and ſignifying vnto him that the King demanded *Scope*, he did not at the firſt obſerue his words: But caſting his lookes vpon *Ptolomy*, he was long in that eſtate, as it were threatning him, and wondring at his preſumption. But when as *Ptolomy* approacht with aſſurance, and layd hold of his Cloake, then he required helpe of the Aſſiſtants. Being in this eſtate, and a great company of the young men comming about him, being alſo aduertiſed, that his houſe was enuironed with Souldiers, hee followed him obeying the times, being accompanied by his Friends. When as hee
A was come to the Aſſembly and Councell, the King charged him a little: Then *Polycrates* newly arriued from *Cypres*: and in the end *Ariſtomenes*. The accuſation was according to that which had beene ſpoken: but they added moreouer, that he had drawne his Friends together to conſult, and that being called by the King, he would not obey. For which things all they which were in the Aſſembly, not onely condemned him, but likewiſe the forreine Embaſſadors there aſſiſting. But when as *Ariſtomenes* came to accuſe him, he tooke many notable perſons, not onely of *Greece*, but alſo of the *Etolien* Embaſſadors, who were there for the accord: Among the which was *Dorimachus*, the
B Sonne of *Nicoſtrates*.

And when as theſe men had ſpoken, *Scope* laboured to alledge ſome excuſes: But when as no man giue eare vnto him for the foulenеſſe of his Crimes, hee was ſuddainly carryed to Priſon with his Friends. The Night following, *Ariſtomenes* cauſed him to dye of poyſon with all his Friends and Kinſfolkes. In regard of *Dicearchus*, hee put him to death, hauing ſuffred great Torments: hauing endured fit puniſhments for all the *Grecians*. This was that *Dicearchus* whom *Philip* (preſuming to breake the accords with the Ilands of *Cyclades*, and the Cities of *Helleſpont*, had made him Commander of all his Army at Sea, and ſuperintendant of the ſayd buſineſſe. And when he was ſent to a mani-
C feſt execration, hee did not hold it an vnreaſonable and wicked act, thinking he ſhould be able to terrifie both Men and Gods by his rage. Making haſte to recouer the ſhips, hee ſet vp two Altars, the one to cruelty, and the other to iniquity: Vpon the which he ſacrificed and prayed as vnto the Gods. Wherefore it ſeemes hee was puniſhed by a iuſt Death, as well in the preſence of Gods as Men. For as he led a life of a ſtrange Nature, ſo he ended by a ſtrange Death. Finally, when as the other *Etoliens* were deſirous to retire home, the King ſuffred them to goe with all their Goods. *Scope* in his life time had a wonder-
D full deſire of riches. Hee exceeded all other in auarice. And after his death his houſes were found abounding with Gold and rich moueables. Whereas he had for aſſiſtant the ingratitude and drunkenneſſe of *Charimorthe*, he had wholy corrupted the Realme.

Scope put to death by poyſon.

Altars ſet vp by *Dicearchus* to cruelty and iniquity.

When as the Priuy Councell had taken order for the *Etoliens* affaires, they all inclined to giue power to the King to command: Not in regard of the maturity of his age, but for that they thought thereby, that the eſtate of the Crowne would further the affaires: and that if the King tooke vpon him a free power of the Realme, it would be a beginning

and aduancement to the better. Making then a ſtately preparation, they put it in execution with royall Magnificence. *Policrates* ſeemed to haue aſſiſted them much in this Enterprize. For as this man was deare vnto his Father, being yet young, there was not a better Courtier in all the whole Court, neither for that which concern'd his fidelity, nor the affaires, nor yet in more fauour with the King. When as *Cypres* with the reuenewes were deliuered vnto him vpon his faith and truſt, in that dangerous time ſubiect to many hazards, he not only kept this Iland for the Infant, but alſo gathered together great ſtore of Treaſure, the which he then brought vnto the King, deliuering the gouernment of *Cypres* to *Ptolomy* the *Megalopolitaine*. And when vpon this occaſion, he had purchaſed a great power for the future, in time he ſtrayed and fell into a raſh and wicked courſe of life. *Ptolomy Ageſandre* by the force of his Age fell into the like infamy. Wherefore when opportunity ſhall ſerue, it ſhall bee no great trouble to declare what great ignominy and reproach followed their gouernments.

To God onely be all Honour and Glory.

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FINIS.

55
56 ye revolters from ye Carthag.s hauing
purpost at length send Ambass: to the Carthag.
their revolt. at length send Ambass: to the Carthag.
camp. to treat. wch they agree to. deliuers up ten
whom the Carth: great Amilcar ye chiefe out of
theyr whole Army. to get ye rest might more readyly
wth theyr Shirts wch did no harm. Amilcar had ye
vpt according to ye Agreem.t he made choice of those
his presence by wch spondius & Autaritus & other
of theyr armie were deliuered to him, & were
after hanged on a Crosse.

THE HISTORY OF POLYBIVS THE MEGALOPOLITAN.

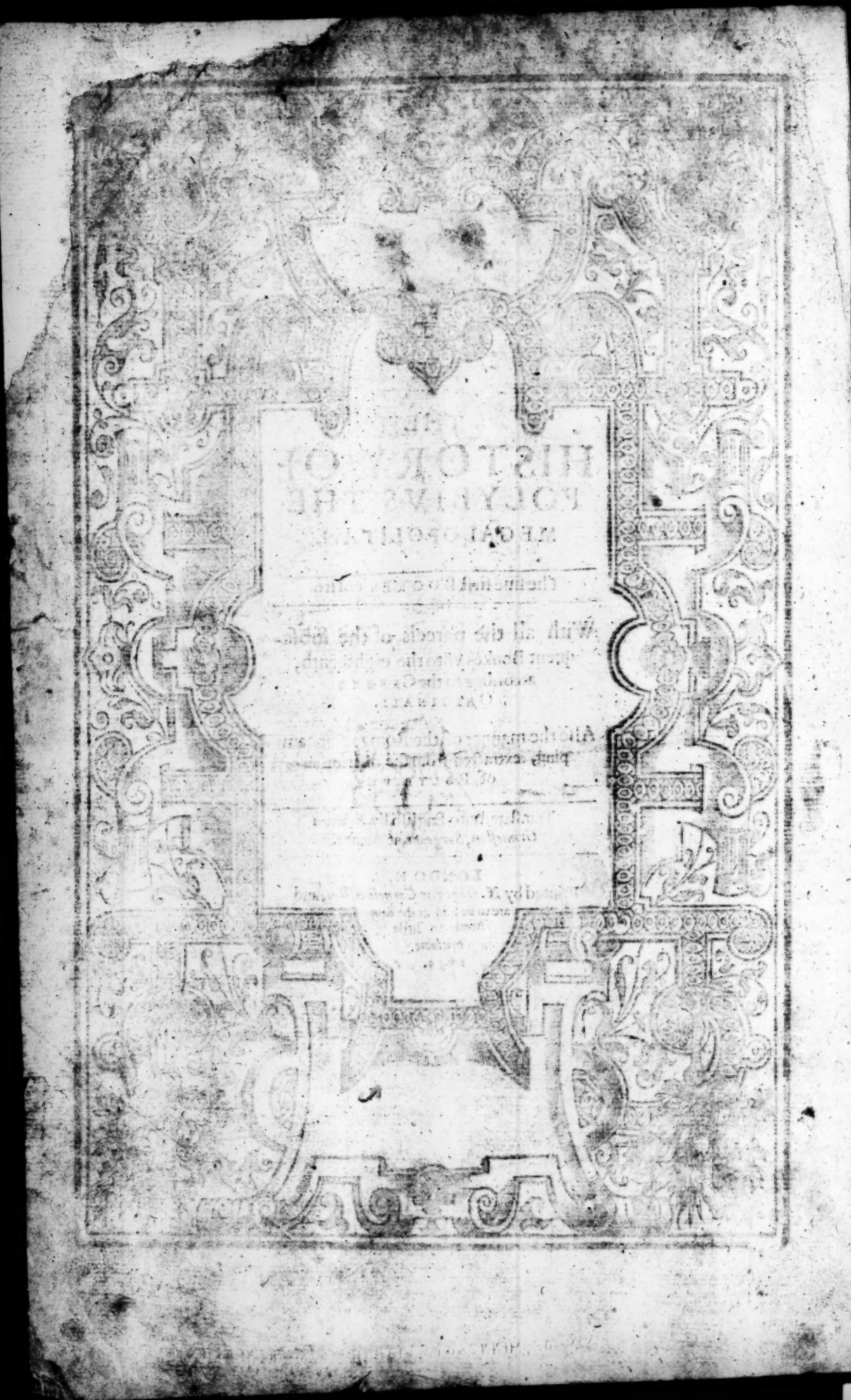
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Translated into English by Edward Grimeston, Seruant to Armes.

AT LONDON,
Printed by [illegible] for Cornelius Bee, and
[illegible]
1634.



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TO THE
RIGHT HONORABLE
WILLIAM LORD *CRAVEN*,
BARON OF HAMSTEED-
MARSHALL, &c.

MOST WORTHY LORD,

B PArdon I beseech you, if (being a stanger and vnknowne vnto you) I haue presumed to inscribe your title on the Frontespiece of this Booke, and to publish it to the world, vnder your Lo. fauourable protection. I confesse my disability might well haue deterred me: But the reason which induced me to this presumption, was your noble and C generous inclination to Armes (being the subiect of this History) wherein you haue carried your selfe so worthily in many great and dangerous exploits, in forraine parts, vnder two of the greatest Commanders of Christendome, as you haue done great honour to your Country, and won vnto your selfe perpetuall fame and reputation. This Consideration hath made me confident, that during your vacancy from Military actions, your Lordship will vouchsafe to D cast your eye vpon this History written by *Polybius*, who (in the opinion of most men of Iudgement) hath beene held to be very sincere, and free from malice, affection or passion. And to iustifie the truth thereof, he protests that he was present at many of the actions, and receiued the rest from confident persons who were eye-witnesses. It is a generall History of his time, of all the warres which past

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XUM

in *Asia*, *Greece*, and the *Romane* State, against the *Gaules*, and *Carthaginians*, which two Cities contended for the Empiry of the world: which warre was of longer continuance, and had more cruell and variable encounters and battailes than any that hath beene written of: For the first Punique warre (where they sought for the Conqueſt of *Sicily*) lasted foure and twenty yeeres; and the second in *Italy* vnder *Hannibal*, Generall for the *Carthaginians*, continued seuenteene yeeres, to the subuersion (in a manner) of the Romane State, had not *Scipio* forced *Hannibal* to returne home to defend his owne *Carthage*, where in Battell he lost the glory of all his former Victories, and brought his Countrey into the subiection of the *Romanes*. This worke I present vnto your Lordships fauourable Censure, humbly praying that you will be pleased to beare with my harsh and vnpolished stile, and to pardon the errors committed at the presse during my absence: for which fauour I shall hold my selfe much bound vnto your Lordship, and will alwaies remaine

Your Lord^p. most humbly deuoted
to doe you seruice,

EDW. GRIMESTON.

Levves Maigret a Lionnois

to the FRENCH Nobility.

A

GEntlemen, wee are all borne by nature to so much poverty, and inuolu'd in so many miseries, as there is no worke of Man, how small soeuer, which giuing order to his meanest actions, doth not minister occasion of some Esteeme. So as whereas his diligence guiaed by reason, shall finde it selfe crost, I know not by what power,
B which commonly fortune vsurpes ouer the iudgement and consideration of Man, wee may (as we thinke) iustly blame it, in excusing with compassion the workeman and his misfortune. And if on the other side, to shew her great magnificence and bounty, she imparts her fauours and graces to some one, who without keeping any order or faire course, seekes to bring some Enterprize to an end, so as that notwithstanding his ouer-weaning and folly shee makes it perfect: Then we hold her prodigall, detesting her vnreasonable and
C inconsiderate bounty, grieuing at her benefits so ill imployed. Behold how, (I know not by what law receiued among men) wee commend or blame euery one in his profession and workes, so farre forth as they see his industry and diligence imployed or defective. If wee haue reason then in so great Esteeme, as wee seeke it in all our actions, and in matters of the smallest consequence, blaming him that neglects it: How infamous wee hold the carelesnesse and neglect of a man in the order and conduct of affaires, wherein not
D onely the ruine of his estate, life and honour, but also that of his Country, Parents, and Friends, and finally of his Prince and Soueraigne, is many times brought into great danger? But if there be no Enterprize among those which wee pursue, wherin such things ought to bee of aduenture to consideration, as proper and ordinary vnto him, and without the danger whereof wee can reape no benefit, I am of opinion that that of warre ought in reason to bee preferred be-

fore

fore all others: Although there bee many, which cannot alwaies be brought to a good end, without the hazard and danger of those which pursue them. In truth it is a profession, which experience hath taught in all Nations, to bee so rough and fierce, and finally so difficult to mannage, as neuer man could carry himselfe so discreetly, nor with so great fortune, nor recouered such rich spoiles, nor obtained such Triumphant victories, but they haue purchased him new causes of Care and feare, not onely of great Enuie, and of new Enemies, but also losse and ruine. I will not speake of the irreparable defeate of the braueſt Men in an Armie, which a Victory worthy of renowne requires, as it were by aduance, when as the Enemies performe the Duties of good souldiers. The Carthagians thrusting an Army into Sicily, at their first entry obtained some Conquests, so soone after they prouoked hatred of the Romanes: which was but the beginning and presage of a future ruine. But when as the fortune of the warres began to smile vpon Hanibal, and to giue him a full Gale, whose exploits were so great in Spaine, as afterwards hee presumed to force Nations, Mountaines, and riuers, and in the end to fight with the Extremity of the weather for the Conquest of Italy: Then, as it were, fearing her owne power, to bee in a manner vanquished, shee began to practize and forge meanes, not onely to ruine her so much fauoured Hanibal, but the whole Carthaginian Empire. And therefore it is credible, that (I know not by what inconstancy, or rather extrauagant and sauage Nature) shee makes friends of Enemies, and enemies of her owne friends; so much shee feares (as I imagine) the ease and rest of those whom shee fauours. It is true that traffique by Sea is not without great terrour, amazement and hazard, for the danger of the waues, Tempests and stormes, with a thousand other accidents. But if warre once set vp her sailes, being accompanied with rage, fury, and many other disasters, which the malice of Men haue inuented to make vse of, beleeue mee that these other furies, which the winds procure at Sea, and in the Aire, which many times are more fearefull than mortall, will not seeme in regard of those of warre, but a light amazement, and, as it were, a false allarum. What torment at sea, or violence of the winds hath euer beene so soddaine, which the long

A B C D

long experience of a wise Pilot, could not by a thousand signes and tokens foresee, deuising sufficient remedies to auoid it? But when a warre is mannaged by Iudgement and discretion, as it is requisite, the shewes are commonly contrarie, to that which they pursue. Wherefore the more an Enterprize is dissembled and keept secret, the more easie it is to put in execution. Finally, if wee will confesse the truth, it is a pro-
A *fession which among all others, requires the greatest vigilancie; a continuall Care, with an incredible diligence: whereof a good Iudgement must haue the conduct, that by coniecture drawne from things formerly practized, or from a probability of that which hee sees, hee may soone after iudge of the Enemies resolution, and finally attempt and hope for a victory.*

And although it hath beene alwaies held, that Money is the
B *sinewes of Warre; yet I hold its force without Conduct; like vnto that of a strong, able Man, oppresst with a deepe sleepe, whose senses haue made their retreate for his rest. So there is nothing so strong, nor so quicke in this world as the sense of man: Nor any thing so powerfull and terrible, which the vnderstanding doth not master and subdue. And therefore wee say commonly in* France, *that wit is better than force. Yet I know that Courage is a great aduantage;*
C *and necessary for a Souldier, but especially for a Generall: But I feare that for want of Iudgement and a good consideration, it makes them not sometimes ouer-weening and careless of danger. So as many times it giues occasion to a weake and cowardlie Enemie, to vndertake a Victory, and to performe the Act of a valiant man. Wherefore courage without conduct, and vigilancie, is alwayes subiect to Ambushes and shamefull flights: which are inconueniences,*
D *whereof a Coward is alwaies warie, for that feare makes a Man vigilant and carefull. But was there euer Nation more hardie, nor more warre-like, nor that more carefully obserued the ordinances of warre than the* Romanes? *How then did* Hannibal *deseate them so often, not onely in Encounters, but in pitcht Battailes, and in the open*

field, by his great Iudgement, and his ſubtile pollicies? In what feare, and with what admiration hath the fury of the Gaules, *beene held in old time by all Nations, who parting from their owne Countrey and Townes, to ſeeke new habitations, haue conquered land in diuers Countries by Armes, building Townes not onely in* Italy *their Neighbour, but alſo in* Germany, *and in the end in* Greece, *and* Aſia? *Who hath defeated and quite ruinated them in a ſhort time, but their owne Conſideration, and an ouer-weaning confidence in their force and courage? I hold for certaine, which you know well, that it is not ſufficient for a Prince or Generall to haue his Armie compleate with foote and horſemen, how reſolute ſoeuer, and with all neceſſary prouiſions for a warre: No more than for a Souldier to haue youth, ſtrong and actiue Members, a daring courage, and compleate furniture. Hee muſt haue to vanquiſh (the which many times the vanquiſhed improperly call miſ-fortune) that piece of harneſſe ſo well ſteeled, which wee call Iudgement, or a good conduct. Beleeue mee that like vnto a horſe, when hee hath taken the bit betwixt his teeth, forcing his Maſter, flies without feare thorow Woods, Rockes, and Precipices, with the danger of his life, bee hee neuer ſo nimble and couragious; ſo a hardie and reſolute ſouldier doth eaſily his owne ruine, if hee wants conduct and Iudgement. You muſt vnderſtand that as the body requires Exerciſe to preſerue in health, and to make it actiue, and hardened to indure labour and paine; ſo the vnderſtanding in like manner deſires to bee exerciſed and imployed, either by the conſideration of things paſt, or by thoſe which are viſible.*

It is true, that thoſe which are ſeene by the eye, haue a greater viuacitie, and a ſtronger impreſſion, than thoſe which are paſt: For that liuing things are of greater force than dead. Yet, if we ſhall duely conſider the length of time, which the experience of a thouſand kind of pollicies, which warre requires before that a wiſe Man will dare to aduenture himſelfe in a bold and hardie Enterprize, wee ſhall finde that the knowledge of the antient warres, which haue beene

left

left vs in writing, will bee of no small consequence vnto him. For besides the assurance of danger, hee may in a short time see by Historiographers, the great and wonderfull exploits of the Antient in a manner since the Creation of the world, to pleasure and contentment from them, with some Encouragement to doe aswell or better hereafter. You know well that the warre which is seene by the eye, is not alwaies made betwixt warre-like people, nor vnder resolute Commaunders,
A that are skilfull in their profession: so as it is a difficult thing vnder such to see any valiant exploits, nor Enterprizes attempted with good inuention, nor well executed. Wee say commonly in France, that the Combate is dangerous, when as courage fights against courage. So is it credible, that when an Army consisting of warre-like men, is vnder the leading of a wyse and resolute Commander, hauing in front an Enemy equall vnto him in all degrees, there must needes
B bee valiant exploits performed, with hardy Enterprizes wisely mannaged.

If there haue beene any warres, attempted by fierce and warlike Nations, and gouerned by wise and famous Captaines, beleeue me this present Historiographer hath vsed great diligence to set them downe in writing: Labouring only to mention the deedes and valour that was most worthy of
C Relation, that with the pleasure and contentment which they may reape in reading them, they may draw some instructions and meanes, not to fall into the inconuiences of warre, into the danger whereof many times both Captaine and souldiers may bee ingaged, through want of experience, good aduice and councell. So as among others, you shall see Enterprizes of the Romanes against the Carthaginians for the conquest of Sicily.
D During the which there were many Encounters and cruell battailes, as well by Sea as land. You shall likewise reade the furious Combat of the Gaules against the Romanes: And moreouer the warre betwixt Cleomenes and Antigonus, for Morea, the which Philip the Sonne of Demetrius tooke afterwards. And besides many other notable exploites, (which at this present I will forbeare)

you shall see the Conquests which Hannibal made in Spaine, with his incredible voiage into Italie, performed in his younger yeeres; and his victories gotten of the Romanes with such pollicie and wisedome, as it is a difficult thing (if wee shall consider the people and number of his Armie, having regard to courage and power of those with whom hee had to deale) to iudge truely, whether there were euer Captaine in the memory of man, that may with reason bee A compared vnto him. Finally my Masters, I doe not promise you in this History, those miraculous Battailes, which exceed the apprehension of man, performed in the Kingdome of Logres, nor I know not what Quest of that barking Beast. Make your accompt that you shall not finde any Traict or marke of a Beast, nor finally any thing that holds of it. Beleeue mee in times past, Men did not feede their vnderstandings with dreames, nor fables inuented in barbers-shops, B without any colour of Truth. It is impossible an ignorant Master should make a learned disciple. Finally they are discourses fit for old womens tongues to entertaine little children, whilest that for weakenesse of their Age, their vnderstanding hath no apprehension, nor sufficient Iudgement of reason. Wherefore wee may with reason say, that such as consume their yeeres, and grow old in such dreames, haue a will to continue still children. And although they commonly C saie, that warre is mannaged by the eye: So as it seemes they will thereby inferre, that wee must not thinke of it, but when necessity doth force vs: And that peace should procure no benefit to a Souldier, but idlenesse; yet he must fore-see long before, part of that which afterwards he must gouerne by the eye. And as a horse which is pampered and not ridden, growes restie; and proues vnprofitable to his Master for trauaile: so the vnderstanding of a souldier, idle during peace, or fed with dreames and foolish in- D ventions, will faile him at neede; and in the end purchase him dishonour and shame; Yet do not imagine my Masters, that I haue vsed this speech as blazoning you, and holding you for men of so poore an Enterprize, whose principall

study

ſtudy and affections is the reading of ſuch Bookes, rather then in ſome worthy recreation and exercise. My meaning not onely to aduertiſe you, that Hiſtories, from whence much pleaſure you may draw great profit, as theſe are which this Hiſtoriographer imparts vnto you ought to bee in greater recommendation than theſe Fables, which haue no grace, but when they are moſt without reaſon or any ſhew of
A *truth.*

Finally, I hope you ſhall finde ſuch ſufficiencie in our Polybius, *as you will make no queſtion to preferre him as the paragon before all others, aſwell* Greekes *as* Latines, *which are come to the knowledge of men. Of whom I haue preſumed to tranſlate in the beſt ſort I could, thoſe fiue firſt Bookes, which of Fourty which hee hath written, haue beene preſerued halfe ruined by the negligence of time:*
B *Hoping you will receiue them as willingly, as I offer them with a good heart.*

When as after the Printing of theſe fiue firſt Bookes, I had recouered ſome Latine Tranſlations, of three parcels of the ſixt, whereof the firſt and the third had not any GREEKE *Coppie, and likewiſe afterwards another of the ſixteenth, both in* Latine *and* Greeke, *I imployed my ſelfe to put them into* French, *adding there-*
C *unto the forme of the* Romanes *Campe, as I could conieture it, by the diſcription which* Polybius *maker, in the parcell of the ſixt Booke. And when as the Printers ſucceſſor had a deſire afterwards to print the whole, and intreated mee to ſpend ſome time in the Remainder of that which was newly publiſhed of* Polybius *his workes, which are certaine parcells, and as it were Reliques (beſides the a-*
D *boue named) of the ſeuenth and eighth, and of all the ſubſequent Bookes vnto the ſeauententh incluſiue, it was not in my power to deliuer him any other but thoſe of the ſeuenth and eighth, being afflicted with a quartane Ague, beſides his obſtinacy in vſing a ſmall Character, for the ſparing of Paper diſtaſted mee: Expecting that which afterwards followed, that few men would reſt ſatisfied, for that all things*

how good and excellent soeuer, are thereby found without grace, dull and vnpleasing. For this cause desiring that so excellent a writer, should not remaine disdained and without grace for want of an honourable Impression, and that the suitors of Histories should bee the more incouraged, I resolued to adde the remainder of that, which at this day is come to our knowledge, assuring my selfe that the Printer for his part will haue a care that for the sauing of his money hee will not doe wrong to his honour, nor loose his charges instead of gaine.

To GOD alone be all honour and glory.

The Printer to the READER.

Courteous Reader, I deſire your charitable cenſure in that there bee ſome litterall faults eſcaped, to the griefe of the Author being not able to attend the Preſſe, and likewiſe being abſent at that time from London, *and having but a yong Corrector which took too much vpon him.*

Errata.

PAge 27. line 21. for *report* read *ſupport*, p. 27. l. 9. for *wridgt* r. *rigg*, p. 33. l. 28. for *ready the* r. *ready for the*, p. 34. l. 27. for *nor bee* r. *nor to bee*, p. 15. l. 39. for *them* r *then*, p. 40. l. 19. for *yet began* r. *yet it began*, p. 45. l. 38. for *had been* r. *had not been*, p. 51 l. 44 for *Hannibal* r. *Amilcar*, p. 62. l. 37. for *Arcanians* r. *Atarnanians*, p. 68 l. 18. for *tſſaire* r. *Aſſi*, p. 79. l. 37. *Rhine* r. *Khoſne*, p. 105. l. 30. r. *time to paſſe*, p. 133 l. 7 for *and paſt* r. *be paſt* p. 131. l. 4 r *ſtuffe their places*, p. 132. l. 38. r. *ſtrucke dead or hurt*, p. 151. l. 47. r. *Romanes*, l. 18. r *vnto the Adriatique*, p 177 l 20 r. *to as without*, p 186. l. 43 r *in common aſſemblies*, l. 45 r. *dances*, p. 189. l 12. r. *rauiſh his Campe*, p. 193. l. 44. r. *did not openly*. p. 194. l. 15 r. *great a King*, p. 198 l. 9 r. *with great ſhips*, p. 200 l. 14. r *to bring him*, p. 230. l. 40 r. *not executed*, p. 231 l. 28 r. *againſt them*, p. 240. l 21 r. *no way*, p. 246 l 10 r *which the Goſſers*, p. 249. l. 25. *borne away by the riuer*, ibid l. 38 r. *men*, p. 254. l. 14. r. *parted from Lydia*, p. 264. l. 3. r. *as his*, p. 266. l. 46. r. *arriued*, p. 267. l. 38. r. *which Ptolomy was*, p. 274. l. 34. r. *of the Phaneteans*, p. 278. l. 6. r. *greater danger*, p. 279. l. 23. r. *for all them which*.



THE FIRST BOOKE of the History of POLYBIVS.

IF the Commendation of the excellency of Histories had beene omitted by such as before vs haue written the Worth and Prowesse of Men, happily it should bee necessary to vse some Arguments to make it to be generally Accepted and Received; For that there is no way more easie to reforme and better Men, then the Knowledge of things past. But seeing that not onely some, but in a manner all, begin thereby and
A finish it amply, so as they are of Opinion that the Knowledge of Histories is a true Discipline and Exercise for the Conduct and managing of the Affaires of a Common-wealth, and that she onely is the Mistris, and meanes to beare the Variety and inconstancy of Fortune patiently, by reason of the example of another mans aduersities, it is apparent that no man will hold it necessary to renew the Discourse of things, which haue formerly beene so well deliuered by others: Espe-
B cially by me to whom the newnesse of Actions, whereof wee intend to Write, is much more then sufficient to perswade and draw the hearts of men, aswell both Young and Old, to read our History. For where is any man so depraued or silly, which desires not to vnderstand

the meanes and manner of Gouernment, by the which the *Romans* haue ſubdued and brought vnder their Obedience in a manner, all the Nations of the World, within the ſpace of fifty and three yeares? the which in former times was neuer heard of. Or what is he ſo much giuen and deſiring to know other things worthy of admiration and other Diſciplines, but will conceiue that there is not any thing in this world worthy to be preferred to this knowledge? I hope they will ſee how great and excellent our Worke is, if wee make compariſon of other Principalities with the excellency of the *Romane* Empire, and namly of thoſe which haue beene in great honour and glory, whereof A Hiſtoriographers haue written much. Behold thoſe which are moſt worthy to be compared.

The *Perſians.* The Empire and power of the *Perſians* for a time hath beene great, but whenſoeuer they did aduenture to paſſe the bounds and limits of *Aſia*, they were in danger to loſe not onely their Empire, but their liues. The *Lacedemonians.* The *Lacedemonians* made a long warre for the Empire and command of *Greece*, but they could hardly keepe it twelue yeeres quiet after their Conqueſt.

The *Macedonians.* It is true, the *Macedonians* haue domineer'd and rul'd in *Europe*, from *Adria* to the *Danowe*, which is but a ſmall portion thereof. And B since they haue held the Empire of *Aſia*, after they had ruined the Monarchy of the *Perſians*. And although that theſe haue in ſhew beene great Lords, and enioyed large and ſpacious Countries, yet they neuer toucht the greateſt part of the World. As for *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Affricke*, they neuer made ſhew to challenge any thing. In regard of other Nations, the moſt Martiall of *Europe*, and the moſt Weſterne, The *Romans.* they hardly in my opinion did euer know them: But the *Romans* haue not onely conquered a part of the World, but in a manner all. They may alſo know by our ſequell, how great the profit will be to ſuch as affect the knowledge of Hiſtory.

The beginning of the Hiſtory. Finally, the beginning of our Worke ſhall be according to the time, C ſince the hundred and eight and forty *Olimpiade*. As for the Actions, and firſt of the *Grecians*, wee will begin with the ſociall warre, the which *Philip* (who was Sonne to *Demetrius*, and Father to *Perſeus*) attempted firſt with the *Acaians*, againſt the *Etolians*, and in regard of thoſe which inhabite *Aſia*, the beginning ſhall be at the Warre which was in the Valley of *Syria*, betwixt *Antiochus*, and *Ptolome Philopater*. But as for *Italy* and *Affricke*, wee will begin with that betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, which many call the warre of *Hannibal*. The Hiſtory ſhall begin at the end of that which *Sicionius* hath left in D writing. Before theſe times the affaires of the world were without Chiliity. Since it hath happened that the Hiſtory is in a manner drawne all into one, and that the actions of *Italy*, and of *Affricke*, are mingled with thoſe of *Greece* and *Aſia*, and that all tended to one and the ſame end. And therefore wee haue begun our worke in thoſe times, when the *Romans* had vanquiſhed the *Carthaginians* in this War, thinking they had performed their greateſt taske, and to be able to aſſaile the whole world, they preſumed preſently after to fall vpon the reſt,

reſt, and to paſſe into *Greece* and *Aſia* with great forces.

But if we had ſeene and knowne the manner of liuing, and the Lawes of Common-weales contending for the Monarchy, happily it would not be needfull to make any great ſearch, to what end, nor vpon what power relying, they haue entred into ſuch great actions. But for that the manner of liuing, the precedent forces, and the actions of the people of *Rome* and *Carthage* are vnknowne to the greateſt part of the *Grecians*, I haue held it neceſſary to make theſe two firſt Bookes, before I enter into the Hiſtory, to the end they ſhould haue no occaſion
A to wonder nor inquire in reading our Worke, what Councell, what Forces, and what Treaſure and Wealth the people of *Rome* had to vndertake the warre and conqueſt of the whole Earth, and of all our Sea: Conſidering that they which ſhall require it, ſhall ſee plainely by theſe firſt Bookes of our Preparation, that the *Romans* had reaſonable cauſe to vndertake the Empire and Soueraignty of all things, and to attaine vnto their ends. Beleeue that the proper obiect of our Worke, and the excellency of the Actions of our time, conſiſts principally in this, that as Fortune hath in a manner reduced all the affaires of the world into one, and hath forced them to draw to one and the ſame
B end: So the force which ſhee hath vſed for the perfection of all publicke gouernment, muſt be reduced and propounded to the Reader in one briefe Hiſtory.

This hath chiefely incited and vrged mee to the enterpriſe thereof, eſpecially for that none of our time hath vndertaken to write a generall Hiſtory: neither would wee haue attempted it: But ſeeing that many had written ſome particular Warres, and their priuate Actions, and that no Man (to my knowledge) hath hitherto made an vniuerſall and generall commemoration of things paſt, neither when nor how they began, nor how they were executed and performed, nor what iſſue
C they had: I conceiued it would be well done, if by our meanes our Countrey-men might read a worke of Fortune excellently good and profitable: For although ſhee had done excellent things and worthy of admiration among men: yet ſhee hath not done any thing vnto this day, nor purchaſed the glory of victory comparable to our times. The which they that haue written the particular Hiſtories cannot make knowne, but that ſome one who peraduenture for that hee had lined in ſome renowned Towne, or for that they had ſeene them in picture, imagine preſently they know them: and conſequently the ſeituation, the forme, and the order of the World, the which is not probable nor
D likely.

They which are of Opinion that a particular Hiſtory is ſufficient for the vnderſtanding of the generall, in my Opinion ſtray no leſſe from the truth, then if ſome one conſidering the parts ſeparated of a liuing Body, thinke by this meanes to haue the knowledge of all the perfections and graces of the Creature. There is no doubt; but if any one takes theſe diſtinct and ſeparated parts, and doth preſently ioyne them together, and make a perfect Creature, giuing it forme and life, and then preſents it vnto him, hee will ſoone confeſſe that hee hath beene de-

A good Comparison.

ceiued, like vnto them that dreame. It is true, we may haue ſome apprehenſion of the whole by the parts: But it is not poſſible to haue a true and certaine Science and Knowledge. And therefore you muſt imagine that a particular Hiſtory is of ſmall vſe for the knowledge of the generall: And that by the connexion, compariſon and ſimilitude of actions, there will be no Man found, who in reading, will not reape ſingular profite and pleaſure by Hiſtory. Wee will therefore make the beginning of this Booke at the firſt Voyage which the *Romans* made by Sea, which is ſubſequent to thoſe things which *Timerus* hath laſt written: which was in the hundred and nine and twentieth *Olimpiade*. We must therefore relate how, and what time they ended their Quarrels in *Italy*, and what meanes they had to paſſe into *Sicily*: For this is the firſt voyage they euer made out of their Territories, whereof wee muſt ſet downe the reaſon ſimply and without diſguiſing: to the end that by the ſearch from one cauſe to another, the beginning and conſideration of the whole may not proue doubtfull. The beginning alſo muſt bee agreeable to the Time and Subiects, and that it be knowne to all: the which they may conſider by themſelues, yea, in ſeeking out thoſe things which were paſt long before, and in the meane time relate the Actions ſummarily: For it is certaine that the beginning being vnknowne or obſcure, its continuance cannot perſwade, nor purchaſe beleefe: But if the Opinion of the beginning be true, then all the ſubſequent Narration doth eaſily content the Auditors eare.

Timerus an Hiſtoriographer.

A

B

Nineteene yeeres after the battell wone vpon the Riuer *Ægos*, and ſixteene yeeres before the Warre of *Leuctra*, where the *Lacedemonians* treated a peace with *Antalcides* King of *Perſia*, when as *Denis* the old held the Citty of *Rhegium* in *Calabria* beſieged, after that hee had defeated the *Grecians* inhabiting vpon the limits of *Italy*, neere vnto the Riuer of *Elleporis*: and that the *Gaules* hauing wholy ruined *Rome*, held it, except the Capitall: During which time the *Romans* hauing made an accord with them, which they found good and profitable, and had recouered their liberty contrary to their hope and expectance, and had in a manner taken a beginning of their increaſe, they declared Warre againſt their Neighbours. As ſoone as the *Latins* had beene vanquiſhed, aſwell by their proweſſe as by the fortune of the Warre, they turned their Armes againſt the *Tuſcans*, then to the *Celtes* which are in *Italy*, and finally vpon the *Samnites* which confine the Region of the *Latins*, towards the Eaſt and North. Sometime after, the *Tarrentines* ſeeing the outrage which they had committed againſt the Romane Embaſſadours, not relying much vpon their owne forces: they called in King *Pyrrhus* the yeere before the Deſcent of the *Gaules* into *Italy*, and before the Retreate of thoſe which were defeated in Battell neere vnto *Delphos*. Then the *Romans* after they had vanquiſhed the *Tuſcans* and *Samnites*, and beaten the *Celtes* often, began to make warre againſt the reſt of *Italy*, not as contending for another mans Lands, but as for their owne, and formerly belonging vnto them, being now growne warlike by the Warres which they had had againſt the *Celtes* and *Samnites*.

Denis.

C

D

The

The *Romans* then after that *Pyrrhus* and his forces had beene chaſed out of *Italy*, taking this Warre to heart, they purſued ſuch as had followed his party. Being ſuddainly become Maiſters of all according to their deſires, and that all *Italy* was wholy ſubdued, except the *Celtes*, they preſently beſieged ſome of theirs which held *Regium*. One and the like fortune befell two Cities ſcituated vpon the Straight of that Sea, that is, *Meſſina* and *Rhegium*. Some *Campanois* hauing beene lately in pay with *Agathocles* in *Sicily*, wondring at the beauty and wealth of *Meſſina*, they ſuddainly when they found an opportunity, A aſſailed it, breaking their Faith, they hauing beene receiued into it by Friendſhip: where they expell'd ſome of the Cittizens, and ſlew others. After which wicked act they ſhared their Wiues and Children among them, as their fortunes fell out during the Combate: Then they diuided their goods and lands. But after this ſuddaine and eaſie Conqueſt of ſo goodly a Countrey and City, they ſoone found others that did imitate their villanies.

Rhegium beſieged by the *Romans*.

The taking of *Meſſina* by ſome *Campanois*.

They of *Rhegium* amazed with the deſcent of *Pyrrhus* at ſuch time as he paſt into *Italy*, and fearing in like manner the *Carthaginians*, being then Maiſters of the Sea, they craued a Garriſon and men from the B *Romans*. Thoſe which they ſent vnto them, were to the number of 4000. vnder the command of *Decius* the *Campanois*, they kept the Towne for a time, and their faith in like manner with the Cittizens, in defending them; but in the end moued by the example of the *Mamertins*, who ſolicited them to cõmit this baſe act, they falſified their faith, being aſwell incited by the opportunity of the deed, as by the wealth of *Rhegium*, and chaſed away ſome Cittizens and ſlew others, finally, they ſeaſed vpon the Citty as the *Mamertines* had done. And although the *Romans* were diſcontented at the misfortune of the *Rhegins*, yet they could not relieue them, for that they muſt ſettle an order for C their precedent VVarres. But after they had ended them, they beſieged them of *Rhegium*, and afterward they entred it by force, whereas many were ſlaine: who being certaine of the puniſhments they were to endure, defended themſelues valiantly to death. Aboue three hundred were taken aliue, who preſently after their comming to *Rome*, the Commanders of the VVarre commanded them to be brought into the Market-place, where they were whipt, and in the end their heads ſtrooke off, after the manner of the Countrey. They did vſe this puniſhment to the end that their Faith (as much as might be poſſible) might be confirmed towards their confederates. Preſently after they D cauſed the Towne and Countrey to be deliuered to the *Rhegins*.

The taking of *Rhegium* by ſome *Campanois* being there in Garriſon.

The taking of *Rhegium* by the *Romans*.

The puniſhment of Traytours.

But whileſt that the *Mamertins* (you muſt vnderſtand that the *Campanois* cauſed themſelues to be ſo called after the taking of *Meſſina*) were relieued by the *Romans* which held *Rhegium* by force, they not onely enioyed the Countrey and Towne peaceably, but they committed great ſpoiles vpon many other Townes their Neighbours, aſwell of the *Carthaginians* as of *Saragoſſe* (otherwiſe *Siracuſa*:) The greateſt part of *Sicily* was tributary vnto them. But ſoone after when they were depriued of thoſe ſuccours, and that they which held *Rhegium*

The *Campanois* holding *Meſſina* are called *Mamertins*.

were beſieged, they were in like manner by them of *Saragoſſe*, for the cauſes which follow: As a little before the men of warre of *Saragoſſe* camping neere vnto *Mergane*, being in diſſention with the Gouernours of the Common-weale, they choſe for their Captaines *Artemidore* and *Hieron*, who afterwards was their King, being yet very young: But finallly ſo well endowed with all the graces of Nature and Minde, as hee wanted no Royall conditions but the Crowne. Hauing accepted the Magiſtracy, and made his entry into the Towne very well accompanied by his Friends, where hauing vanquiſhed the Burgeſſes of the contrary faction, hee vſed the Victory with ſo great clemency and modeſty, as by a common conſent of all in generall he was choſen their Commander, although they did not allow of the Election made by the Souldiers.

Hieron choſen King of the *Saragoſſins*.

A

It is true that *Hieron* made knowne to men of iudgement and vnderſtanding, that he had conceiued greater deſignes in his minde then to be their Leader. Firſt knowing well that the *Saragoſſins* were mutinous and deſirous of innouation, whenſoeuer they ſent their Souldiers and Commanders out of the Countrey, and that *Leptine* was a man of great reputation, and of more credit then any other of the Cittizens, and that he was very pleaſing vnto the Multitude, he held it fit to make an alliance with him, to the end he might leaue ſome report in the Citty for him, whenſoeuer he ſhould goe to the VVarre, and lead an Army out of the Countrey. Hauing therefore taken the Daughter of *Leptine* to VVife, knowing well that the old band of forraigne Souldiers were changeable and ſubiect to mutinies, he led his Army of ſet purpoſe againſt the *Barbarians*, who held the Citty of *Meſſina*: And hauing ſeated his Campe neere to *Centoripe*, and put his men in battell cloſe vpon the Riuer of *Ciamoſſure*, he ſtayed in a place apart all the Horſe and Foote of his owne Nation, as if he meant to charge the Enemy on the other ſide: ſuffering the forraigne Souldiers to be defeated by the *Barbarians*, and whileſt the others fled, he makes his retreate ſafely with all the *Saragoſſins* to the Citty. When he had by this pollicy brought his deſigne vnto an end, and had freed his Army of all the Mutines, hee makes a great leuy of Souldiers. Soone after when as all things were ſettled in good order, *Hieron* ſeeing that the *Barbarians* were growne too audacious and proud of their late Victory, he parts from the Citty with an Army of his Countrey ſouldiers, well trained and diſciplined, and making dilligence, he came to *Myle*, where along the Bankes of the Riuer of *Longane*, he fought with them with all his forces. Hauing vanquiſhed them and taken their Captaines, ſeeing their pride much abated by this Victory, he returnes to *Saragoſſe* with his Army, and was by the generall fauour and conſent of all the Cittizens ſaluted King by the Allies.

An alliance made by *Hieron* with *Leptine*.

The pollicy of *Hieron*.

The Riuer of *Ciamoſſure*.

B

C

D

The *Mamertins* deliuer their Towne and Fort vnto the *Carthaginians*.

The *Mamertins* as we haue ſayd, being depriued of the ſuccours of of the Romane Legion, and hauing loſt ſo great a Battell, their hearts being broken, they retire for the moſt part vnto the *Carthaginians*, and yeeld themſelues and their Fort: The reſt ſent vnto the *Romans*, deliuering their Towne vnto them, and requiring ſuccours

Succours required from

as

as to thoſe that were of the ſame Nation. The *Romans* were long in ſuſpence what to doe: For they found it ſtrange, hauing lately puniſhed their Cittizens ſo ſeuerely, for violating their faith with the *Rhegins*, to ſend ſuccours now vnto the *Mamertins* who were guilty of the like crime. They were not ignorant of all theſe things: Yet conſidering that the *Carthaginians* had not onely drawne *Affricke* vnder their obedience by force of Armes, but alſo many places in *Spaine*, and moreouer all the Iſlands of the Sea of *Sardinia* and *Italy*; they doubted that their Neighbour-hood would be dangerous, if they made themſelues Lords of the reſt of *Sicily*. They likewiſe vnderſtood, that it would be eaſie to effect, if the *Mamertins* were not relieued: And there was no doubt, that if *Meſſina* had beene deliuered vnto them, they would preſently haue recouered *Saragoſſe*, for that they held all the reſt of *Sicily*. And as the *Romans* conſidered theſe things, they were of opinion that it was neceſſary not to abandon *Meſſina*, nor to ſuffer the *Carthagintans* to make vnto themſelues as it were a Bridge, to paſſe into *Italy* at their pleaſure.

the *Romans* by the *Mamertins*.

This was long in debate, yet it was not concluded in that aſſembly: for it ſeemed vnto them as vnreaſonable as profitable to relieue the *Mamertins*. But as the Commons much weakned with their former Warres, ſeemed to haue need of reſt, ſo the Captaines ſhewing the great profit that might enſue, they reſolued to ſuccour the *Mamertins*. This Opinion being confirmed by the Commons, preſently they appointed *Appius Claudius*, one of the Conſuls, to paſſe the Army into *Sicily*, and to relieue the *Mamertins*, who had put out of their Towne, aſwell by threats as pollicy the Captaine of the *Carthaginians* which (as we haue ſayd) held the Fort. And they called vnto them *Appius Claudius*, deliuering the Citty into his hands. The *Carthaginians* hung him on a Croſſe which had had the Guard, ſuppoſing that he had yeelded it baſely for feare and want of Courage. Then ſuddainly they drew their Sea-army neere vnto *Pellore*, and that at land about the Countrey called *Sene*, holding by this meanes *Meſſina* ſtreightly beſieged.

The *Romans* reſolue to ſuccour the *Mamertins* by *Appius Claudius*

The *Mamertins* recouer the Fort from the Captaine of the *Carthaginians*.

In the meane time *Hieron* thinking to haue found a good opportunity to chaſe the *Barbarians* which held *Meſſina* out of *Sicily*, followed the *Carthaginians* party. And going from *Saragoſſe*, he takes his way to the Towne, and layes his Siege on the other ſide neere vnto Mount *Calſhidique*: By this meanes he tooke from the Townesmen all meanes to ſally forth on that ſide. But the Conſull paſſing the Sea by night with great danger, in the end hearriued at *Meſſina*: where ſeeing the Enemy round about it, and that this Siege was as diſhonourable vnto him as dangerous, for that the Enemies were the ſtronger both by Land and Sea, he deſired firſt to try by Embaſſies ſent to both Camps, if it might be poſſible to pacifie things, ſo as the *Mamertins* might be freed. But the Enemies not vouchſafing to heare them, he was in the end forced to vndergoe the hazard, and reſolued firſt to giue battell to the *Saragoſſins*. He therefore cauſeth his Army to march, and put it in battell: to the which the King likewiſe came ſpeedily. But after that

Hieron follows the *Carthaginians* party.

Appius

The defeate of *Hieron* by *Appius*.

Appius had fought long, in the end he preuailed ouer his Enimies, purſuing them into their Fort. The Conſull after the ſpoile of the dead, retires into the Citty: and *Hieron* being fruſtrate of all hope, recouered *Saragoſſe* ſpeedily the Night following.

The defeate of the *Carthaginians* by *Appius*.

The next day *Appius Claudius* aduertiſed of the flight of the *Saragoſſius*, and hauing reſumed courage and confidence, he had no will to ſtay, but to goe and fight with the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore he commanded his men to be ready, and the next day he paſt early and chargeth his Enimies, whereof ſome were ſlaine, and the reſt forced to ſaue themſelues in the neighbour-townes. By this meanes the Siege being raiſed, he rauaged and ſpoyled the Countrey of *Saragoſſe* and their Allies without danger: And after that he had ruined all, in the end he beſieged *Saragoſſe*. Behold then (for the cauſes aboue mentioned) the firſt Voyage which the *Romane* Army made out of *Italy*. And for that we haue held it fit for the entrance of our deſigne, we haue made it our beginning, in looking ſomewhat backe to the times paſt, to the end we may not leaue any occaſion of doubt vpon the cauſes we ſhall yeeld. And in truth I haue held it neceſſary to declare firſt at what time, and by what meanes the *Romans* being in extreame danger to loſe their Countrey, began to grow fortunate: And when likewiſe after they had ſubdued *Italy*, they began to conquer other Countries; to the end that the greatneſſe of their Empire, which was ſince, may ſeeme more likely in knowing the beginnings. No man muſt wonder when as we ſpeake of Townes of Note, if happily wee ſeeke for things farther off, in that which we ſhall relate hereafter: For we doe it to the end that our beginnings and grounds may be ſuch, as they may plainly vnderſtand the meanes and reaſons, by the which euery Citty is come to the eſtate wherein it now ſtands, the which we haue done here of the *Romans*.

It is now time that in leauing this Diſcourſe we returne to our deſigne, in ſhewing firſt ſummarily and briefely the things happened before the times, whereof we meane principally to Write: Among the which the Warre betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* in *Sicily* is the firſt, then followed the *Punique*: In the which the deeds firſt of *Amilcar*, then of *Aſdruball*, are ioyned with thoſe of the *Carthaginians*: At what time the *Romans* began firſt to ſayle into *Slauonia*, and other parts of *Europe*. Moreouer their Battels againſt the *Gaules*, who at that time made a diſcent into *Italy*: The Warre alſo which was in *Greece* at the ſame time, called *Cleomenique*, to the which all this relation and the end of the ſecond Booke tend. Finally, I haue not held it neceſſary nor profitable for the Reader, to relate things in particular: Neither is it my intention to Write them, but onely to touch that ſummarily which may concerne our Hiſtory. And therefore in relating briefely, we will indeauour by an order of continuation, to ioyne vnto the beginning of our Hiſtory the end of thoſe Actions, which we ſhall deliuer by way of preparation. By this meanes in continuing the order of the Hiſtory, they ſhall ſee we haue toucht that which others haue left in Writing: and alſo made an eaſie and open way for all ſubſequent things, to thoſe which

which deſire to know. It is true that we haue had a ſpeciall deſire to write ſomewhat at large this firſt Warre of the *Romans* in *Sicily* againſt the *Carthaginians*, for that they ſhall hardly finde a longer Warre, not greater preparations and expence, nor more encounters, nor greater diuerſity of fortune on eyther ſide; For theſe two Nations in thoſe times liued in their lawes with meane wealth and equall forces. Wherefore if we ſhall conſider the Forces and Empire of theſe two Cities, we cannot ſo well make a Compariſon by the other ſubſequent Warres as by this. But that which hath moſt incited me to write this Warre, was The blame of *Philin* and *Fabius* Hiſtoriographers.
A for that *Philinus* and *Fabius*, who are eſteemed to haue written well, haue in my Opinion ſtrayed too much from the truth: Yet I would not taxe them to haue done it maliciouſly, conſidering their life and intention: But I conceiue, the affection which they beare vnto their Countreymen, hath deceiued them after the manner of Loners. In regard of *Philinus*, for the affection he beares to the *Carthaginians*, hee is of Opinion that they did all things with good Conduct, Prudence and Courage; and the *Romans* the contrary. As for *Fabius* he holds the contrary party. Peraduenture a man would not blame this manner of doing in other courſes of life. In truth it is fit and commendable for a good man to loue
B his Friends and Countrey, and to be a friend to the friends of his friends, and to hate his Enemies. But he that takes vpon him to Write a Hiſtory, muſt vſe ſuch things with diſcretion, ſometimes commending his Enemies, when their actions require it, and blaming his Friends and Neighbours when their faults are blame worthy. Beleeue me, as the remainder of the Body of a Beaſt, which hath the eyes puld out, remaines vnprofitable: So if truth be wanting in a Hiſtory, the Diſcourſe prooues fruitleſſe. And therefore when occaſion is offered, he muſt not forbeare to blame his Friends, nor to commend his Enemies, nor to hold it a diſhoneſt thing to praiſe thoſe whom we haue ſometimes blamed. Neither is
C it likely, that they of whom we write, haue alwaies done well, or err'd continually. We muſt therefore in leauing the perſons, iudge and ſpeake of their actions ſufficiently in our Comentaries.

To prooue my aſſertion true, we ſhall eaſily ſee it by that which *Philin* writes. Who in the beginning of his ſecond Booke ſaith, the *Carthaginians* and *Saragoſſins* held *Meſſina* beſieged, and when as the *Romane* Army, after they had paſt the Sea, was arriued, they made a ſuddaine ſally vpon the *Saragoſſins*, where they were vanquiſhed and defeated, and ſo retired into the Towne: they made a ſecond vpon the *Carthaginians*, where they were not onely defeated, but moſt part of them taken: Pre- *Philin.*
D ſently after this Speech he ſaith, that *Hieron* after this Encounter had ſo great a feare, that he not onely ſet fire of his Lodgings and Tents, retiring by night to *Saragoſſa*, but moreouer abandoned the ſtrong places, lying betwixt *Meſſina* and *Saragoſſa*. He relates alſo that the *Carthaginians* being in like ſort amazed, diſperſed themſelues here and there throughout the Townes of *Sicily*, and that they durſt neuer after that keepe the Field, and that moreouer, the Captaines ſeeing their men diſcouraged, gaue aduice that they ſhould no more runinto the danger of the war, nor hazard any thing. He ſaith moreouer that the *Romans* in the

 purſuit

purſuit of the *Carthaginians*, not onely ruined their Prouince, and that of the *Saragoſſins*, but alſo layed ſiege to *Saragoſſe*. This Speech is ſo farre from reaſon, as it were but loſt time to ſeeke to confute it: For he prerends that they which beſieged *Meſſina*, (to whom he giues the Victory) preſently after abandoned their Campe, and that they fled, retiring into the Citty with great feare, and that finally they were beſieged. In regard of thoſe he affirmes were beſieged by the *Carthaginians*, after the battell loſt, he makes them ſuddainly Victors, and beſieging *Saragoſſe*, hauing taken their Camps, and made courſes into the Enemies Countrey. Doubtleſſe theſe are diſcourſes which cannot well A be reconciled; for either that which he ſaith firſt, is falſe, or that which followeth: But it is certaine, and knowne to all men, that the *Carthaginians* and *Saragoſſins* abandoned their Campe, and raiſed the ſiege retiring into their Towne, and that the *Romans* vſed great diligence to beſiege *Saragoſſe*: Wherefore the probability is great, that his firſt Speech is falſe, and that notwithſtanding the *Romans* had gotten the Victory before *Meſſina*, yet this Hiſtoriographer hath ſuppoſed that they were defeated by the *Carthaginians*. You ſhall often ſee *Philin* in this errour: and *Fabin* no leſſe, as we haue obſerued in many places. Wherefore to returne where we left, we will vſe all poſſible indeauour to make the truth B of our Hiſtory cleere and plaine, for thoſe that deſire to vnderſtand it.

Marcus Valerius and *Otacilius* Conſuls.

After that the newes of *Sicily* were come to *Rome* of the Victory of *Appius* and his men, *Marcus Valerius* and *Otacilius* being newly choſen Conſuls, they were ſent thither with all their *Roman* power.

The order of the Romane Armies, and the number of men in a Legion.

The *Romans* had foure Legions in their Army of their owne Nation, beſides the ſuccours which they drew from their Allies. Euery Legion conſiſted of foure thouland Foote, and three hundred Horſe. By this meanes at the Conſuls comming, many Citties aſwell of the *Carthaginians*, as of the *Saragoſſins*, yeelded to the *Romans*. But when as *Hieron* ſaw that the *Sicillians* fainted, and that the *Roman* Army was great, and their C forces increaſed, he held it better to follow their party, then that of the *Carthaginians*. He therefore ſends an Embaſſie to the Conſuls, to treate of Peace and Friendſhip.

An accord betwixt *Hieron* and the *Romans* and what it containes.

The *Romans* ſeeing the *Carthaginians* Maiſters of all the Sea, fearing likewiſe that the paſſage for their Victuals might be interdicted, for that their Armies which had formerly paſt, had ſuffred great wants and neceſſities, they found the friendſhip of *Hieron* to be of great conſequence for them in this regard. Wherefore they treated a peace with the *Saragoſſins* vnder theſe following Conditions. Firſt, that the King ſhould free the *Roman* Priſoners without Ranſome, and moreouer D ſhould pay a hundred Tallents of Siluer, and that hereafter the *Saragoſſins* ſhould terme themſelues Allies and Friends to the *Romans*. Afterwards *Hieron*, who of his owne free will put himſelfe vnder their protection, ſuccourd them with men and victuals when need required: So as afterwards he paſt the Remainder of his life with as great happineſſe and fortune that euer *Grecian* had done. And in my Opinion this was an excellent man amongſt others, who had beene alwayes happy in good Councell, aſwell for the affaires of the Common-wealth, as for his

his owne particular. Whereon the Lords ... came to Rome ... and the people had confirmed it ... because they found all their forces ... Wherefore they concluded ... that now Legions would suffice there with the assistance of King *Hiero*, ... they made their reckoning, that the Warre would be more easily managed ... this meanes the Army should be better supplied with all things necessary. But when as the *Carthaginians* saw that *Hiero* was become their Enemy, and that the *Romans* held the greatest part of *Sicily*, they knew well that they must have a greater power to resist them. Wherefore they made a great levy of *Gaules* and *Gaules* likewise of *Spaniards* to fortifie them: And after they had caused them to passe into *Sicily*, and seeing the Towne of *Agrigas* very fit for the preparation of this Warre, and that it was a frontier place, and strong towards the Enemy, they put into it all the men they could draw together with store of Munition, making vse of it against the Enemy as of a Fort for the Warre.

A Supplies which the *Carthaginians* put into *Agragas*.

After the accord past by the Consuls with *Hiero*, they left the Province; in whose place *Lucius Postumius*, and *Quintus Æmilius* newly chosen Consuls, come into *Sicily* with an Army: who after they had carefully considered of the *Carthaginians* Designes, and their preparations for Warre made in the Towne of *Agrigas*, they were of opinion to manage the affaires of *Sicily* with greater courage and resolution then the last Consuls had done: Wherefore they drew together all their Army, and besieged *Agragas* within eight Furlongs, and so kept in the Enemy. The time of Harvest was come, every man made his reckoning that the Siege would be long; wherefore the Souldiers straying from their Campe, adventured somewhat too farre in the gathering of Corne. When the *Carthaginians* saw their Enemies thus dispersed, running here and there confidently throughout the Province, they conceaued a great hope that they should one day be able to defeate them; whereupon some of them assaulted the Campe with great fury, and the rest charged those which gathered Corne. But the diuersity of the action saued the *Romans* for that day, as it had done many times before; they having a custome to put those to death, which abandon the place which is appointed them during the fight, or which flye from the Campe vpon any occasion whatsoeuer. By this meanes although the *Carthaginians* were farre greater in number, yet the *Romans* resisted them valliantly, who with great losse of their men made a greater slaughter of their Enemies. Finally, they, not onely repulsed them from their Campe, but pursued them, killing part of them, and forcing the rest to retire in a thrung into the Towne. Moreouer that day was so dangerous to both Armies, as afterwards their feare was great, so as the *Carthaginians* durst no more assault the *Romans* Campe inconsiderately, nor the *Romans* suffer their men to gather Corne rashly. But for that the *Carthaginians* made no more sallies, but did onely fight a farre off with casting of Darts and Stones, the Consuls deuided their Army in two: whereof the one was planted on the side of *Æsculapius* Temple, and the other on that side which doth looke directly vnto *Heraclea*: And that which

B *Agragas* besieged by the *Romans*.

C Security of the *Romans* towards their Souldiers.

D

which remained betwixt the two Campes of either side of the Towne, was rampered with a double sanke of Diches. Then they made a Trench betwixt them and the Towne, to guard themselues from the Enemies sallies, and another without the Campe, to hinder the succours which the Neighbour-townes vsually send to the besieged. The places which were betwixt the Trenches and the Campe were well guarded. Moreouer all the Allies vsed great diligence to bring into the Towne of *Erbese*, victuals, and all things necessary for the Campe, so as the Souldiers liued at more ease, for it was not farre off.

The *Romans* and the *Carthaginians* were fiue Moneths in this estate, A
fortune shewing herselfe no more fauorable to the one then to the other: but what happened by their shooting and casting of Darts? But when as hunger began to presse the *Carthaginians*, by reason of the great multitude of Men which were coopt vp within the Towne, (they were in truth aboue fifty thousand Men) *Hamiball* who was Generall of the Army, hauing no more hope, sends speedily to *Carthage*, to acquaint them with the Rampire and Pallisado made about the Towne, and to demaund succours. The *Carthaginians* moued at this Newes, raised an Army with a great number of Elephants, and sent them by Sea into *Sicily* to *Hanno*, who was another Captaine Generall for them: who B
after he had drawne together his whole Army, marcht to the Citty of *Heracleum*, and at the first (after he had considered what was to be done) he tooke the Towne of *Erbese* by Treason, the which vntill that day had beene a Store-house to the *Romans*. By this meanes he depriued them of Victuals and other things necessary for their Campe: wherefore the *Romans* were no lesse besieged, then they that were besieged. The want of Victuals did often force them in a manner to resolue to raise the Siege: the which vndoubtedly they would haue done, if *Hieron* King of *Saragosse* had not vsed great diligence to furnish the Army with Victuals and other necessaries.

Fifty thousand men within *Agragas*.

But when that *Hanno* (after all these things) saw that the *Romans* C
were much oppresst with diseases, and want of all things (without doubt the plague was great in their Campe) and that his Men were fresh, and resolute to fight, he drew together aboue fifty Elephants: And when as all the bands of Souldiers were assembled, he drawes his Army out of *Heracleum*, and causeth the *Numidian* Horse-men to march before, giuing them charge to skirmish, and to doe all their indeauours to draw the *Romane* Horse-men to fight, vpon whose charge they should turne head, and not cease to flye vntill they were returned vnto him. The *Numidians* failed not to execute the Commaund of their Captaine, nor to skirmish with one of the Camps to draw them to fight. D
Presently the *Romane* Horse-men charge them, and pursue them indiscreetly: But the *Numidians* obseruing the Commandment flye backe to *Hanno*, and re-charging the Enemy againe, slew many, chasing the rest vnto their Campe.

A skirmish offered the *Romans* by the *Numidians*.

After these things the *Carthaginians* marched, and planted themselues vpon Mount *Toro*, which was not tenne Furlongs from the Enemies Campe. Continuing in this manner for the space of two Moneths,

Moneths, they attempted not any thing, but skirmished daily with their Arrowes and Darts. In the meane time *Hanibal* made fires often in the Night, and sent men to *Hanno*, to aduertise him that the Army could endure hunger no longer, and that many of his men were retired to the Enemy for want of Victuals. Finally, *Hanno* moued by these reasons, put his neck in Battell: wherein the Consull vsed no lesse diligence in regard of their necessities. Either Army drew forth in Battell into an equall place: Then they came to combate, whereas they charged one another with great fury. The Battell was long and cruell: A Finally, the *Romans* brake the Vanguard, and forced them to fly among the Elephants: who being terrified, opened the rankes of the *Carthaginians*. The Captaines of Hundreds following the Route of the Elephants, forced the Enemies to turne head. By this meanes the *Carthaginians* hauing lost the Battell, and part of them slaine, the rest retired to *Heracleum*: and the *Romans* after the taking of most of the Elephants, and all the baggage of the *Carthaginians*, retired to their Campe. But for that they were negligent to keepe a good Guard the night following, aswell for the great ioy which men vsually haue for their good fortune, as for the toyle of the Battell past: *Hanibal* being frustrate of all B hope, thought this a fit and conuenient time to saue himselfe and his Army, for the reason aboue mentioned. Wherefore he drew all his forces out of *Agragas*, and passed thorough the Enemies Trenches, filling them with straw: By this meanes he escaped without any losse, and without their priuity.

A battell betwixt the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*.

The *Carthaginians* lose the Battell.

The Retreate of *Hanibal* from *Agragas*.

At the breake of day, when as the *Romans* were aduertised of this Retreat, they followed the Enemy a little; but returning soone to take the Towne, they gaue an assault vnto the Gates, where they found no resistance. The whole Army entred and spoyled: It was a rich Towne, where as the Souldiers tooke many Slaues, and got great Wealth. C When as the newes came to *Rome* of the taking of *Agragas*, after the defeate of the *Carthaginians*, the *Romans* lifted vp their Heads, and beganne to conceiue greater Designes. They did no longer insist vpon the reasons for the which they were first mooued; neyther were they satisfied, for that they had preserued the *Mamertins* and *Messina*, or to haue much weakned the *Carthaginians* in *Silily*: But hoping for greater Matters, they desired to chase them away wholly, which done they had a great Hope and opinion to inlarge their Empire much. They were therefore very attentiue to this businesse, and had no thoughts but of *Sicily*: knowing well that they were vndoubtedly the stronger at D land.

Agragas spoiled by the *Romans*.

After the taking then of *Agragas*, *Lucius Valerius*, and *Titus Otacilius* being chosen Consulls they were sent into *Sicily* with a great Army. Thus the Warre was in a manner equall, for that the *Carthaginians* were Maisters of the Sea without contradiction; whereof this is the reason; for after the taking of *Agragas*, most of the Townes which were in the heart of *Sicily*, yeelded to the *Romans*, fearing their Army at Land: But when as the *Carthaginians* Army by Sea was arriued, many more Sea-townes yeelded for feare to their Obedience.

Thus their forces were equall. Many times also the Sea coast of Italy were spoyled by the coutrey [illegible] Army at Sea, which Augustus did not suffer. The Romans [illegible] carefully [illegible] ted to fight with their Enemies by Sea.

This is the thing which [illegible] we shall in [illegible] this present Warre more at large, to the end the Reader may not be ignorant of this beginning, that is to say, in what manner and for what causes and in what time, the people of Rome were induced to put an Army to Sea, and to fight with their Enemy. Seeing then that there was no probability that the Warre should be otherwise ended, the Romans speedily made fixe score Vessels for the Sea, whereof a Hundred were Quinqueremes or of five bankes, and the rest were Triremes. It is true that the Quinqueremes were more difficult to make, for that they had neuer vsed any such Vessels in Italy vntill that time. Wherein the excellency and great courage of the Romans is worthy of admiration, considering they had neuer beene inclined to actions by Sea, neyther had they euer thought of it vntill that day; yet they aduentured it with such ecurage and resolution, as they had sooner fought with the Carthaginians, then made triall of the dangers of the Sea. Although the others held at that time, in that circuite of the World the principallity and commaund of the Sea, as formerly gotten by their Predecessours, and left it vnto them as an hereditary right; which is a singular testimony of the things which we haue Written, of the Romans boldnesse and courage. Beleeue me, when they first aduentured to passe their Army to Messina, they were only a Hundred ships of War, and moreouer they had not one Galley nor one Briggandine. It is true when they vndertooke the Voyage of Sicily with an Army, they made vse of the Quinqueremes and Triremes of the Tarentines, Locreins, and Neapolitans.

Sixe score vessels for the Sea made speedily by the Romans.

A

B

At that time many Carthaginian Ships scoured the Seas about Sicily, whereof a Quinquereme straying farre from the rest, was broken by casualty, and afterwards taken by the Romans, which afterwards serued them for a patterne to make the like, so as all their ships were made in that manner. Wherefore if this had not happed, they would haue found themselues much troubled in their enterprise. Whilest these were a making, they did practise a number of men to the Oare after this manner. They did set bankes in order vpon the Sand, vpon the which the men that were to Rowe were placed, being attentiue to the voice of the Patron or Gouernour, who was in the middest of them, where as they did learne to streteh foorth, and pull backe their armes altogether, and did draw their Oares in the Sand; finally they beganne and ended altogether according to the Patrons whistle. By this meanes hauing learned the Arte to Rowe, and their ships finished, they put to Sea, and within few dayes after made a Tryall. And when as the Consull Cornelius, lately appointed Commaundor of the Sea Army, had giuen charge to the Sea Captaines, to draw vnto the Port afoone as the Vessels should be ready, he went directly to Messina with seauenteene ships, and left the rest vpon the Italian shore, whereas hauing

C

The Romans inuention to inure their men to the Oare.

D

uing made prouiſion of things neceſſary for the equipage of his ſhips, he ſailes vpon neceſſity directly to *Lipparo* ſooner then was needfull. At that time *Haniball* Commaunder of the *Carthaginians*, kept his Sea Army at *Palermo*, who being aduertiſed of the Conſuls comming, ſent one *Boodes* a Senator of *Carthage*, with twenty ſhips to draw into that Quarter: Who arriuing by night, found the *Roman* ſhips, and beſieged them in the Port, ſo as at the breake of day, the multitude got to Land.

But *Gneius Cornelius* thus vnfortunately ſurpriſed, could finde no o-
A ther meanes but to yeild himſelfe vnto the Enemy. The *Carthaginians* after this priſe returned to *Haniball*; ſoone after this apparent and new defeate of *Cornelius*, *Haniball* (to whom Fortune was at that time gracious) receiued as great a loſſe. He had intelligence that the *Romanes* Army at Sea, which coaſted about *Italy*, was not farre from *Sicily*. Wherefore deſiring wonderfully to ſee their number, and their order, and the manner of the trimming of their ſhips, he takes fifty Veſſells and ſailes into *Italy*. But for that he had a contrary VVind, the which was fauourable to the *Romanes* by the reaſon of the Coaſt of *Italy*, he fell vnaduiſedly into their Army, which was in order and in Battell,
B where he was ſuddainly charged, ſo as he loſt in a manner all his ſhips, and ſaued himſelfe with very few contrary to his Hope, and the opinion of all the VVorld.

Certaine of the *Roman* ſhips with their commaunder Surpriſed by a *Carthaginian* Conſull.

A defeate of *Haniballs* ſhips, for want of a good Wind.

The *Romanes* after this defeate, approached neerer vnto *Sicily*, and being aduertiſed by the Priſoners of the Conſuls ouer-throw, they ſent ſpeedily to *Caius Duellius* Conſull, hauing at that time the charge of the Army by Land: Where hauing attended ſome ſpace, and receiued newes that the Enemies Army at Sea was not farre off, they all prepared to battell. They planted vpon euery one of their ſhips, (for that they were ill built and heauy,) a kind of Engine, which was afterward called a Rauen; behold the faſhion of this Engine. They did
C ſet a Pillar or Maſt of foure fathome long, and nine inches thicke vpon the Prowe, the which had alſo a pulley on the top, and one the ſide was made an aſſent of boards all along, the which was foure foot broade and foure fathome long; the paſſage was turning about the pillar, in the two firſt fathomes of the aſſent: About the which were barres of eyther ſide to the height of a mans knee, and they had ſet at the end of it an Iron like vnto a peſtell, which went vp ſtreight, the which had on the top of it a King, ſo as altogether ſeemed as an Engine wherewith they pound things. To this Ring was faſtned a cord, by meanes whereof at the encounter of the ſhips, they faſtned the Rauens by the pulley, and let them fall vpon their Enemies ſhips. Some-
D times at the Prowe, ſometimes on the ſide in turning, when as they could not aſſaile them by the flanke; and after that the Rauens were faſtned within the bands of the ſhips, and that the Veſſels were grapled and faſt, if they found themſelues vpon the ſide, they entred it of all ſides: And if it were by the Prowe, they matcht by the bridge two and two to the Combate, whereof the firſt couered their bodies with their Targets, and they which followed defended the flankes,

An Engine inuented by the *Romans* called a Rauen.

and

and held their Targets euen with the bars. When as this Equipage at Sea was ready, they attended a conuenient time for the battell. When as *Caius Duelius* had beene ſuddainly aduertiſed, of the miſ-fortune of the Commaunder at Sea, he left that at Land to the Tribunes of the men of Warre, and makes haſt to that at Sea. And being aduertiſed that the *Carthaginians* ſpoyl'd the Country of *Mylæ*, hee drew thither with his whole Army: But when the Enemy was certayne of his comming, they were in great hope, thinking the *Romanes* vnderſtood not any thing in Sea-fights. Wherefore they drew out to Sea, with an Equipage of ſixe ſcore and ten Veſſels, thinking this War not worthy of any order of battell, as if they had gone to a certaine booty. Whereof this *Hanibal* who (as wee ſayd) retyred his Army by night, and paſt ouer the Enemies Trenches,) was Commaunder. He had a Veſſell of ſeauen bankes which did ſometimes belong to *Pyrrhus* King of the *Epirotes*. A

When as the two Armies beganne to approach, and that their Engines called Rauens were diſcouered, the *Carthaginians* were a time in ſuſpence for the nouelty. Finally whatſoeuer it were, without any further reckoning they charge with great fury. The ſhips ioyn'd and grapled, ſo as the *Romane* ſouldiers by meanes of their Engines called Rauens, entred their enemies ſhips, where there was a great ſlaughter made of the *Carthaginians*. The reſt being amazed at this kind of Engines, yeilded: you would haue ſayd it had beene a battell at Land, where the danger is not leſſe. The thirty Veſſells of the *Carthaginians*, which gaue the firſt Charge were taken, among the which was that of the Captayne, which we haue ſayd had belonged vnto King *Pyrrhus*. *Haniball* whoſe Fortune was otherwiſe then he expected, ſaued himſelfe in a little Skiffe: The reſt of the *Carthaginian* Army came with great fury agaynſt their Enemies, as the former had done; but when they were aduertiſed that their firſt ſhips had beene taken by the meanes of the Engines, they did not charge in Front, thinking to auoyde them, but came vpon their flanke, truſting to the lightneſſe of their Veſſels, thinking by this meanes to auoyde the violence of their Engines; but they were made in ſuch ſort as of what ſide ſoeuer the Enemy approached, they could eaſily grapple with them. Wherefore the *Carthaginians* amazed with the ſtrangeneſſe of theſe Engines, in the end fled, after the loſſe of fifty of their ſhips. B C

A battel at Sea betwixt the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*.

The flight of the *Carthaginians*.

The *Romans* being now become maſters of the Sea, contrary vnto their Hope, ſayl'd about the Sea towards *Segeſtane*, and rayſed the ſiege which lay before the Towne. Then parting from thence, they tooke the Towne of *Macelle* by aſſault. After this battell at Sea, when as *Amilcar* (being then Captayne Generall in *Sicily* of the Army by Land) was aduertiſed, remayning at *Panorme*, that there was a great quarrell betwixt the *Romanes* and their Allies, touching the proweſſe and glory of the Combate, and that the Allies after they had beene beaten, were retired apart betwixt *Prope* and *Termine*, hee marcht with all ſpeed to the Allies Campe, and ſlew foure thouſand by ſurprize. *Haniball* after all theſe Fortunes, retyred to *Carthage*, with D

Macelle taken by aſſault.

A defeate of foure thouſand men, allied to the *Romans* by *Amilcar*.

with thoſe few ſhips which he had remaining at the battell. Within few dayes after he was diſpatcht to goe with an Army into *Sardinia*, with ſome excellent Sea Captaines, but he was ſoone incloſ'd in a Port by the *Romans*, and in a manner loſt his whole Army: And as he had eſcaped the Enemy, he was ſuddainly taken by the *Carthaginians* which had ſaued themſelues, and was crucified. Moreouer the *Romans* imployed all their care to ſeize vpon *Sardinia*, being now Maſters of the Sea. *Hanibal* crucified.

The yeare following there was not any thing done worthy of Memory in *Sicily* by the Roman Army. *Caius Sulpicius*, and *Aulus Rutilius* were afterwards made Conſuls, and ſent to *Palermo*, for that the *Carthaginians* forces wintred there. And after the *Romans* had paſt, they put themſelues in battell before the Towne: But the *Carthaginians* being within it, preſented not themſelues to battell. The which the *Romans* ſeeing, they left *Palermo*, and went to *Hippane*, the which ſoone after they tooke by aſſault: The Towne of *Myſiſtrate* was taken likewiſe by the Conſuls, hauing held out ſometime by reaſon of the ſcituation of the place. And as they had beſieged the Citty of the *Camerins*, which had lately abandoned the *Romans*, it was taken by force by the meanes of their Batteries and breaches: Afterwards *Aeta* was carried by aſſault with many other Townes of the *Carthaginians*; *Lippare* was alſo beſieged. The yeare following, the Sea-army of the *Romans* lay in the Hauen of the *Tindaretins* vnder the charge of *Aulus Rutilius*, who ſeeing the *Carthaginian* Army neere the ſhore, he ſent word vnto his ſhips to make haſte to follow him. In the meane time he put to Sea before the reſt, only with ten Veſſels: But when as the *Carthaginians* ſaw that ſome did but imbarque, others began to ſet faile, and the firſt were farre from their Fleet, and neere vnto them, they turned with incredible ſwiftneſſe, and compaſt them in, ſo as moſt part of them were ſunke, and the Conſuls ſhip had like to haue fallen into the *Carthaginians* hands, with all that were within it: He hardly eſcaped by the force of his Oares and lightneſſe. *Hippane* and *Myſiſtrate* taken with many other Townes. *Aulus Rutilius* Conſull.

In the meane time the reſt of the Romane Army, which had gotten into the open ſea, encountred the Enemy, whereof ten ſhips were taken, and eight ſunke, and the reſt recouered the Iſlands called *Lipparets*. But howſoeuer either of them parted from this Combate with an Opinion to haue gotten the Victory: Wherefore they were more eager to continue the War by Sea, and were more attentiue to Marine affaires. As for their Armies at Land, during this time, they did nothing worthy of Note, buſying themſelues about ſmall things, and of little eſteeme. But the Summer following hauing giuen order for their affaires, (as we haue ſaid) they prepared to Warre. In regard of the *Romans*, they made their aſſembly at *Meſſina*, to the number of three hundred and thirty Veſſels armed; and ſayling from thence leauing *Sicily* on the right hand, and paſſing the Promontory of *Pachina*, they ſayled to *Echnomus*, whereas the Army by Land attended them. The *Carthaginians* in like manner put to Sea, with three hundred and fifty Sayle armed, and ſtayed at *Lilybeum*, and from The *Romans* Army by Sea. The Promontory of *Pachina*. The *Carthaginians* Army of three hundred and fifty ſayle.

from thence went to *Heracleum*, and so to *Minoe*. The *Romans* intention was to passe into *Affricke*, and there to make their chiefe War, to the end the *Carthaginians* should not onely run the hazard of the War of *Sicily*, but also haue it at their owne Houses. On the other side the *Carthaginians* considering how easily their descent would be into *Lybia*, and what little defence the Countrey-men would make when they should be once entred, they desired to fight presently with the *Romans*, and by that meanes to hinder the descent into *Affricke*. Wherefore the one being resolued to defend themselues, and the other to assaile them, considering the obstinacy of either party, there was likely-hood of an vndoubted battell. When as the *Romans* had giuen order for all things necessary for the equipage of their Sea-army, and to make their descent into *Affricke*, they made choice of the ablest men in all their Army at Land, and imbark'd them, and then deuided their Army into foure, whereof either had two Names. The first was called the first Battalion, and the first Army: So were the rest according to their order, but the fourth and the third were called *Triarij*, as in an Army at Land. All this Army at Sea amounted to aboue 140000. men. Euery Vessell had three hundred Rowers, and sixe score Leginaries. A

An Army of 140000. *Romans* and more *Carthaginians*.

In regard of the *Carthaginians*, they were furnished onely with men accustomed with Sea-fights, being in number aboue 150000 men, according to the order of their Vessels. Wherefore they that were present and saw the great danger, and power of the two Armies, the great charges, the multitude of combatants, and of ships, they did not only wonder, but they also who heard speake of it. The *Romans* considering that vpon necessity they must goe vpon the side, and that their Enemies sayl'd more lightly, they imployed all their Art to make their battell strong and inuincible. For the effecting whereof they set two Vessels in front of fiue Bankes in equall distance, in the which were *Marcus Attilius*, and *Lucius Manlius*. After which march'd the first and second Battalion of either side, their ships following one another, so as the distance of the two Battalions did still inlarge themselues. The stems of their ships looked outward. By this meanes the Battalions drawne thus in length, made the two parts of a Triangle, to the which they added the third Battalion in the same fashion, as a foundation, so as the three Battalions made a perfect figure of a Triangle. After the third Battalion the ships which carried the Horses, were ordered one after another, seruing as a Rampier to the third Battalion. B C

The Triarij followed after in their order, making the fourth Battalion, euery Vessell being ordered in such sort, as they past the precedent on either side. All the Romane Army was thus ordered, whereof the first part, that is to say, the two sides of the point of the Triangle, were empty in the midst: but the sides following after the foundation were better supplied. By this meanes their Army was firme and hard to breake. D

A Remonstrance made by the *Carthaginian* Captaines to the Souldiers of their Army.

In the meane time the Commanders of the *Carthaginians* drew their Souldiers together, and put courage into them, letting them vnderstand, that if they wone the battell, there would be no more War but in *Sicily*: But if the *Romans* had the Victory, they must expect not to fight

fight for *Sicily*, but for their owne Countrey, their Houses and their Children.

After this exhortation, they make them imbarque, the which they did resolutely, and prepared to fight, thinking of the time to come, according to the discourse of their Captaines: Who seeing the order of the *Roman* Army, deuided theirs likewise into foure; whereof three gayning the Sea, making the Right-wing longer, stayed as if they would inviron their Enemies, against whom they turne their beake-heads; and they make the Fort to looke towards the Land, by a circuite of the left
A wing of the whole Army. *Hanno* and *Amilcar* were Commaunders of the *Carthaginians*, *Hanno* (who was defeated at the battell of *Agrigas*) had the leading of the Right wing, with the lightest Vessels, and *Amilcar* of the Left. This is he who as we haue sayd, fought at Sea neere vnto *Tyndaris*, who hazarding then the middest of his Army, vsed this kind of Stratagem of War for the Combate.

The *Romans* seeing at the first charge, that the Battalion of the *Carthaginians* was weake, fore'd resolutely thorough them: But the *Carthaginians* obseruing the Commaundment of *Amilcar*, left the place presently, making shew to flye, to the end the *Roman* Army should se-
B parate it selfe, whom the *Romans* followed with too great heate: And therefore the first and second Battalion sayl'd with too great Courage after the Enemy, but the third and fourth were stayed, drawing after them the ships that were laden with Horses, with whom the *Triarij* remained for their Guard. When as the two first seemed to be farre from the others, the *Carthaginians* after a signe giuen them by *Amilcar*, as he had instructed them, turning the Prow suddainly, they all assault the Roman Vessels which followed them.

A Battell at Sea betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*.

The Combat was cruell, It is true, the *Carthaginians* had a great aduantage by their lightnesse, and their pollicy in turning: But when as they came to fight, and that the Armies affronted one another, the
C *Romans* had no lesse hope then the *Carthaginians*, for the Force and Proweſſe of their men, and by the staying of their Ships, and casting of their Engines, and finally by the Combate of the two Commaunders, and the hazard they were in their fight.

This was the estate of the Battell: Presently after *Hanno*, who as we haue sayd had the charge of the Right wing, and did not budge before the first charge was giuen, seeing the Battell begun with the *Romans*, went to Sea and charged the *Triarij*, where there was a great fight, the which was long in suspence. In the meane time the fourth Battalion of the *Carthaginians*, which continued neere the shore, turning the Prow vpon the Enemy, assaulted the Battalion in
D front, by the which the ships which carried the Horses were rowed, who suddainly slipt the Ropes and fought with great fury.

There they saw three parts of the Battell, and three Combats at Sea at one instant, in three diuers places, and farre remote. The Combate was equall, for that the Ships of either side were of the like number. Without doubt euery man performed his Duty in fighting, so as all was indifferent and equall. Finally,

Amilcar vanquished.

Amilcar was defeated, and forced to flye with his Squadron. And *Lucius Manlius* towed away the ships that were taken. In the meane time *Attilius* seeing the Combate of the *Triarij*, and of the ships wherein the Horses were, came presently to succour them with the Vessels of the second Battalion, which were yet whole and entire: But when as the *Triarij* who had beene long and violently charged by *Hanno*, so as they were in great danger, saw the Consull come, they resumed courage, and recharged him resolutely: And then the *Carthaginians* being much discontented to haue an Enemy in front and behinde, and to be inuested by succours contrary to their expectation, gained the open Sea, relying vpon the lightnesse of their Vessels, and saued themselues by flight. And *Lucius Manlius* in the meane time seeing the third Battalion preste neere the shore by the left wing of the *Carthaginians*, and *Mercus Attilius* in like manner, leauing the ships with the Horses and the *Triarij* in safety, resolued both together to succour those that were in danger: For they were in a manner besieged, and almost at the last gaspe, and had beene defeated, if the *Carthaginians* had not feared to ioyne with them by reason of their Engines or Rauens: Neither did they presse vpon them, but onely to chase them to the shore. Finally, the *Carthaginians* were suddainly compast in by the Consuls, whereof fifty of their ships were taken with the men. Some being driuen vnto the shore, saued themselues. Behold the three seuerall Combats which the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* had in one day: Yet the *Romans* in the end had the Victory of the whole Battell. In the which 24 of their ships were broken and aboue thirty of the *Carthaginians*. There was not one *Roman* Vessell taken whole by the *Carthaginians* with the men. But the *Romans* tooke three score and foure of the *Carthaginians* with all the men. Soone after this battell, the *Romans* parted with an intent to sayle directly into *Lybia*, after they had made prouision of Victuals, and all other munition, ioyning to their Army the ships taken, being well repaired.

A Victory of the *Romans* against the *Carthaginians*.

There is a place in *Affricke* which they call the Cape of *Mercure*, running farre into the Sea, and is directly against *Sicily*, where the *Romans* arriuing and receiuing their Vessels, repaired all: Then passing this strond, they sayled vnto the Citty of *Aspis*, where they put their Army in Battell neere vnto the Towne, and retired their ships, rampesing them with Ditches and Palliadoes, resoluing to besiege it, for that they which held it would not yeeld to the *Romans*. It is true that the *Carthaginians* who a little before had escaped from the Battell at sea, and recouered *Carthage* by flight, furnished the most necessary places belonging to their Citty, with Horse and Foot, and with necessary shipping, supposing that the *Roman* Army after the Victory would come directly vnto them. But when they were aduertised of their descent, and of the siege of *Aspis*, they leuied men, and regarding no more the landing of the *Romans*, but hauing an eye aswell to forreigne affaires as to their owne Countrey, they omitted nothing of that which was necessary for the Guard of the Citty and Prouince. In the meane time the Consuls after they had taken *Aspis* by assault, and put

The Cape of *Mercure*.

Aspis taken by the *Romans*.

put a *Garrison* into it, and in the Country, and had sent vnto *Rome* to aduertise the *Senate* of their successe, to the end they might conduct what was afterwards to be done, they drew the whole Army into the *Carthaginians* Country, where they found no Resistance, spoyling and setting fire on their goodly and glorious buildings, so as they carried away a booty of all sorts of Beasts, with aboue twenty thousand Prisoners, which were Embarked.

Courses made by the *Romans* in the *Carthaginians* Country.

In the meane time they receiued newes from *Rome*, by the which the Senate sent them word, that one of the Consuls should remayne
A in *Affricke*, with sufficient forces, and that the other should Returne with the ships. The pleasure of the *Senate* being knowne, *Marcus Attilius Regulus* stayed in *Affricke* with forty ships, fifteene thousand foote, and fiue hundred Horse, and *Marcus Manlius* set sayle with the rest of the ships and Army, hauing the Prisoners with him, and arriued first in *Sicily*, and then at *Rome* without any misschance. But the *Carthaginians* fore-seeing that the *Romans* War would be long, they first made two Generall Captaynes in their Army, which were *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Hanno*, and *Bostar*: Moreouer they sent for *Amilcar*, who was in *Heracleum*, who Embarking presently with fiue thousand
B foote, and fiue hundred Horse, came to *Carthage*, and was constituted the third Captayne of the Army, taking the Conduct of the War with *Asdrubal* and *Bostar*.

Asdruball, *Bostar*, and *Amilcar* Commanders of the *Carthaginians* Army.

When as these Captaynes had held a Councell, concerning the Affayres of the War, they were of opinion that it was necessary to relieue the Prouince, and not to indure so great a pillage and spoyle of the Country. *Marcus Attilius* some few dayes before marching into the Country, rased the weaker Castles, and besieged the stronger. But when he was come to the City of *Cadis* which was worthy of a siege, he plants himselfe before it, and indeauours to force it. The
C *Carthaginians* aduertised hereof made haste to succour it, desiring to Raise the siege. And therefore they march with all their power against the *Romans*, Recouering a little Hill to the preiudice of their Enemies, and very commodious for themselues: Whereon planting their Camp, they hoped for an absolute Victory, by the meanes of their Horse and Elephants. Leauing therefore the playne, they drew into high and vneuen places, as if they would aduertise the Enemy what they had to doe, the which vndoubtedly they effected. But when the *Romanes* had considered the little vse of Elephants, for they were in a Mountainous and Hilly Country, in the which the Enemies had seated their
D chiefe hope, as of great effect and terrible, they aduised not to attend their Descent into the playne: Wherefore vsing the opportunity of the time, they shut them vp at the breake of day in the Mountayne of all sides.

By this meanes their Cauallery and their Elephants were altogether vnprofitable: Their aduenturers onely did their duties in fighting on the top, and had already forced the *Roman* Legionaries to giue backe a little, when as suddainly the rest which had gayned the top of the Mountayne shewed themselues. The *Carthaginians* seeing themselues inclosed of

all sides, abandoned their Fort, and fled into the deserts of the Mountaines. The Elephants and Horses recouered the Playne, and saued themselues without danger. The *Romans* made some little pursuite after the footemen, then they spoyled the Campe, and ouer-ran the whole Country, wasting all, and ruining the Towne.

Tunes taken by the *Romans* by assault.

Some few dayes after they besieged *Tunes*, which they tooke by assault, where they planted their Campe, for that the place seemed conuenient vnto them to mannage the Warre, being a frontier to *Carthage* and to the whole Prouince. The *Carthaginians* hauing a little before beene defeated at Sea, and now by Land, not by the cowardize of their Souldiers, but by the baseneſse of the Commanders, they fell into a miserable and desperate estate: For after their last defeate and flight by the *Romans*, a great Troupe of *Numidians*, gaping after spoyle, fell vpon them, doing them in a manner as great harme as the *Romans*. It is a wandering and vagabone Nation and great theeues, carrying away all they finde.

A

The *Numidians* great robbers.

The *Carthaginians* terrified by the *Numidians* abandoned the Country, and retired to *Carthage*, where they suffered much, aswell by famine, as for their owne cowardize, and moreouer the multitude being great they feared a long siege: And although that *Marcus Attilius* was perswaded that the *Carthaginians* were wonderfully weakned, aswell by Land as Sea, being in hope that the City would be in short time deliuered vnto him: yet fearing that the new Consull, whom they expected soone in *Affricke*, would reape the honour of his prowesse and valour, he began to treate of a peace with them, whereunto they willingly gaue eare. Wherefore they sent the chiefe of their City in Embassie to the Consull, to make this treaty. But when as they were arriued, they were so farre from agreeing, as they could hardly without choller heare the vnreasonable things that were enioyn'd them. Make your account that *Marcus Attilius* did hope that his offer would bee accepted as a thing of grace, for that he had preuayled in all his affaires: The *Carthaginians* on the other side, thought that when as fortune should reduce them to extremity, the Consull could not make them a more bitter answere.

B

Embassadours sent by the *Carthaginians* to *Marcus Attilius*.

C

Their Embassadours therefore returned, not onely without any agreement, but detesting wonderfully the Consuls answere, as to hard and proud. The which being heard by the Senate of the *Carthaginians*, they entered into so great an indignation vpon the Consuls demaund, and resumed such courage, that although formerly they were out of hope, yet then they resolued to attend all extremities, and rather to trye their fortune and to attend the time, then to suffer so ignominious a thing and vnworthy of their valour. It happened at the same time, that some one of those which had beene sent into *Greece*, in the beginning of the warre to Leuie Men, returned and brought with them a good number of Souldiers: among the which there was one *Xantippus* a *Lacedemonian*, a man of Iudgement, and practised in the warre: who after that hee had heard a relation of the defeat of the *Carthaginians*, and the manner, the place, and that what time it happened: hauing also considered the equipage of

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Xantippus a *Lacedemonian*.

the

the *Carthaginians*, with the number of their Horſe and Elephants, he returned ſuddainly to his Companions, ſaying, that the ignorance of the Captaines, not the *Romans*, had defeated the *Carthaginians*. This ſpeech ran preſently thoroughout the whole Citty, and came vnto the Princes.

The *Carthaginians* cauſed him to be called, and reſolued to vſe his Councell, who in their preſence deliuered plainly the Reaſons of his ſpeech, and the cauſe of their Defeate; and if they would follow his Councell, and hereafter keepe the Plaines, leauing the hilly Coun-
A try, and there plant their battell, hee would teach them how their Army ſhould be out of danger, and their Enemies Vanquiſhed. The Captaines mooued with the words of *Xantippus*, preſently Reſigned vnto him the Conduct of all this Warre, and now there ranne a bruite throughout the whole Campe of *Xantippus* ſpeech, with great Hope and Ioy. But after that all the Companies of the Army were drawne into the field, and that hee had put them in order, there was ſo great a difference betwixt his and that of the other Captaines, who vnderſtood not the Art of Warre, that preſently the common cry demanded nothing but to fight, ſo much they were aſſured vnder the leading
B of *Xantippus*.

The Leading of the *Carthaginians* Army, giuen to *Xantippus*.

This done, the *Carthaginian* Captaines ſeeing the courage of their Men, exhorted them a little according to the opportunity of the time, and within few dayes after they marched to find out the Enemy. There were in the *Carthaginians* Army aboue twelue thouſand foote, foure thouſand Horſe, and neere a hundred Elephants. When as *Marcus Attilius* heard of the comming of the Enemy, and that the *Carthaginians* kept their Horſes vpon an euen Country, camping contrary vnto their cuſtome on the plaines, hee wondred as at a new accident: Yet hee marcht directly to them deſiring battell, and lodged within twelue hundred paces of their Campe. Three dayes after the *Carthaginian*
C Captaines held a Councell what was to be done: But the multitude deſiring the combate, turned towards *Xantippus*, calling him by his name, with a countenance ſeeming to be willing and ready to vndergo all dangers, and intreated him to lead them ſpeedily vnto the battell. When as the *Carthaginian* Captaines ſaw their Men thus reſolute, and deſirous to fight, and that *Xantippus* ſayd the time was fitting and conuenient, they ſuffred them to prepare to battell, and gaue him leaue to do all at his pleaſure. Who after he had taken charge of the Captaines, hee orders the battell, before the whole Army hee ſets the Elephants one after another. After which hee cauſeth a Legion of *Carthaginians* to march, with ſome diſtance, and placeth the ſtrangers
D vpon the Wings. Then he ordereth the beſt of his foote, to fight of either ſide betwixt the Wings of the Horſe-men.

The order of the battell by *Xantippus*.

The *Romans* ſeeing the *Carthaginians* in battell, ſtayed not to doe the like; yet fearing the Violence of the Elephants, they ſet in Front the moſt actiue of their men, reinforcing their Reare with many Enſignes, and diuiding their Horſe-men vpon the Wings. Their Ordonance was leſſe then formerly, but more cloſe, for feare leaſt the E-

lephants

lephants ſhould open them. But as the *Romans* had ſet a good order againſt the Elephants, ſo they had neglected to keepe themſelues from incloſing. For as the *Carthaginians* had a greater number of Horſe, ſo the cloſe Ordonance, gaue them an eaſie meanes to breake and ſeperate them.

Battell giuen by the *Romans* to the *Carthaginians.*

The two Armies being in battell, either attending who ſhould firſt Charge; ſuddainly *Xantippus* cauſeth the Elephants to beginne the Charge, and breake the Enemies rankes, and that the Horſe-men of both Wings ſhould withall charge furiouſly. The *Romanes* cauſe their Trumpets to ſound after the manner of the Country, and charge where the Enemies forces were greateſt. It is true that the *Roman* Horſe-men terrified with the multitude of their Enemies, abandoned the two Wings: And the Foote-men of the left Wing wauing from the Fury of the Elephants, and making no account of the forreigne Souldiers, charged the right Wing of the *Carthaginians* with great fury, and put it to flight, purſuing them vnto their Fort. On the other ſide, they which indured the charge of the Elephants, were broken and trodden vnder their feete by heapes. It is true that the whole Ordnance continued for a time in battell, for that their ſupplies beeing in the Reare were very cloſe. But after that the *Romane* Legions, ſet in the Reareward, and compaſſed in of all ſides by the *Carthaginian* Horſe-men, were forced to make reſiſtance there, and that they (who as wee haue ſayd) were appointed to make head againſt the Elephants, were by them repulſed into the thickeſt of the enemies Battalion, where they were defeated and ſlaine, then the *Romans* beeing aſſaulted on all ſides, ſome were beaten downe and ſlaine by the intollerable fury of the Elephants, and others by the Horſe-men, in the ſame place where they had their firſt poſture giuen them, ſome few of them ſeeing no more hope, ſought their ſafety by flight, of which (conſidering that the Country was very plaine) ſome were defeated by the Elephants, and the reſt by the Horſe-men: And ſome flying with *Marcus Attilius*, were taken to the number of fiue hundred.

Marcus Attilius taken with 500. *Romans.*

The *Carthaginians* loſt that day but fiue hundred Aduenturers ſtrangers, whom the left Wing of the *Romans* had defeated: But of all the *Romane* Army there eſcaped but two thouſand with their Enſignes, who (as we haue ſayd) purſued a troupe of enemies into their Fort. All the reſt were cut in pieces, except *Marcus Attilius* and a few Men which fled with him; in regard of thoſe Enſignes which beyond all hope eſcaped, they came vnto *Aſpis*. Finally the *Carthaginians* after the ſpoile of the Dead retired to *Carthage*, with the Conſull and other Priſoners, making great ioy and tryumph.

A remonſtrance of *Polybius.*

If we ſhall duely conſider this, we ſhall finde many things profitable for the conduct of Man. Firſt, *Marcus Attilius* ſerues for a faire example to all the World, that it is a great folly and indiſcretion, to put his Hope in Fortune, vnder the colour of good ſucceſſe and enterpriſes brought to an end according to our deſire: Who of late after ſo many tryumphant Victories, had not any compaſſion of the *Carthaginians*, being reduced to extremity, refuſing to grant them peace, which they craued

craued with so much humility, hath beene presently after reduced to that constraint, as to make the like request.

Moreouer that which *Euripides* hath formerly spoken so well, that the good Councell of one man alone doth vanquish a great Army, hath beene this day verified by that which hath happened. In truth one man alone, and the Councell of one man, hath vanquished and defeated an Army, formerly invincible; raising and restoring a Towne lost, and the hearts of so many desolate men. Beleeue mee, I haue thought good to relate these actions for the benefit and instruction of the Readers of
A these Commentaries.

For as there are two meanes easily to correct and amend our errours, whereof the one is his owne Misfortune, and the other the example of another mans Miseries; there is no doubt but the first hath greater efficacy, but it is not without the losse and preiudice of him to whom it happens: And although the second be not of so great force, yet it is the better, for that they are out of danger, and therefore no man imbraceth the first meanes willingly; for that they cannot helpe it without their owne trouble and losse. As for the second, euery man followes it willingly; For wee may see by him (without any hazard
B or losse) what wee ought to follow for the best.

Wherefore if wee consider it well, we shall finde that experience (by the remembrance of another mans faults) seemes to be a very good doctrine of a true life: Without doubt it is that alone which makes the good Iudges of reason without any losse: But wee haue discoursed sufficiently of this Subiect.

The *Carthaginians* hauing ended their affaires happily, and to their content, they reioyced in many sorts, both in giuing thankes vnto God; and sacrificing after their manner, or in vsing amongst themselues a mutuall beneuolence and courtesie.

C Soone after that *Xantippus* had raised the hearts of the *Carthaginians*, hee returned into his Countrey, as a man well aduised: For the Prowesse and Valour of men, and their Vertues, are many times the cause of great enuy and detraction: Against the which Citizens that are well allied, and haue many Friends, make easie resistance: But strangers which haue not that support, are easily ruined and defeated. They say hee went away for some other reason, which wee will deliuer when it shall be fitting. *Xantippus returnes into his Country.*

After that beyond all hope the *Romans* had receiued Newes of the defeate of their Army in *Affricke*, and the taking of the Con-
D full: And that the remainder of their men was besieged in *Aspis*, consulting presently of the safety of those which were remaining in *Affricke*, they appointed an Army to bee raised to goe thither with all speede. *Aspis* besieged by the *Carthaginians.*

In the meane time the *Carthaginians* besieged *Aspis*, striuing to force it, with hope soone to haue this remainder of the Battell: But the Vertue and Courage of the *Romans* which defended it, was so great, as all the Enemies attempts could not preuaile. Wherefore being out of hope to enter it, they raised the Siege. Soone after

E Newes

Newes came that the *Romans* prepared an Army at Sea to send into *Affricke*: For the which the *Carthaginians* being mooued, they vsed all dilligence to repaire their old Vessels and to make new. Presently after they laboured to stand vpon their guard, and to hinder the descent of the *Romans* into *Affricke*, with two hundred Vessels armed and well furnished: But when as the preparation of three hundred and fifty Roman Vessels was ready, they sent *Marcus Emilius* and *Seruius Fului-us* with the whole Army into *Affricke* in the beginning of the Spring. When as the Consuls had set sayle, to draw first into *Sicily*, and from thence into *Affricke*, they were not farre from the Cape of *Mercure*, A but they presently discouered the *Carthaginian* Army: the which (as wee haue said) watched their comming at the passage, and charged them suddainly with great fury, taking a hundred and foureteene Vessels armed: sailing from thence to *Aspis*, they rerired their Men, and after they had stayed some time in *Affricke*, they returned into *Sicily*.

One hundred and fourteene Vessels of the *Carthaginians* taken by the *Romans*.

But when they had past the Sea betwixt *Affricke* and *Sicily* with a prosperous Winde, and had anchored neere vnto the *Camarins* Towne, it is not possible to deliuer the greatnesse of the torment and misery that befell them. Hardly could they preserue foure score Vessels whole B of foure hundred three score and foure which were in their Army. All the rest (either sunke in the Sea, or split against the Rocks) fill'd all the shore with wracks, or dead Bodies.

A great number of the Romane ships perished by a Tempest.

It is not in the memory of man of any such shipwracke by a tempest. This miserable misfortune happened not casually and by chance, but by the ouerweening of the Consuls; considering that the Marriners had let them vnderstand, that they must auoid the Coasts about *Sicily*, for that it was not to be approached, being bad and difficult to sayle in, especially at that season, for they sayled betwixt the Starres of *Orion* and the *Dog-starre*. Whatsoeuer it were the Consuls disdaining the C admonition of the Marriners, made haste with a glorious confidence of their late Victory, to surprize some Townes along that shore: where as they fell into extreame calamity vnder the shaddow of a poore hope. Then they knew their folly, carrying the repentance of their presumption. Defacing by this wracke the things which formerly they had done well.

And although that in all things the *Romans* relye vpon their forces, and thinke whatsoeuer they resolue, must be put in execution, holding nothing impossible when they haue once vndertaken it, and that this obstinacy doth many times turne to good. Yet sometimes they fall in- D to great and apparent errours, especially in Sea-matters. It is true that in Battels at Land fighting with men, it is not so strange if they vanquish: For the Combate is equall, although they bee sometimes vanquished: But as for the Sea, for that they thrust themselues into hazard, and without consideration, they fall many times into great inconueniences.

This happened at this time, and hath done formerly, and will befall them many times hereafter, vntill they haue suppresst and reformed

reformed this ouer-weening, thinking they are able to goe to Sea at all ſeaſons. The *Carthaginians* being aduertiſed of the ſhipwracke of the Romane Army, they had the greater deſire to raiſe an Army both by Land and Sea: For that their force ſeemed as great at Land, as that of the *Romans*, by reaſon of the defeate of *Marcus Attilius*: The like they conceiued of the Sea, after the great loſſe the *Romans* had indured. Wherefore they preſently ſent *Aſdrubal* into *Sicily* with the old Bands, and a new leuie of the Men of *Heracleum*, with an hundred and fifty Elephants. They wrigd out a Fleete of two hundred Veſſels, and other Equipages neceſſary for Nauigation. When as *Aſdrubal* landed at *Lylibeum* with his whole Army, he trayned his Men, and exerciſed his Elephants, making roads into thoſe Countries which were allied vnto the *Romans*. Finally, he was very watchfull and diligent. And although the *Romans* loſſe had much abated their courage, yet they vſed all poſſible diligence to rayſe a Fleete of two hundred and twenty Veſſels with a Palliſado: the which they effected within three Moneths, and put it to Sea, the which is difficult to beleeue, to the end the World ſhould not thinke they would ſtrike ſayle vnto the *Carthaginians*. *Lucius Aquilius*, and *Caius Cornelius* Conſuls, were appointed to leade this Army, to fight with the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*, who paſſing the Sea preſently, arriued at *Meſſina*, where they receiued the Remainder of the ſhips, which had beene preſerued in the ſtorme. By this meanes their Army conſiſted of three hundred Veſſels.

Aſdrubal ſent into *Sicily* by the *Carthaginians*.

From thence they tooke their Courſe to *Palermo*, the chiefe Towne of the *Carthaginians*, the which they aſſailed vigourouſly, erecting two ſorts of Engines, and other preparations to that effect, ſo as they eaſily ouerthrew a Tower ſeated vpon the Sea, by the which the Souldiers entring by force, tooke that part of the Towne which was called *Naples*. After this the Burgeſſes dying for feare, yeelded vnto the Conſuls the other part which they called the old Towne.

Palermo beſieged by the *Romans*, and taken by aſſault.

After the taking of *Palermo*, the Conſuls put in a good Garriſon, and then returned to *Rome*. The yeare following, *Gneus Sempronius*, and *Caius Seruilius* were Conſuls, who in like manner paſt into *Sicily* with an Army, to goe from thence into *Affricke*: where being arriued, they diſperſed their Men into diuers places, and committed great ſpoiles, yet they did not any thing worthy of Memory. Finally, they arriued at the Iſland of *Lotophages*, which they call *Mirmyx*, which is neere vnto a little Shelfe or Barre of *Barbary*, where not knowing the paſſages, they were in a great ſtreight, and were ſtayed by reaſon of the ebbing of the Sea: They were for a time in ſuſpence what to doe. Finally, the Flood comming ſuddainly vpon them, they were almoſt driuen to diſpaire: Yet they could not ſaue themſelues vntill they had lightned their ſhips, and caſt out their baggage to ſaue themſelues.

After that Day the *Romans* were ſo amazed with ſo many dangers, as they ſailed continuallly as if they had fled. Soone after they returned into *Sicily*, and leauing *Lilybeum*, they tooke Port at *Palermo*. But ſoone after that they were gone from thence to ſaile into *Italy*, there

One hundred and fifty of the *Roman* Veſſels loſt.

roſe ſo great a ſtorme as aboue a hundred and fifty of their ſhips were driuen vp and downe, and in the end periſhed. And although the *Romanes* after ſo many loſſes, were of aduice to preferre the honor and Maieſty of the Empire before all other things, yet they were ſo broken with ſo great miſeries, as they reſolued to abandon the Sea. And therefore they only leuied an Army by Land, wherein they thought they ſhould be more confident and of better hope, the which they ſent into *Sicily* with the two Conſuls, *Lucius Cecilius*, and *Caius Curius*: To whom they deliuered only three ſcore Veſſells for their Victualls. By this meanes the *Carthaginians*, became againe Maiſters of the Sea with A out contradiction, ſeeing the *Romans* had no more any Fleete at Sea. Moreouer they had great confidence in their Army at Land, and not without cauſe. For after that the report of the battell giuen in *Affricke*, came to *Rome*, and that they vnderſtood that the defeate of their men hapned by the force and fury of the Elephants, for that they had broken the Rankes and opened the battalions, and that they had made a wonderfull ſlaughter of them.

Their feare of the Elephants from that day, was ſo great, as for two yeares after they neuer durſt charge the *Carthaginians*, although they made many incounters in *Affricke*, and in the Country of *Selinuntia*, nor Campe in the Plaines within fiue or ſixe furlongs of them, keeping alwayes the Mountaynes and hilly Countries, to ſaue themſelues from the Elephants; ſo as they only forced *Therute* and *Lipara*. Wherefore the *Romanes* knowing the feare their Army had, reſolued againe to put a Fleete to Sea.

Therute and *Lipara*.

At that time the *Romane* people being aſſembled, they choſe vnto the Conſulſhip *Caius Attilius*; and *Lucius Manlius*: They alſo made fifty new ſhips, and Rigg'd out the olde, the which they furniſhed with Souldiers proportionably. When as *Aſdruball* Generall of the *Carthaginians*, knowing well the feare of the *Romans*, had beene ad- C uertiſed by the Fugitiues, that one of the Conſuls was returned vnto *Rome* with halfe the Army, and *Cecilius* remayned alone at *Palermo* with the other, he parts from *Lylibeum* (when as Harueſt approached) with his Army to ſpoile, and falls vpon the Territory of *Palermo*, planting his Campe vpon the Mountaines. *Cecilius* hauing newes of their comming, and knowing that *Aſdruball* deſired nothing but a battell, kept his Army within the Towne.

A new Army at Sea, prepared by the *Romans*.

By this meanes *Aſdruball* growing very confident, conceiuing that *Cecilius* kept himſelfe cloſe for feare, he cauſeth his Army to March to *Palermo*, hauing ruined and burnt all the Champion Countries. The D Conſull was alwaies of opinion not to go to field, vntill that his enemy was drawne to paſſe the Riuer, which runnes neere vnto the Towne Walls. But when he ſaw that the Campe and the Elephants approached, he cauſed a ſally to be made by the nimbleſt and moſt actiue men of his Army, commaunding them to skirmiſh with the enemy, vntill their whole Campes ſhould be forced to come to the combats. And afterwards conſidering that matters had ſucceeded as he deſired, he ordaines the lighteſt and moſt actiue, to plant themſelues beyond the

The policy of *Cecilius* to deſeate the Elephants.

Towne

Towne ditch, giuing them charge to cast Pertuisans, Darts, and Spits a farre off at the Elephants: And if they came running vpon them with fury and violence, they should slip into the Ditch, and from thence cast their Darts at them. He also commaunded the Archers of the Market place, to go out of the Towne, and to fight at the foote of the wall. In the meane time, he issued foorth with all the Enfignes, by another side of the Towne right against the enemies left Wing, and sent many to those which fought with Darts.

Presently after the skirmish beganne, the Maister of the Elephants, A who with a desire of glory would haue the honour of the Victory, incensed them against the enemies, not attending *Asdrubals* pleasure. The *Romans* obseruing the Consuls commaundment, turned head presently; and when as the Elephants pursued them with fury, they slipt into the Ditch, the Elephants being vppon the side of it, they were suddainly charged with Darts and Pertuisans, aswell by the Townesmen which were vpon the Walls, as from the Souldiers which lay in the Ditch. And when as they could passe no further, they turned head, being necessarily forced to fall vpon their owne battallions with great slaughter.

B In the meane time *Cecilius* goes suddainly to field, hauing his whole Army entire and in good order, by another gate, and chargeth his enemies furiously, who being already broken by the Elephants, and charged againe by the Consuls Troupes, were easily defeated. A part of them were slaine, the rest saued themselues by flight: There were ten Elephants taken with their Indian Maisters; the rest were taken after the battell, their Gouernours being cast downe. This Victory purchased great honour to *Cecilius*, as the Man who by the report of all the whole World, had beene the cause that the *Romanes* after that time resuming courage camped in the Plaines. When the *Romanes* had newes of this C Victory, it is not credible the ioy which they conceiued, not so much for the taking of the Elephants, whereby the *Carthaginians* power was much decreased, as for that their men seemed to be growne more hardy in the Warre, for that they had conquered them. Wherefore they prepared an Army at Sea, as they had formerly resolued, and sent the Consuls into *Sicily* with two hundred Vessells, desiring to make an end of that Warre: Whither they past hauing made prouision of Victualls, and other things necessary. This was the foureteeneth yeare since the beginning of the Warre.

A defeat of the *Carthaginians*, by the *Romans*.

An Armie at Sea prepared by the *Romans*.

The Consuls being arriued, and receiuing the Bands of Souldiers D that were there, they go and lay siege to *Lylibeum*, hoping after the taking thereof, they might easily transport the Warre into *Affricke*: But the *Carthaginians* mooued with the like considerations, resolued by all meanes to keepe it, knowing well that after the losse of *Lylibeum*, they had nothing else remaining in *Sicily*. The *Romans* in truth held in a manner the whole Iland, except *Trepanum*. But to the end that what wee speake of *Sicily*, may not seeme obscure to some one, by reason of the ignorance of places, we will deliuer the Situation in few words.

The Scituation of the Iland of *Sicily*.

All *Sicily* hath its Scituation in regard of *Italy* and the limits thereof, like vnto *Morea* in reſpect of *Greece*, and its bounds. It is true, there is ſome difference, for that there is a little Sea betwixt this and *Italy*. Whereas *Morea* is ioyned vnto *Greece*, by a little ſlip of Land, for they may goe on dry foote from *Morea* vnto *Greece*, and not from *Sicily* into *Italy* without ſhipping. *Sicily* is of a Triangular forme, and ſo many Angles as it hath, ſo many Capes or Promontories there are vpon the Sea ſhore. Among the which, that whereon the *Sicilian* Sea doth beare is called *Pachinus*, and lookes towards the South: that which tends towards the North, where the Sea doth end, and is not aboue a mile and a halfe from *Italy*, is called *Pelorus*. The third which hath his Aſpect towards *Affricke*, and towards the Winterly Weſt; and which is right againſt *Carthage*, from the which vnto the *Affricke* ſhore, there is not aboue one hundred twenty and ſeuen miles, is called *Lylibeum*, diuiding the Sea of *Sardinia* and *Sicily*. There is a Towne on this Cape, which carries the ſame name, the which the *Romans* beſieged at that time: The which is ſtrong with Walls and Ditches, and moreouer with Marſhes and Pooles, by the which lyes the paſſage for ſhips into the Port; but the entry is difficult, and not acceſſible but by expert Marriners.

Three principall promontories in *Sicily*.

A

B

The *Romans* then to beſiege it throughly, made round about it Trenches, Rampiers, and Baſtions, one neere vnto another. Finally, they ſet vp their Engines of Warre; neyther did they omit any thing that was neceſſary to force a Towne. At their firſt beginning they battered a Tower, which was ſeated vpon the Sea ſhore, looking towards *Affricke*, adding daily new Engines and planting them in order. Finally, they ouerthrew at the ſame time ſixe other Towers neere vnto it, by the ſhaking of great Beames, armed with iron at the end, like vnto a Rams-head. Wherefore as this ſiege was troubleſome and dangerous, and that ſome Towers were much indammaged, and others ouerthrown by the Violence of the Engines, and the Towne continually battered, the beſieged beganne to faint, and to grow fearefull and amazed. They were ten thouſand Souldiers beſides the inhabitants of the Towne. Yet *Imilcon*, who had the guard thereof, maintayned this ſiege againſt the *Romans* by his Councell and great courage: Whereſoeuer the *Romans* made any breach in the Walls, he repayred it within; and if the enemy did Mine, he preuented them by countermines. By this meanes he ſtill defeated their interpriſes. Sometimes hee alſo made ſallies, hindring them much in all their attempts, and trying if hee could to fire their Engines of battery. Many times hee gaue Allarums, both by day and night, ſo as there was a greater ſlaughter and loſſe of men by this kinde of incounters, then many times in their ſet Battells.

Many Towers ruined by their Engines.

Imilcon.

C

D

A Conſpiracy by mercenary Souldiers ſerueing vnder the *Carthaginians*.

Alexon.

At that time ſome Commaunders of mercenary Souldiers, conſpired to yeild the Towne vnto the *Romans*; who being confident of the conſent of their Companions ſlipt downe the Wall in the night, and goes vnto the Campe, diſcouering their charge vnto the Conſull: At what time there was likewiſe a *Grecian* in *Lylibeum* called *Alexon*, who had

had sometimes saued the Towne of *Agrigat* from Treason, when as the Barbarians held it.

This man after that he had vnderstood the enterprize of the Treason, reuealed it vnto *Hanibon*: who called all the Captaines to bee presently called, except such as had slipt ouer the Walls, and declared vnto them what he had vnderstood of the Treason, intreating them they would not so ignominiously deliuer him and the Towne vnto their Enemies. Moreouer he made them great promises, if they would keepe their faith: And when they had all consented to that which hee propounded, he presently sent *Hanibal* with them to passe a Troope of *Gaules*. This was the Sonne of that other *Hanibal*, who (as we haue said) was hang'd vpon a Crosse in *Sardinia*, after he had made that losse of the Army at Sea. He hoped well that he would be pleasing vnto them, for that had beene at the Warre with them vnder his Fathers commaund. Hee likewise sent *Alexon* to other bands of strangers, for that they had great confidence in him. Presently after hee had assembled the Companions, he preuailed so by prayers and promises, as all generally kept their Faith and Friendship with the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore aboue as the Chiefe of the Treason were returned, and ready to speake vnto them, and to relate what they had treated with the *Romans*, they not onely denied to consent vnto them, but they disdained to heare them, driuing them from the Walles with Darts and Stones.

Thus the *Carthaginians* being in a great and manifest danger of Treason, had like to haue fallen into their Enemies hands. But *Alexon* (who formerly for to keepe his Faith with them of *Agrigat*, had not onely preferred the Towne, but the Country likewise, their Lawes, and liberty) was the cause at this time (in the opinion of all the world), that the *Carthaginians* were not defeated. And although they of *Carthage* could not be aduertised of the affaires of *Lylibeum*, yet doubting the necessities which they might fall into during a long Siege, they armed fifty ships with ten thousand men: whereof *Hanibal* the Sonne of *Amilcar*, who formerly was Captaine of the *Troupes*, and a great friend to *Hirbe*, had the leading: to whom they gaue charge in few words to doe what possible he might, to enter into *Lylibeum*, and to succour the besieged. *Hanibal* then with these ten thousand Souldiers, arriues first at the Islands of *Egusa*, which are mid-way betwixt *Carthage* and *Lylibeum*, and there attends the Winde. After which setting saile, he bent his course directly to the Hauen of *Lylibeum*, hauing his men all in battell and ready to fight.

The foresight of the *Carthaginians*.

Hanibal Sonne of *Amilcar*, Capraine of 50 ships with 10000. men.

The Consuls amazed at this suddaine approach of the Enemy, iudged that if they attempted to fight with them, the violence of the winde would likewise driue them into the Port. Wherefore they resolued not to stop their entry. It is true that they prepared themselues vpon the shore, and fought to terrifie them at their entry. In the meane time all the troops within the City, seeing succours come, returned courage, leaping for hope and ioy, and giuing courage by signes, and shouts to their Succours. *Hanibal* with incredible courage, sayles wonderfull

derfull swiftly and enters the Port, the which no man would have imagined, and puts his Army safe into *Lylibeum*. It is incredible the ioy which they within the Towne conceiued, after their succours were entred, not so much for the refreshing of men, but for that the Enemies durst not hinder the entry of the ships.

But *Imilcon* Commaunder of the *Carthaginians*, seeing that the Souldiers demaunded nothing but to fight, aswell the old Garrison, in regard of their supplies, but the new succours, for that they had not felt the former miseries; he would not loose this opportunity, resolving to set fire on the *Romanes* Engines by what meanes soeuer. Wherefore when hee had drawne them altogether, hee made a speech vnto them, promising good rewards to such as should shew themselues braue Men: And assured them that the *Carthaginians* would acknowledge it. The Souldiers mooued with these speeches, told them that they were ready to do their duties. Moreouer they cryed out with a loud voyce, intreating him that without any further stay he would lead them to fight. *Imilcon* commending their courage, sent them to refresh themselues, and gaue them charge to be ready, and to performe that which their Captaines should commaund them: Whom presently after hee drawes a part, and acquaints them with his interprize; then hee appoints vnto euery one his Quarter and place, commaunding them that euery one should retire speedily in the beginning of the night, the which they performed.

At the breake of day *Imilcon* made his sallies in many places, and fell vpon the Engines. The *Romans* who doubted the enemies designe, were not negligent, but were all in Armes keeping a good Guard. Wherefore as soone as the *Carthaginians* begaine their sally, they marcht against them, so as the Allarum was great neere vnto the walls. The *Carthaginians* were about twenty thousand men, and the *Romanes* many more. And for that the combate was without any order of battell, the danger was the greater: For in so great a multitude of Souldiers, they fought Man to Man, as if it had beene a single combate. It is true, that the heate of the fight, and the greatest Allarum was neere vnto the Engines. Whereon that they which were appointed, aswel by the *Carthaginians* to assaile, as by the *Romanes* for defence, came to so great and cruell a combate, as they dyed with incredible Resolutions, neuer abandoning the place which they had beene ordain'd them. But they which were mingled in fighting, cast themselues vpon the *Romanes* with such great courage, assailing the Engines with fires, Darts, and such like Armes, as the *Romans* that day, seeing themselues not able to resist the enemies interprize, thought in a manner all to bee vtterly loste.

When as the combate had continued long, *Imilcon* seeing the great losse of his men, and that he could not preuayle, he caused a Retreate to be sounded. And although the *Romanes* were that day in great danger to loose all their equipage for battery, yet in the end they defended their Engines, and all their furniture, resisting the enemies with incredible valour.

After

After theſe actions, *Hannibal* parting in the Night from *Lylibeum*, vnknowne to the Enemy, with all the ſhippes which hee had brought with him, hee ſayled to *Tripanum* to *Adherball*, who was Generall of the *Carthaginians*, for that they had alwayes a great care to keepe it, in regard of the opportunity of the place, and the beauty of the Port: It is but fifteene miles from *Lylibeum*. And although that in the meane time the *Carthaginians* were very deſirous to heare newes of the affaires of *Lylibeum*, yet it was not poſſible, for that the Towne after *Hanibals* departure was kept ſo ſhort, as no man could enter or come forth. *Hanibal a Rhodian.*

A At that time a *Rhodian* nathed *Hanibal*, an able Man, ſeeing the great deſire of the *Carthaginians*, promiſed them to enter into *Lylibeum*, mauger all the World, and to bring them certaine newes of their eſtate. But although the *Carthaginians* were glad to heare him, yet they held it impoſſible, for that the *Romanes* Army at Sea was in a manner within the Port. Yet the *Rhodian* aſſures them, and parts with his ſhip: And being arriued at an Iſland neere vnto *Lylibeum*, three dayes after hauing the Winde in Poope, hee ſayled directly thither at noone-day, and in the ſight of the Enemy, (ſtriuing by all B meanes to hinder him) hee entred, performing that which hee had vndertaken. The great reſolution of the *Rhodian.*

One of the Conſuls wondring much at the great courage of this man, drew by night to the entry of the Port ten of their beſt Saylers to ſurprize him in his returne: with the which hee himſelfe kept watch vpon the departure of the *Rhodian*, and gaue charge to the whole Army to doe the like.

The ſhippes which were at the entry of the Port of either ſide the Mariſhes, attended with their Oares ready the returne of the *Rhodian* ſhippe, thinking that hee could not auoid it, but would bee inueſted: C But the *Rhodian* relying much vppon his courage, and the ſwiftneſſe of his Veſſell, paſt thorough the Enemies ſhips being thus prepared, not in the night, nor by ſtealth, but in the open day; and not contenting himſelfe to bee thus eſcaped ſafe with his Men, ſeeing himſelfe a little out of the preſſe, hee turned the Prow of his Veſſell, calling them to fight, yet no man durſt aſſaile him, in regard of the ſwiftneſſe of his Veſſell.

Finally, hee returned to *Carthage*, hauing triumphed ouer the Enemies with one Veſſell, and related all the newes vnto the Senate. The which he hath performed ſince many times, doing great ſeruice by D this meanes to the *Carthaginians*, in aduertiſing them of what was neceſſary, and bringing hope and comfort to the beſieged, with an amazement to the *Romans* of ſo great boldneſſe, wherein hee was animated, for that a little before the roure that was made vnto him by diligent experience: But ſuddainly when hee was diſcouered, hee turned his Prowe directly to the Tower which ſtands vpon the Sea towards *Italy*; ſo as they which looke to *Lybia* were in ſight to all Men: which was the onely meanes whereby Saylers might with a good wind recouer the Port. Many mooued with the vndaunted boldneſſe of

this *Rhodien*, and knowing the places preſumed to doe the like.

The *Romans* diſcontented with this great affront and ſcorne, vſed all diligence to fill vp the entry of the Port, for the effecting where-of they filled many Merchants ſhips with ſand, and ſinke them: Then they caſt great ſtore of earth vpon them, yet they loſt their labour and time, for the great depth ſwallowed all; and the ebbing and flowing of the Sea diſperſed whatſoeuer they caſt in. Finally, there was ſome part, which by chance had made a Barre or Banke, where ſuddainly a *Carthaginian Quadrireme* ſent in the Night was ſtayed: After the taking whereof, being well armed and furniſhed in the Port, the *Romans* attended the comming of others, eſpecially of the *Rhodien* Veſſell. By chance hee arriued with the accuſtomed celerity: But at his returne, the *Quadrireme* purſuing him, began to preſſe him neere. The *Rhodien* at the firſt ſight wondred at the lightneſſe of the Veſſell: But hauing well viewed it, hee knew that the *Carthaginian Quadrireme* had beene taken by the *Romans*. Wherefore hauing no more hope in flight, hee reſolued to fight. A

The *Rhodien* taken with his ſhip.

But when they came to ioyne, the *Romans* had the aduantage, aſwell by reaſon of the multitude of their ſhippes, as the bounty of their men. Wherefore the ſhip was eaſily taken with the *Rhodien*. After which prize the *Romans* ioyn'd it to the *Quadrireme*, and kept them continually armed and ready in the Port: By which meanes they tooke from them all eaſie entrance into *Lylibeum*. In the meane time they battered the Towne violently, and the Walles were ouerthrowne in diuers places with their Engines. But *Imilcon* built a new Wall where as the old had been ouerthrowne, hauing no more hope in his Sallies, nor be able to ſet fire on the Engines. And as they had continued ſome time in this manner, there did ſuddainly riſe ſo great a ſtorme, as all the Engines and Inſtruments were ſhaken by the vehemency of the Winde: ſo as the vpper ſtory of ſome Towers were ouerthrowne to the ground. B C

A Sally of the *Carthaginians* vpon the *Romans* Engines of Battery.

Some *Grecian* Souldiers among the beſieged, holding this very commodious for the burning of the Engines, diſcouer their Opinion to the Gouernour, who finds this conceit good, and after that hee had made prouiſion of things neceſſary, hee ſuddainly makes a Sally, and caſts fire in three places vpon the Engines. The which when the Souldiers had done ſuddainly, the fire by reaſon of the violence of the Winde tooke eaſily, and conſumed them ſpeedily, for that they were dry, and had beene long burnt in the Sunne: Neither was it poſſible to preuent it by the hand of Man, for the violence of the Winde. In trueth they were ſo amazed at this new accident, as they had not iudgement to ſee and conſider what they had to doe, ſo as ſtriuing to ſuccour their Engines, ſome fell, being ouerthrowne with great Firebrands falling from aboue, or blinded with ſmoake. And the more the *Romanes* found themſelues croſſed and troubled for the reaſons aboue mentioned, the more beneficiall and fortunate it was for the *Carthaginians*: For they might eaſily diſcouer the Enemies and all the Engines, and if they they caſt any thing againſt the *Romans* or D

their

their Engines, the Winde draue it with great violence, and made the blow more forcible. Finally, the fire was so great, as the foundation whereon the Towers were set, were burnt, and the Heads of the Rammes consumed.

The Consuls after this had no more care to repaire their Engines, resoluing to carry the Towne by a long siege, in causing a great Trench with a Rampier to be cast vp round about it, and there Campe, with a resolution not to raise the Siege before they had taken it. When as they of *Lylibeum* had rampired all places necessary, they indured the
A Siege with great courage. But after the *Romans* had receiued newes of this Disaster, the Senate caused ten thousand men to bee raised, which they sent into *Sicily* to refresh their Army, for that many had died at this siege, and their Army at Sea was bare of Men: These sailed first vnto the Port, then they marcht by Land vnto the Campe before *Lylibeum*.

Appius Claudius being now Consull, and chiefe of the Army, and the other Consuls vpon their returne to *Rome*, seeing the Succours also arriued, assembled the Captaines, and let them know that in his Opinion it was time to sayle to *Tripanum* with all their forces by Sea, to
B surprize *Adherball*, the Generall of the *Carthaginians* nothing doubting of the Succours which were newly arriued into *Sicily*, and would neuer conceiue that the Romane Army would put to Sea after so great a losse of men, during the siege of *Lylibeum*. When as this aduice was approued by the Captaines, hee made choice of some out of the old and new Bands, and furnished all his ships with the ablest men in the whole Army, who imbarked most willingly, for that the Voyage was short, and the promises great. Being then ready, they parted at mid-night vnknowne to the Enemy, and sayled directly vnto *Tripanum*. An enterprize of the *Romans* vpon *Tripanum*

C But at the breake of day, being neere the Towne, and they discouering that they were Romane ships, *Adherball* recouered his spirits, and assured himselfe, although that at the first hee was amazed at their suddaine arriuall, resoluing to try the fortune of the fight, and to vndergoe the hazard rather then to be besieged shamefully in the Port. Wherefore he presently caused their Oares to imbarke, and caused the Trumpet to sound, to draw the Souldiers together, shewing them in few words, according to the necessity of the time, that if they did their duties, there was hope of Victory: But if they refused to fight, he layed them before the miseries of men besieged. And when as the Soul-
D diers made shew of resolution, crying out that hee should make no stay to march against the Enemy, then *Adherball* commending their forwardnesse, causeth them all to imbarke, giuing them charge to haue an eye vnto his ship, and that they should follow with courage. Presently after hee parts first out of the Port, as he had said, on the contrary side to the *Romans*.

But the Consull seeing the Enemies contrary to his hope, not to abandon the place, nor ready to flye, but seeking the Combat with great heate, hee called backe his shippes, whereof some were

already in the Port, others at the entry, following them neere. And when as the first turned head, according to the Consulls commaund, and that the rest which followed farre off made haft to enter into the Port, they fell foule one vpon another at the entry, and at the comming foorth, so as the *Romans* were in danger to haue loft all. Finally after the Vessells had recouered the open Sea, the Captaines ranked themselues along the shore one after another, turning their Prowe to the enemy. But the Consull who from the beginning had alwayes followed the Army, made the left Wing, casting himselfe into the open Sea. A

In the meane time, *Adherball* hauing gotten aboue the left Wing of the *Romans* with fiue Vessells, and turning the Prowe to the enemy, he fortified himselfe by the Sea, commaunding other foure which followed him to do the like. When they were thus in Front against the enemy, he giues them a signe to charge the *Romanes*, whose ships (as we haue sayd) were Rank'd along the shore. It is true they had done it, to the end that the enemies Vessells which should part out of the Port, might be incountred with more ease. The battell was long and furious, so as the danger seemed equall; without doubt they were the choyce men of both the Armies at Land. Yet the *Carthaginians* had B alwayes the better, for that their Vessells were lighter, their men more expert in Rowing, and moreouer they were in the open Sea, where they might turne vp and downe at their pleasure. If any one were neere prest by the Enemy, he knew how to saue himselfe suddainly, by the lightnesse of his ship: And if the Enemies pursued him, many others turning presently together, compassed and hemb'd them in by their lightnesse.

A Combate at Sea betwixt the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians*.

By this meanes they spoiled them much, and sometimes sunke them. And if any one of their companions were in danger, they rescued him easily without perill, sailing in the open Sea. Contrariwise the shore C neere vnto the *Romanes* did annoy them much; for being forced in a streight, they could not Retyre in necessity, nor defend themselues, nor succour them that were prest, nor passe beyond the Enemies to charge them againe. Which is a most requisite thing in fighting at Sea. For that they were closed vp in a streight, and their Vessels were heauy, and their Marriners vnskilfull in Sea causes, nor well practised to Rowe. The Consull seeing that all went from bad to worse, some of his ships being broken vpon the shore, others sunke, and finally being voide of all hope, he flyes away first. There were about thirty Vessells remayning of the whole Army, which by chance were neere him, and D followed him; all the rest to the number of fourescore and thirteene were taken by the *Carthaginians*. Moreouer all the bands of men were taken, except those which perished by the Wracke.

A Victory at Sea by *Adherbal* against the *Romans*.

Adherball was in wonderfull great esteeme among the *Carthaginians* for this Victory, hauing well mannaged the Affaires by his onely Wisdome and great Courage. Whereas on the other side, *Appius Claudius* was infamous, and indured a thousand iniuries by the *Romane* people, for that he had carried himselfe so indiscreetly, and had drawne

drawne the *Romane* Common-wealth into so great danger. Finally, being Deposed from the Consulship, he dyed by the hand of Iustice with great ignomy and shame.

Appius Claudius deposed from the Consulship, and condemned to dye.

And although the *Romans* were very sensible of this great Defeate; yet like Men of great Courage and Resolution, they suddainly prepare a Fleete at Sea with a new Leuy of Men, and send *Lucius Iunius* the Consull into *Sicily*; to whom they giue charge to Relieue the Campe before *Lylibeum*, and to carry them Victualls and other necessary Munitions. He lai'd directly to *Messina* with threescore Gallies, and there drawes together all the Vessells with Beake-heads in *Sicily* out of *Lylibeum*, and makes a Fleete of sixescore Men of Warre, besides the Merchants, and those which he had to carry the Victualls, to the number of eight hundred, of which he gaue in a manner the one halfe to the Questor, with some that had Beake-heads, to conduct the Victuals vnto the Campe. In the meane time he stayed at *Sarragosse*, expecting the rest of the ships which came after him from *Messina*, and the Corne which the Allies of the inland Country did furnish. At the same time *Adherbal* sent the Prisoners and ships which he had taken at the battell to *Carthage*. Then he dispatch'd Captaine *Carthalo* with thirty Vessels, to go and find the enemy, whom he followed neere with threescore and ten others.

Lucius Iunius.

A

B

Moreouer he gaue charge to *Carthalo*, to take what ships he could whole from the Enemy, and to burne the rest. When as *Carthalo* (vsing dilligence to saile all night) had surprized the *Romane* Fleete suddainly, which was retired into the Port of *Lylibeum*, and had burnt some, and taken others, hee drew the *Romans* into great danger; for when as they which kept a Guard about the ships made great cryes, and gaue an Allarum, *Imilcon* hearing the noyse, and seeing theirs coming at the breake of day, he presently made a sally vpon the Enemy. By this meanes the *Romane* Army being inuironed on all sides, was in great danger.

The *Romans* surprized by *Carthalo.*

C

After that *Carthalo* had taken and burnt some *Romane* ships, he went to *Heracleum*, to cut off the Victualls which came from thence to the Campe. And as he made the Voyage, some Discouerers bring him newes that they had seene a great multitude of ships. After which newes, *Carthalo* without making any shew; (for that hee did not much esteeme the *Romanes* in regard of the former Victories) makes hast to meete them. The *Romanes* were like wise aduertised that the *Carthaginian* Army approached. But for that they did not hold themselues able to incounter them at Sea, they cast themselues by Fortune vpon the neerest shore, where there were some retreates and turnings: Ouer the which did hang some Rocks, whether the *Romans* retiring, they repulst'd the Enemies ships with stones and slings: And although at the first the *Carthaginians* were resolued to keepe them besieged vntill they had taken them. Yet seeing that the place by Nature defended them, and that *Romans*, resistance was greater then they expected, they sailed in the end (after they had taken some Merchants vessels) to a Riuer which lay neere vnto them, to obserue the parting of the *Romans*. In the meane

D

time the Consull hauing dispatch'd the Affaires for the which he staied at *Sarragosse*, he past the Cape of *Pachinum* to come vnto *Lylibeum*, hauing no aduertisement of that which had hapned vnto his men some dayes before.

The *Carthaginian* Captayne hauing newes by his Scouts of the Consulls comming, vsed all dilligence to incounter him farre from the other ships. But when as *Lucius Iunius* saw the enemies Army a far off, he was amazed at the great number, so as he durst not fight; neyther could he well flye being so neere vnto them. Wherefore Retyring by dangerous and difficult places, hee stayed in the first Port, resoluing rather to indure all extremities, then to suffer the *Roman* Army to fall into the enemies hands. The which *Carthalo* Commaunder of the *Carthaginians* perceiuing, he made no more pursuite, but retyred into a Port betwixt the two *Roman* Armies, hoping by this meanes to keepe both Armies from parting. Some few dayes after there rose a great storm; the which the *Carthaginians* perceiuing, as Men which had great experience in Sea matters, and knowledge of the places where they were, informed *Carthalo* that in passing speedily beyond the Cape of *Pachinum*, he should auoyde the violence of the storme: whereby they preserued all his Fleet. But the *Romans* were so beaten with the storm, for that the places where they were had no Ports, that their ships were broken in such sort, that there remayned not any thing, whereof they could afterwards make vse. By the meanes of these mis-fortunes at Sea, the *Carthaginians* were afterwards the stronger.

The Romanes Fleete broken at Sea by the Violence of a storme.

The *Romanes* hauing lately made so great a losse at *Tripanum*, and now agayne haning lost all their Equipage abandoned the Sea, relying only vpon the Land. The *Carthaginians* on the other side were Maisters without contradiction: neyther were they without hope at Land. And therefore the Lords of the Senate, and they which were at the siege at *Lylibeum*, were of aduice to continue the siege, although they had bin afflicted with the former mis-fortunes. By this meanes the *Romanes* sent to the Campe at *Lylibeum* whatsoeuer they thought necessary, and they of the Campe vsed all possible meanes to continue the siege. *Lucius Iunius* after this great shipwracke arriued at *Lylibeum* much discontented, studding continually how he might performe some Act, whereby he might in some sort Repayre his disgrace for the last losse. Wherefore soone after he tooke by Treason without any great occasion Mount *Erix*, the Temple of *Venus* and the Towne. *Erix* is a Mountayne of *Sicily*, which hath his Aspect vpon the Sea towards *Italy*, betwixt *Trypanum* and *Palermo*, but neerest to *Palermo*. It is the greateste in all *Sicily*, but *Ætna*. It hath a playne vpon the top, where stands the Temple of *Venus Ericina*, the which (by the Report of all the World) is the richest and most beautifull of all *Sicily*. A little vnder the top of the Hill, there is a Towne of the same name, which is very long, and hath the accesses very vneasy and difficult on all sides.

Mount *Erix*.

Mount *Ætna*.

The Consull set a Garrison vpon the top of the Mountayne, and at the foot vpon the approaches from *Trypanum*, thinking by this meanes that

that he should be able to keep the Towne and all the Mountayne safely. After the taking of *Erix*, the *Carthaginians* made *Amilcar*, surnamed *Barca* Captaine Generall of their Army at Sea. This man falling vpon *Italy* with his Army spoyled all the coast (it was then the eighteenth yeare since the beginning of the War) and from thence (after that he made great spoiles in the Countries of the *Locrines*, and *Calabrois*) he returned into the Territory of *Palerme* with his whole Army; where he planted himselfe in a Place betwixt *Eleptium* and *Palerme*, the which lay high above the Sea, and was fortified by nature, and safe for his Campe. *Amilcar spoiles the Coasts of Italy.*

A

It is a Mountayne inuironed with caues and holes, vpon the which there is a playne not lesse then twelue miles in compasse, the which is commodious and fit for labour. It hath moreouer all the Sea Winds, and is not infected with any venomous Beast. Moreouer it is inuironed both by Sea and Land with inaccessible Rockes, in regard of the places which are betwixt both there is no great need of buildings. It hath on the top a little Hill which serues for a Watch and Fortresse, it hath likewise a very pleasant and commodious Port, for such as passe from *Trypanum* or *Lylibeum* into *Italy*, and it hath store of Water. There are but three wayes to go vnto this Mount, which are difficult and vneasy, two vpon the firme Land, and the third towards the Sea. *Amilcar* Planted his Campe there, where there was no conuenient Towne, but was lodged among his enemies, whom he did not suffer to liue in rest: For many times he went to Sea, and spoyled the coast of *Italy* vnto *Cumes*, and then he led his Army by Land vnto *Palerme*, and besieged it within eight hundred Furlongs of the *Romains* Campe: where he staied neere three yeares, performing many braue Acts which were difficult to relate in particular. For euen as when excellent Combattants re-doubling their blowes with dexterity and force, the prize of the Victory being propounded, it is neyther possible for them, nor for the standers by, to yeild a reason of euery charge and blow, taking in generall a sufficient knowledge of their Valour, aswell by the Prowesse of the Men, as by their mutuall indeauours, and by their Experience and Vertue; we must conceiue the like of the Commaunders of whom we now speake. *Amilcar.*

B

C

For if any one will Write the causes, or manner how they lay Ambushes, and intertayne skirmishes and incounters, he should not be able to number them, and would cause a great trouble without any profit to the Reader; where we may better attayne to the knowledge of things past, by a generall narration and by the end of the War. They likewise cannot perceiue in this present War, any thing by the History of the great pollicies, nor by the time, nor by the feeling of the present ease by things done, which haue bin decided with an ouer-weaning and violent boldnesse. There are many causes, for the which they could not discerne betwixt the two Campes; for the Armies were equal and their Forts not easie to be approached vnto, for that the space betwixt both was very strong and little; so as there daily hapned particular combates. Finally they performed nothing which concerned the

D

end

end of the Warre: For many times in incounters some were slayne, and others turning away, and escaping the danger assured themselues, and fought againe, where Fortune remayning like a good Distributer, changing them from Front to Front, hath inclosed them in a narrower compasse, and a more dangerous fight in regard of the place and precedent Combat.

Whilst the *Romans* (as we haue sayd) kept the top and foote of the Mountayne of *Erix*, *Amilcar* surprized the Towne, which was betwixt the top of the Hill, and the foote of it, where the *Roman* garrison lay. By this meanes the *Romans* which held the top, were besieged by the *Carthaginians*, with great danger: The *Carthaginians* likewise were no lesse in the Towne, seeing they were besieged from the top of the Mountayne, and from the foote, and hauing but one way, they could hardly draw vnto them that which was necessary. Thus either Party persisted one against another with extreame obstinacy: Suffring great extreamities and running into great dangers. Finally, they purchased a sacred Crowne, not as *Fabius* sayth, as Men weakned and tyred, but constant and not vanquished: For before that one party ouercame the other, although the War continued two yeares, yet beganne to haue an end by another meanes. Finally the Affaires of *Erix*, and the forces were in this estate.

The Towne of *Erix* taken from the *Romans* by *Amilcar*.

A

B

You may imagine that these two Common-Weales, did like vnto Rauening Birds fighting among themselues vnto the last gaspe: For although that sometimes their flight fayled them for want of breath, yet they repulse the assaults with great courage, vntill that hiding themselues willingly, they fled away easily; this done some take their flight before the rest. In like manner the *Romanes* and the *Carthaginians* tyred with toyle, grew cold in their continuall combats, abating their forces for the ordinary charges. And although the *Romanes* had abandoned the combats at Sea, almost for fifteene yeares, aswell for their mis-fortunes, as for that they did hope to make an end of this Warre by the Army at Land; yet seeing their designe not successefull, considering likewise the courage of *Amilcar*, they conceiued a third hope in their Forces at Sea. They aduised well, that if their designe were successefull, it would be a meanes to make an end of their Affaires, the which in the end they effected.

A good Comparison.

C

First, they left the Sea yeilding vnto their mis-fortunes; And for the second time, for that they had bin vanquished neere vnto *Trypanum*, and finally at the third time, they were of another humour, by the which being Victors, they cut off the Victuals from *Erix*, and made an end of the Warre. This attempt for the most part was like a Combate of great courage, for the publicke Treasure vnable to furnish this charge: But the Citizens contributing euery Man vnto his power, many together built a Quinquereme, supplying the necessary expences; so much the peoples hearts were inflamed to Armes, and to augment the *Romane* Empire. By this meanes they made a preparation of two hundred Quinqueremes, after the patterne of the *Rhodien*, the which as we haue sayd had beene taken before *Lylibeum*: Wherefore they

D

they afterwards gaue the commaund vnto *Lucius Luctatius* Conſull, and ſent him in the Spring againſt the *Carthaginians*, who being ſuddainly arriued in *Sicily* with his Army, tooke the Port of *Trepanum* at his entry, and all the reſt which were about *Lylibeum*.

The port of *Trepanum* taken by *Luctatius*, Commaunder of the *Romane* Army.

In the meane time all the *Carthaginians* ſhips retired to their Captaine. Afterwards hee indeauoured to take *Trepanum* with his Engins, and other things neceſſary to force a Towne: But for that the *Carthaginians* Army at Sea was not farre off, they had a remembrance of things paſt, and of what importance the knowledge of the Sea was, he was not
A idle nor negligent, cauſing his Rowers and Marriners to bee continually kept in practice, not ſuffring any one to be idle. By this meanes the Souldiers in a ſhort time were inured to the Sea. The *Carthaginians* contrary to their hope, hauing newes of the *Roman* Army at Sea, preſently prepared their ſhips, and traighted them with Corne & other Munition, to the end the beſieged within the Towne of *Erix* ſhould not haue any want of things neceſſary. *Hanno* had the charge of this Army, who paſt firſt to the Iſland of *Hieroneſus*, and from thence he made haſte to ſayle aboue the Enemy to *Amilcars* Campe, to diſcharge his ſhips, and to victuall it.

An Army at Sea prepared by the *Carthaginians*.

Hanno.

But *Luctatius* being aduertiſed of their comming, and doubting of their
B enterprize, (for it was not hard to coniecture) made choice of the ableſt men of the Army at Land, and ſailed directly to the Iſland of *Eguſe*, which is not farre from *Lylibeum*. Then hauing giuen courage to the Souldiers, he makes a Proclamation that euery man ſhould be ready the next day to fight.

Three daies after the Conſull ſeeing at the breake of day that the wind was good and proſperous for the Enemy, and contrary to his Army; and that the Sea was much troubled with a ſtorme, he was long in ſuſpence what he ſhould doe: but ſuddainly he reſolued, that if his men came to
C fight during the ſtorme, he ſhould haue nothing to doe but with *Hanno* and his Army at Sea, and with ſhips that were laden and incumbred:
D But if he ſhould delay the fight vntill the Sea were calme, he ſhould haue to deale with ſhips that were light and very ſwift, and with the choice of the Land ſouldiers: and moreouer with the courage of *Amilcar*, who was then held to be very terrible. Finally, he reſolued to fight with the Enemy notwithſtanding the ſtorme and the contrary Winde. The *Carthaginians* comming with full ſayle, he put himſelfe before them with his Army ready and in battell. When the *Carthaginians* ſaw their entrie to bee hindered by the Enemy, and their ſhips in battell, they ſtrooke ſaile, and prepared to fight, where they charged of either ſide with great courage: But for that things were mannaged in another manner, than when they were defeated at the battell of *Trepanum*, it was no wonder if that their Affaires had another ſucceſſe.

A fight at Sea betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*.

In regard of the *Romans*, their ſhips were very light, and free from all incombrance, but of that which was neceſſary for the Warre. Their Rowers had beene long practiſed, and were therefore eager and ready to fight. They had alſo made choice of the beſt men in their Army at Land: the which fell out contrary with the *Carthagini-*

ans. Their ſhips were laden, and therefore vnfit to fight: Their Rowers and Marriners were men gathered together by chance, and not accuſtomed to the War: their Souldiers were alſo new, and had not ſeene any thing: for they had no more care for the affaires at Sea, imagining that the *Romans* would not attempt any thing more at Sea. And therefore as ſoone as the Battell began, the *Romans* had the Victory; whereas fifty of the *Carthaginians* ſhips were broken or ſunke, and three ſcore and ten others that were laden, taken. The reſt ſet ſayle and got the Winde, and recouered *Hieroneſe* with incredible ſwiftneſſe, by a ſuddaine change of the Winde. After the Battell the Conſull retired to *Lylibeum* with his whole Army, whereas the booty and Priſoners were deuided amongſt the Souldiers: For beſides the dead, there were aboue ten thouſand men taken.

A Victory of the *Romanes* againſt the *Carthaginians.*

The *Carthaginians* amazed at this heauy and great defeate, found themſelues troubled for many reaſons, although their minds were alwayes inclin'd to Warres. Firſt they had no meanes to victuall thoſe that were in *Sicily*, after the defeate of their Army at Sea: Conſidering that their Enemies were Maiſters of all the Sea. Moreouer they imagined that it would be a Traiterous act to ſuffer their Generall and the Souldiers which had ſerued their Common-wealth to be loſt. In regard of continuing the War, they had neither Men nor Captaines to mannage it: wherefore they ſent a Man to *Amilcar*, and gaue him full power and Authority to doe what he ſhould thinke fitting for the good of the Common-weale. *Amilcar* performed the duty of a good and wiſe Captaine: For whileſt there was any hope in the *Carthaginians* affaires, he neuer complained of his paines, nor auoided perill, but being a man of great induſtry and courage, he thruſt himſelfe continually into all dangers, to vanquiſh aſwell as any of the other Captaines. But when as he ſaw there was no more hope in the *Carthaginians* affaires, hee ſent Embaſſadours to the Conſull, to treate vpon an accord, yeelding wiſely and diſcreetly vnto the time: For wee muſt know that the duty of a good Captaine conſiſts aſwell in conſidering of the time, not onely to vanquiſh, but alſo to ſtrike ſayle. Whereunto *Lutatius* did willingly giue eare, knowing well the neceſſities which the people of *Rome* endured by this tedious War. Finally, a peace was thus concluded: that the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* ſhould liue in amity and friendſhip, if the people of *Rome* would conſent vnto it: And that the *Carthaginians* ſhould leaue all *Sicily*: Neither ſhould they hereafter make War againſt *Hieron*, nor againſt the *Saragoſſins*, or their Allies, and that they ſhould reſtore all the Priſoners without ranſome: And moreouer they ſhould pay thirteene hundred and twenty thouſand Crownes within twenty yeares.

These Articles were ſent to *Rome*, which the people notwithſtanding would not yeeld vnto: but committed ten men with power from them who were ſent into *Sicily*: Being arriued, they altered nothing of the treaty of peace, but the time of payment, which they ſhortned, augmenting the ſumme with 600000. Crownes more. Moreouer they did articulate, that they ſhould not onely diſlodge out of *Sicily*, but alſo

also out of all the Islands which are betwixt it and *Italy*.

Behold the end of the first Warre betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* for *Sicily*. It continued foure and twenty whole yeares, and hath beene the longest and the greatest that was ever heard spoken of. During the which (I omit other things worthy of memory) they haue fought at one instant with aboue fiue hundred Quinqueremes on both sides: Afterwards with not much lesse then seauen hundred. The *Romans* haue lost seauen hundred *Quinqueremes*, besides those which at sundry times the torments haue sunke, and the *Carthaginians* about fiue hundred. Wherefore they which formerly haue admired Armies
A aswell by Land as Sea, and the Combats at Sea of *Antigonus*, *Ptolomey*, and *Demetrius*, haue reason to cease, considering the great deeds of the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*. But if they will consider how great a difference there is betwixt the Quinqueremes and Triremes, whereof the *Persians* made vse against the *Grecians*, and which the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians* vsed in their Warre, they shall vndoubtedly see, that there was neuer seene such great forces fight at Sea, wherefore that appeares plainely which we haue propounded in the beginning, that the *Romans* haue not onely indeauoured to conquer the vniuersall Empire by
B vallour, but they haue also accomplished their desire, not by good Fortune as some *Grecians* suppose, nor by chance, but by a wonderfull experience and practice in such great affaires.

Although that some may demaund how it happeneth that the *Romans*, who are at this day farre greater Lords both at Land and Sea, considering that they held in a manner the Empire of the whole world, cannot draw together so many Vessels, nor rayse so great an Army at Sea at one instant. The reason will be easie, when they shall let them vnderstand what the Romane Common-wealth was, what their Lawes and their manner of liuing, although it will not be profitable neither for vs nor for the Readers of our Workes, to make mention of things
C which concerne not our purpose. Without doubt the Reasons are great: the which notwithstanding in my Opinion no man hath knowne vnto this day by the errour of Historiographers: Whereof some knew not what they wrote, and if others vnderstood them, they haue made them obscure and vnprofitable. If they would duely consider this War, they shall finde that the courage [illegible] of these two great Cities were equall. First their desire [illegible] the same courage, and the like desire of glory. Furthermore the *Romans* had the better Souldiers: But *Amilcar* Generall of the *Carthaginians*, surnamed
D *Barca*, Father to *Hannibal*, who afterwards made Warre against the *Romans*, had not his equall in prudence and valour. When as the peace had beene concluded, either of them fell in a manner into the like inconueniences; for Ciuill warr followed after. The *Romans* had presently War against the Inhabitants of Mount *Eryx*: the which was soone decided and their Towne taken. *Amilcar* Father to *Hannibal*.

But the *Carthaginians* being assailed at the same time by Strangers, *Numidians*, and other people of *Affrike*, who reuolted with them, were in a manner quite ruined. Finally, they were forced to fight not onely

for the Prouince, but for themselues, for their liberty, for their Children, and for their owne Country.

This is a warre which we will relate summarily and briefly, for it is worthy, as we haue promised in the beginning. So they shall easily see by the deeds of these times what this warre was, and of what fury, which they call irreconciliable: and they may likewise obserue to what things the Commander of an Army ought to haue care, and to be wary how he imploies Mercinary men: And moreouer what difference there is betwixt the confused manner of liuing of *Barbarians*, and those that are bred vnder Discipline, Lawes, and Policy: And withall they may easily see by the knowledge of this warre, the causes for the which *Hannibal* made warre against the *Romans*, which is a principall poynt, whereof in opening the truth, wee haue not done little for those which desire to see our worke. For that they haue not only beene doubtfull and obscure to those which haue written, but also to such as haue beene present. After that *Amilcar* had treated the peace with the *Romans*, he led his Army from the Towne of *Erix* to *Lylibeum*, and resigned his charge, giuing the conduct thereof into *Affricke* to Captaine *Gescon*, who *Gescon.* was at *Lylibeum*: who fearing that if so great a multitude of men, should passe together into *Affricke*, there would grow some mutiny and contention, for that there was much due vnto them for their pay, the which they could not satisfie for want of treasure: Wherefore he prouided long before, that the troupes should not passe altogether, but at diuers times, leauing some respite of purpose: to the end that they might with more ease prouide, in sending them backe by troupes, and that the first might be retired to their houses, before the second arriued. The *Carthaginians* had consumed their treasure, in their former charges, and did not send them backe to their houses but commanded them to attend within the City vntill the returne of their Companions, to the end they might make some accord with them altogether concerning their Paye. But whenas the Souldiers committed many Insolencies day and night within the City, and that the insolencies of such a troupe were insupportable, the *Carthaginians* called the Captaines, and intreated them to leade all their people assembled in their City to the Towne of *Sicca*, vntill they had giuen order for their Prouinces. Moreouer they caused some money to be deliuered to euery one of them, to the end they might tolerate their expectance the more easily. The Captaines obeying the will of the *Carthaginians*, drew forth their Men.

Insolency of the Souldiers within Carthage.

But for that euery man desired to leaue his baggage within the City, as they had done, hoping to make their returne for their paye: the *Carthaginians* doubted that if they should allow that, some would not budge for the loue of their children, others for their wiues, and by this meanes they should haue nothing bettered within the City. Wherefore in the end they forced them to depart with their baggage. Being within the Towne of *Sicca*, they liued at pleasure in idlenes and bauery, which is a pernicious thing for an Army, and in a manner the onely fountaine and beginning of Mutinies. Some began to demaund their pay more audatiously,

tionsly then they had beene accustomed, and much more, reducing to memory the promise of Presents, which the Captaines had made vnto them at need, when as they intreated them to fight valiantly. More ouer they expected much more then their Pay amounted vnto: But they were frustrated of their hope: For assoone as they were all assembled in *Sicca*, *Hanno*, *Prætor* of the *Carthaginians* was sent vnto them: Who bringing no presents vnto them, intreated them moreouer for some abatement of their Pay, shewing them the pouerty of the Treasure. They generally mutining at this speech, began to rise suddainly, so as there was a great tumult and sedition in the Army, considering the great diuersity of their manner of liuing, and languages. It is true the *Carthaginians* had some reason to raise their Army out of diuers Nations: For by this meanes so diuers an assembly could not easily make a Conspiracy. Moreouer the Captaines better obeyed. And likewise if there did rise any mutiny or sedition in the Army, they should not finde meanes to pacifie them, for ignorant men are mooued with fury. Beleeue me when they are once in choller, they increase it more and more, like bruite Beasts with an vnrestraine cruelty. The which happened at that time in the *Carthaginians* Campe: For some were *Spaniards*, others *Gaules*, some *Genenois*, and others of the Islands of *Maiorqua*, and *Minorqua*. Mutiny of the Souldiers.

There was also a good Troope of *Gricians*, most of which were fugitiues and slaues, and the greatest number were *Affricans*. Wherefore it was not possible to draw them altogether at that time, although they could not haue taken a better course. Moreouer *Hanno* could not vnderstand all their languages: and it seemed in a manner more impossible to imploy many Interpreters at one time to draw the Army together, and withall to vtter the same speech vnto them foure or fiue times. The last remedy was to manage this by the Captaines; the which *Hanno* attempting preuailed nothing: For some vnderstood not what their Captaine [illegible] them, others related it otherwise then they had spoken, although they had [illegible] vnto the chiefe, some did it of ignorance, but the greater part of malice. Wherefore all was full of perplexity, in [illegible]

Among other things they complained, that the *Carthaginians* of purpose did not send one of the Captaines vnder whose charge they had made War in *Sicily*, and who had [illegible] many promises; but one who had beene in those actions. Finally, they came to Armes being all in a mutiny, making no account of *Hanno*, nor of the other Captaines, and marcht directly to *Carthage*, planting their Campe neere vnto the Towne of *Tunes*, which is fifteene miles from *Carthage*, being about twenty thousand Men. Then the *Carthaginians* began to looke one vpon another, and to acknowledge their great errour, when there was no redresse in their affaires. In truth it was a great fault in them to haue drawne together so great a multitude into one place after the War was ended. They committed another which was no lesse, when as they did not retaine their Wiues Children and baggage, whereof they might haue made vse in necessity as of Hostages. Being in no small feare The complaint of the Souldiers.